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AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XXIII.

SEPTEMBER, 1832.

ART. I.—*Journal of Voyages and Travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet Esq., deputed from the London Missionary Society, to visit their various Stations in the South Sea Islands, China, India, &c., between the years 1821 and 1829. Compiled from Original Documents. By JAMES MONTGOMERY. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1831.*

WHEN the notes of travellers are too minute for publication, and also require methodizing, it is proper that they should be submitted to the supervision of a competent person like Mr. Montgomery. He has not, like Hawkesworth when compiling one of Cook's Voyages, sacrificed simplicity for the sake of metreticious ornament; nor has he, we are satisfied, like De Foe in the History of the Plague, considered it justifiable to introduce extraneous matter for the production of dramatic effect. Are we asked on what our reliance is founded, we reply—on the high moral reputation of the editor, whose fame, not limited to his native land, is extensively spread as a Christian moralist. The inhabitants of Sheffield, the town in which he long resided, testified their approbation of his conduct, and their appreciation of his labours in the cause of civil and religious liberty, by a public dinner in his honour, on the occasion of his relinquishing the editorship of a newspaper; nor was the honour unmerited, for his journal was conducted on moral principles. Many years ago, he published a poem under the singular title of Thoughts on Wheels, in which he took occasion to expatiate on the demoralizing tendency of lotteries, and in reference to them thus exhorted his countrymen:—

"Bring
 From forth your camp the accursed thing,
 Consign it to remorseless fire,
 Watch till the latest spark expire,
 Then cast the ashes on the wind,
 Nor leave one atom wreck behind."

Acting in the spirit which dictated these lines, he uniformly refused, while editor of the *Sheffield Iris*, to admit lottery advertisements, thus preserving consistency by a pecuniary sacrifice. A man so conspicuous for literature well applied, for moral probity, and for the esteem of his neighbours, must be considered as one worthy of general confidence. From the effects of Lord Byron's satire, in his powerful but splenetic *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, he has long recovered; and though Sheffield, enveloped in smoke from furnaces, and begrimed with oil and emery, may never become really, what Byron styled it ironically, *classic ground*, yet as having done honour to genius, it may rank with most other commercial and manufacturing towns, despite of the satire.

The great value of the volumes now under review, consists in the light which they throw on the effects of missionary labours amongst the heathen. The testimony of the deputation must indeed be regarded as that of friends rather than of unbiassed spectators; still, the facts that came under their immediate notice, or were received from competent authority, are more available than the sweeping generalizations of opponents, in forming a just conclusion respecting the utility of the attempt to Christianize and civilize savages. As it is desirable that the public should be put in possession of the means of forming a judgment on this important subject, and as these volumes, though about to be republished in this country, are too copious for general perusal, we think we shall be rendering a service to our readers, by furnishing them with a brief summary of the most striking particulars. This is the more necessary, as the volumes are rather too prolix even for those who take an interest in missionary establishments; a fault, excusable perhaps, when it is considered that Mr. Montgomery, being the son of a Moravian missionary, may be supposed to attach an undue importance to some things, which, to most other persons, must appear insignificant.

The romantic interest thrown over the isles of the Pacific by the early navigators, has been gradually removed, as the social and moral condition of the inhabitants of those remote regions has been developed by the minute and accurate accounts of residents. Before these accounts were published, the simplicity and felicity of Polynesia, as detailed by Cook, Bougainville, and Wilson, were considered as a realization of the golden age; the more so, as Omai and Lee Boo manifested so much gentleness and amiability as to excite the admiration of Europe. The day had

indeed gone by, when the unknown realms of Prester John, the "barbaric pearl and gold" of the Great Mogul, and the El Dorado of Guiana, could draw out adventurers with the enthusiasm of pilgrims to explore the hidden recesses of Oriental wealth; but enough of the imaginative spirit remained, to people the Pacific isles with beings of earthly mould indeed, but who were free from the sordid feelings so prevalent in civilized communities. Dark spots in the picture were indeed obvious to the discerning few; but to the gazing multitude they appeared only as a shaded back-ground, giving suitable relief to the more prominent scenes glittering with sunshine and flowers. Now, however, it is known that these islanders, so far from being what human beings should be, were brutalized by superstition so much as to resemble fiends incarnate. Wherever infanticide prevails, the tenderest feelings of nature are superseded by hard-hearted cruelty; the maternal bosom, instead of swelling with pity and sympathy, being filled with malignant passions; so that those persons who suppose that a nation in a state of ignorance is necessarily in the state of nature, must admit that they are in error, when informed that the Polynesians practise this crime to an almost unprecedented extent. The deputation were informed by one of the resident missionaries, that from the evidence accumulated by his brethren and himself, they found that previous to the introduction of the gospel, *three-fourths* of the children were murdered as soon as born, either by one of the parents, or by others who made a trade of infanticide! A woman once acknowledged to them that she had destroyed eight of her own offspring, while another confessed that her murders amounted to seventeen! In other respects, too, as we shall afterwards see, these people violated the best feelings of which the heart is susceptible.

On the arrival of the deputation at Tahiti, more familiarly known as Otaheite, the first of the missionary stations at which they touched, they received a cordial welcome from the resident teachers, while two of the native chiefs, each chose one of them as his *tayo* or friend, requesting a reciprocation of the compliment. Throughout Polynesia a similar mode of testifying friendship is prevalent, one proof amongst many of the common origin of the population. Indeed it is not difficult to understand how the various clusters of islands in the Pacific might be settled by the same people, as canoes have often been driven by stress of weather from one to another far remote; a circumstance of which Captains Kotzebue and Beechy, as well as our travellers, respectively met with an instance. On asking the reason of some trees being marked in a particular manner, they were informed that when so marked they were *tabu*, that is, as they explain it, private property. The word *tabu* has, however, a more extensive, and generally a different meaning, being used to indicate that the

object to which it is applied is sacred and unapproachable ; so it is explained by Stewart in his account of the Sandwich Islands, and by Nicolas, in his New Zealand Journal. When used to secure private property from depredation or injury, it seems to be appropriated by some person of power to his own advantage, cunningly availing himself of sacerdotal influence.

One of the strongest propensities of the islanders was to theft, a crime which the utmost vigilance of Cook was unable to prevent. They even worshipped an idol as the god of theft, whom, however, they would defraud as well as others, evading, by a subterfuge, the accomplishment of the promised sacrifice for success. But since the introduction of Christianity a marvellous improvement has taken place. A pair of gloves lost by Mr. Tyerman were brought to him by the finder of them ; and though many packages were left unprotected for several nights, nothing was purloined. We are not, however, prepared to agree with the deputation in attributing this change entirely to the influence of the gospel on the hearts of the neophytes, as much of it is probably owing to the veneration bordering on superstition felt by them for their teachers. Accustomed as they have been to a blind confidence in the priesthood from early years, this confidence has been transferred to their new guides, and may account for much of the effect. We do not say this in disparagement of missionary exertions, but as explanatory of what we believe to be the real state of the case. The proneness of the ignorant to rely on their spiritual instructors, has produced correspondent effects in many instances, while yet the corrupt principle has remained triumphant. After, however, making every deduction, much will remain to demonstrate that the gospel, since its introduction amongst the Polynesians, has produced the happiest consequences ; one of the most striking exemplifications of which is the change from barbarity and revenge to mildness and forgiveness. A few extracts will exhibit this.

“ A man called upon us to offer a small present. In conversation with him we were struck with the humility, kindness, and devotional spirit which he manifested. On inquiry, afterwards, it appeared that this very person had been one of the most savage and remorseless of his species, so long as he remained an idolater and a warrior. On one occasion, having been sent by Pomare to destroy an enemy, he went, surprised his victim, ripped him up alive, and actually left the wretched man on the spot after his bowels had been torn out—the assassin not having mercy enough to put him out of torture by another stroke. After their ferocious conflicts were over, the conquerors were wont to pile the slain in heaps, with their heads towards the mountains and their feet towards the sea. Next morning they would visit the carcasses to wreak the impotence of an unappeasable vengeance upon them, by mangling them in the most shocking ways that brute cruelty or demoniac frenzy could devise. One would turn up the face of a slaughtered enemy, and grinning with fiend-like malice upon it, would exclaim—‘Aha! you killed my father at such a place, now I will punish you!’ Another would say to a putrefying corpse—‘You robbed me of my wife, and now I will have my revenge.’ Then they would mutilate the limbs and trample

them in the dust, cut off the head, pound it to pulp, dry it in the sun, and, when converted to powder, scatter it on the wind; sometimes even, we have been assured, they would prepare the body itself in such a manner that it became parched up like leather, and then they would wear it over their own shoulders, in the manner of one of their *tibulas*, thrusting their head through a hole made for the purpose, the arms and legs dangling down, before and behind, till the loathsome envelope dropped, piecemeal, from their backs. Their outrages upon the women and children, both living and dead, of their vanquished foes, when they sacked their dwellings, cannot be described."

This conduct of the savages is like that of children, when they kick a stone for revenge of having stumbled over it, so that it is really the impulsé of untutored nature, and might, perhaps, on that account, have been admired by Monboddo and Rousseau. A more interesting spectacle, however, is that of the legislative assembly of Tahiti, when deliberating on the proper punishment for murder, in which a debate took place of no ordinary interest, on a proposal that the punishment should be banishment for life to a desolate island. Hitoti, a chief, thus expressed himself:—

"No doubt this is a good law, but a thought has been growing in my heart for several days, and when you have heard my little speech, you will understand what it is. The laws of England, from which country we have received so much good of every kind—must not they be good? And do not the laws of England punish murderers by death? Now, my thought is, that as England does so, it would be well for us to do so: that is my thought."

To this, Utami thus replied:—

"The chief of Papeete has said well, that we have received a great many good things from the kind Christian people of England. Indeed what have we not received from Britain? Did they not send us the gospel? But does not Hitoti's speech go too far? If we take the laws of England for our guide, then must we not punish with death those who break into a house?—those who write a wrong name?—those who steal a sheep? And will any man in Tahiti say that death should grow for these?—No, no; this goes too far; so I think we should stop. The law, as it is written, I think is good; perhaps I am wrong, but that is my thought."

After some compliments to the preceding speakers, Upuparu gave his opinion.

"My brother Hitoti, who proposed that we should punish murder with death because England does so, was wrong, as has been shown by Utami; for they are not the laws of England which are to guide us, though they are good:—the Bible is our perfect guide. Now *Mitti Trutu* (the Missionary Crook) was preaching to us from the scripture,—‘He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;’—and he told us that this was the reason of the law of England. My thought, therefore, is not with Utami but with Hitoti,—though not because the law of England, but because the Bible orders it,—that we ought to punish with death every one guilty of murder."

This speech occasioned considerable sensation, so that when Tati rose to reply, every eye was fixed on him.

"Perhaps," said he, "some of you may be surprised that I, who am the first chief here, and next to the royal family, should have held my peace so long. I wished to hear what my brethren would say, that I might gather what thoughts had grown in their breasts on this great question. I am glad that I waited, because some thoughts are now growing in my own breast which I did not bring

with me. The chiefs who have spoken before me have spoken well ; but is not the speech of Upuparu like that of his brother Hitoti—in this way ? If we cannot follow the laws of England in all things, as Hitoti's thoughts would perhaps lead us, because they go too far,—must we not stop short of Upuparu, because his thought goes too far likewise ? The Bible, he says, is our perfect guide :—it is ; but what does that Scripture mean,—“ He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed ? ” Does not this go so far that we cannot follow it to the end, any more than we can follow the laws of England all the way ? I am Tati ; I am a judge ;—a man is convicted before me ; he has shed blood ; I order him to be put to death ; I shed *his* blood ; then who shall shed mine ? Here, because I cannot go so far, I must stop. This cannot be the meaning of those words ; but perhaps, since many of the laws of the Old Testament were thrown down by the Lord Jesus Christ, and only some kept standing upright,—perhaps, I say, this is one of those which were thrown down. However, as I am ignorant, some one else will show me, that, in the New Testament, our Saviour or his apostles have said the same thing concerning him that sheddeth man's blood, as is said in the Old Testament. Show me this in the New Testament, and then it must be our guide.”

Tati was succeeded by Pati, whose speech was as follows.

“ My breast is full of thought, and surprise, and delight. When I look round at this house of God in which we are assembled, and consider who we are that take sweet counsel together here, it is to me all a thing of amazement, a thing that makes glad my heart. Tati has settled the question ; for is it not the gospel that is our guide ?—and who can find directions for putting to death ? I know many passages which forbid, but I know not one which commands to kill. But then another thought is growing in my breast, and if you will hearken to my little speech, you shall know what it is. Laws to punish those that commit crime are good for us ; but tell me, why do Christians punish ? Is it because we are angry and have pleasure in causing pain ? Is it because we love revenge, as we did when we were heathens ? None of these : Christians do not love revenge ; Christians must not be angry ; they cannot have pleasure in causing pain ; Christians do not therefore punish for these. Is it not that, by the suffering which is inflicted, we may prevent the criminal from repeating his crime, and frighten others from doing as he has done to deserve the like ? Well then, does not every body know that it would be a greater punishment to be banished for ever from Tahiti to a desolate island, than just, in a moment, to be put to death ? And could the banished man commit murder again there ? And would not others be more frightened by such a sentence than by one to take away his life ? So my thought is that Tati is right, and the law had best remain as it has been written.”

Others argued, that as one end of punishment is to reclaim the offender, exile, not death, would afford the only chance of attaining it ; so the result was a unanimous decision that death should not be inflicted. What can more strongly evince the efficacy of gospel principles, than that a body of men, who, a few years ago, were revengeful not only to death, but even after death ; who were so callous to humanity that their own children were murdered by them without pity or remorse ; should now decide in their collective capacity, that the punishment of death is irreconcilable with the benign spirit of their new religion ? May not those nations in which Christianity has been for centuries established, take a lesson from these interesting proselytes ? In one respect, at least, they are exemplary :—their assembly is held with order and decorum, no interruption being given to a speaker.

On reaching one of the Sandwich Islands, the deputation found

as many as eleven American vessels in the harbour; a convincing proof of the extent and importance of our commerce in the Pacific. All the captains gave them a friendly reception, proffering their assistance in a cordial manner. Of one of them they tell a pleasant tale. He had furnished them with a boat to go on shore, but the steersman being unskilful, they were upset in the surf, and narrowly escaped from being drowned. The captain afterwards expressed to them his sorrow for their misfortune and congratulation at their happy escape, adding, "I don't wonder, for I guess the fellow was always a fool at steering a boat." This naturally produced an inquiry, why he had not sent a better hand, to which he answered simply enough—"O! he was the steerer that belonged to that boat."

The missionaries at these islands, not having succeeded, at that time, in Christianizing the natives, the deputation were enabled to contrast the condition of the converted people they had left with that of the heathen. They found it inferior not only in morals, but as it respected their habitations and clothing. It is, however, satisfactory to know, as may be known by consulting Stewart's Visit to the islands, that since the change has been effected, improvement equal, if not superior, to that of the Society Isles, has supervened; and that there is reasonable ground for belief that civilization will become, at no distant period, the prevailing characteristic. We may here take the opportunity to express our dissatisfaction with the missionaries for having, when reducing the oral language to alphabetical writing, adopted the vowel sounds in somewhat an arbitrary manner. Had they followed any one of the European languages, their plan would have had the merit of consistency, and as the natives are likely to have more intercourse with the Americans and the English, than with people speaking French, Spanish, or Russ, we think that the English alphabet should have been selected in preference. The one that they have adopted is neither French, Italian, nor German, but apparently a compound of the three.

The following notice is not uninteresting:—

"In the course of our ramble, our guide pointed out the hollow in the volcanic mass, where the body of Captain Cook was roasted, and a little further on, the place where his arms and legs were submitted to the same process. This was, in fact, the highest honour that his murderers, with the inconsistency of savages, could show to his remains; the corpses of their kings and chiefs being prepared in a similar manner, that the flesh might be more easily separated from the bones, and the skeleton afterwards put together and preserved, as an object not only of reverence but of religious homage. The relics of Cook were thus worshipped in a temple of Rono, one of the gods of Hawaii, of whom the people had a notion that the British navigator was the representative, if not an incarnation of him."

Numerous accounts of the horrors of idolatry are given, some of which it seems proper to extract, that the reader may be fully

informed of the degradation from which the natives have been rescued, by the benevolent labours of the missionaries.

"The following cruel practice is said to have been observed during the dark age of idolatry, and so late as the reign of the last king, Tamehamea. The shark was distinguished by divine honours here, as in the South Pacific. When, therefore, the king or the priests of this divinity, so worthy of its worshippers, imagined that the shark wanted food, they sallied forth with their attendants, one of whom carried a rope with a ready-prepared running noose attached to it. Then, wherever they found a number of persons assembled, the rope was thrown unexpectedly among them, in the same manner as the Spaniards of South America catch wild cattle in the herd, and whoever happened to be taken in the snare, whether man, woman, or child, was strangled upon the spot, the body cut in pieces, and thrown into the sea, to be bolted down by the rapacious fishes, to appease their supposed anger, or propitiate their favour in some iniquitous enterprise.

"At the village of Wytiti, about four miles to the east of Honoruru, there formerly lived a chief of singular ferocity; Giant Despair himself, in the Pilgrim's Progress, was not more brutal and reckless. When he had a fancy to offer a human sacrifice, he would set out in his canoe, with a single servant, in the dead of night, and come down the bay till he got along shore, close by the town. The two harpies would then raise a lamentable cry, as though they were perishing in the water; when the first person who happened to be alarmed, and from the instinct of humanity flew to their relief, was pounced upon, his back broken, and his corpse carried off to be presented at the marae.

"In the year 1804, when the late king, Tamehamea, was on his way from Hawaii to invade Tanai, he halted with an army of eight thousand men at Oahu. The yellow fever broke out among the troops, and, in the course of a few days, swept away more than two-thirds of them. During the plague, the king repaired to the great marae at Wytiti, to conciliate the god, whom he supposed to be angry. The priests recommended a ten days' tabu, the sacrifice of three human victims, four hundred hogs, as many cocoa-nuts, and an equal number of branches of plantains. Three men, who had been guilty of the enormous turpitude of eating cocoa-nuts with the old queen, were accordingly seized and led to the marae. But there being yet three days before the offerings could be duly presented, the eyes of the victims were scooped out, the bones of their arms and legs were broken, and they were then deposited in a house to await the *coup-de-grace* on the day of sacrifice. While these maimed and miserable creatures were in the height of their suffering, some persons, moved by curiosity, visited them in prison, and found them neither raving nor desponding, but sullenly singing the national *kuru*—dull as the drone of a bagpipe, and hardly more variable—as though they were insensible to the past, and indifferent to the future. When the slaughtering time arrived, one of them was placed under the legs of the idol, and the other two were laid, with the hogs and fruit, upon the altar-frame. They were then beaten with clubs upon the shoulders till they died of the blows. This was told us by an eye-witness of the murderous spectacle."

Now, whatever opinion men may entertain of missionary labours, it will scarcely be denied, that, when directed to the extirpation of enormities like these, they are in accordance with the spirit of Christianity; and when we are assured, on unimpeachable authority, that success has been obtained, it would be not only uncharitable but criminal to condemn them. Worship under a Christian form has superseded idolatry; the idols are broken or burnt, and the foundation of enlightened civilization has been laid, as the following passages testify:—

"This day was celebrated as a public festival by the inhabitants of the settlement. The entertainment was prepared on the large *papa*, or stone pier in

the sea, commencing at the length of a plank from the beach. On the last occasion of the kind, about six months ago, the company squatted on their hams according to the ancient practice, except the members of one family, who had provided a sofa, a table, and knives and forks for themselves, to the admiration if not the envy of all the rest. To prompt the people to industry, and by industry to increase their domestic comforts, the missionaries at that time had strenuously recommended, that all who meant to join in partaking the good fare at the next opportunity, should, if possible, supply themselves with the like accommodations. And so cordially was the advice received, and so diligently acted upon, that, though a thousand persons dined together on this occasion, all were seated on sofas, chairs, or stools, with convenient tables before them, on which their provisions were decently set out, and around which they enjoyed their social meal, in such a manner as had never been witnessed before in their own or their fathers' times.

"Before day-break the people began to make the necessary arrangements. The rough coral pavement of the *patu* was overlaid with fresh grass, and an awning of native cloth was expanded over the whole space to be occupied, so as effectually to protect them from the fierce rays of the sun. Before noon all things were ready, and the guests had taken their places; where each family found their own food, principally vegetable, and cooked in various ways. A few brought baked hogs and fish. The tables were covered with *purau*-matting and native cloth. The utensils upon them, as may be imagined, were very miscellaneous. Those who had plates, knives, forks, spoons, crockery, or metal wares of any kind which could be used in eating or drinking, exhibited all their *papa*, (foreign property,) and handled the strange things with more dexterity, but not with more good humour, than might have been expected, where each was determined to do his best, and to be pleased with what his neighbours did.

"After dinner, various chiefs and others addressed the company in brief and spirited appeals to their memory of the abominations of past times, and to their gratitude for the glorious and blessed changes which the gospel of Christ had wrought among them. They compared their present manner of feasting, their improved dress, their purer enjoyments, their more courteous behaviour, the cleanliness of their persons, and the delicacy of their language in conversation, with their former gluttony, nakedness, riot, brutality, filthy customs and obscene talk. One of the speakers observed—'At such a feast as this, a few years ago, none but kings or great chiefs, or strong men, could have got any thing to eat; the poor, and the feeble, and the lame, would have been trampled under foot, and many of them killed in the quarrels and battles that followed the gorman-dizing and drunkenness.' 'This,' said another, 'is the reign of Jehovah; that was the reign of Satan. Our kings might kill us for their pleasure, and offer our carcasses to the Evil Spirit; our priests and our rulers delighted in shedding our blood. Now, behold, our persons are safe, our property is our own, and we have no need to fly to the mountains to hide ourselves, as we used to do when a sacrifice was wanted for Oro, and durst not come back to our homes till we heard that a victim had been slain and carried to the *marae*.' "

So great is the change effected amongst these people, that a converted priest of Oro was afraid to exhibit himself, even in sport, in his former capacity; a proof, we think, of the sincerity of his heart. The account of him is worth transcribing.

"*Tare no Oro*, or Oro's house, was a small structure, only about eight feet long by six in width. About three yards beyond, and upon the ground, lay a flat stone, twelve or fourteen inches square, on which the priest of Oro formerly was accustomed to stand, when he offered his prayers and practised his enchantments. Close to this, rising behind it, was another stone, sufficiently broad and elevated to form a seat for him when weary, or when the duty of his office required him to assume the posture of repose. Without due consideration, we requested the old priest to take his stand, and show us in what manner he prayed to Oro, and delivered oracles to the people. With undissimulated reluc-

tance he consented, and stepped upon the accursed spot, from which he had so often, in times past, acted the part both of the deceiver and the deceived. But when he was about to repeat one of the prayers to Oro—as though he had come within the grasp of the power of darkness, and felt himself in the act of apostacy—fear came upon him and trembling, that made all his bones to shake; and down from his station he leaped with precipitancy, crying out, ‘I dare not do it—I dare not do it.’ He was so troubled that he left the scene as hastily as he could, declaring that if he did such a thing he should die immediately. We were much affected, and regretted having inadvertently brought him into such terror and peril, while we could not but admire his conscientiousness.”

The reader is now furnished with materials to form a judgment respecting the utility of missionary efforts to reclaim the heathen; yet, before we quit the subject, we may properly advert to an objection likely to be raised by many, respecting the motives of those men who have devoted themselves to the task. Many of them, it will perhaps be urged, are actuated by ambition, or by a quixotic desire of emulating the apostles, and some by the prospect of obtaining easy independence at the expense of subscribing dupes. Now, when good results from extraordinary exertions, it is rather uncharitable to impute bad motives, in cases where these are not obvious. Men who leave behind them the pleasures and advantages of civilized Christian society, for a voluntary exile amongst savage idolaters; who, for a series of years, submit to privations and inconveniences which few of their opponents would encounter for the benefit of strangers; and who long endure neglect and scorn; men who thus act, not for the gratification of impure desires, nor for the relaxation of the bonds of morality, may reasonably be supposed to be under the influence of Christian love. If, however, some have departed from their profession and disgraced both themselves and the cause—and this, unhappily, has sometimes been the case*—the blame should fall on those individuals, and not on the whole body of missionaries; though, perhaps, the societies which deputed them, are not exempt from the charge of indiscretion, in the selection of their agents.

In one respect, both the missionaries and their friends appear to err; we allude to their practice of lauding the conduct of the heathen converts. That many of these have experienced a salutary change of heart, and have been desirous of living conformably to the gospel, seems apparent; but that they should be represented as superior to others in Christian countries, is not so obvious. King Pomare, though professedly a Christian, was an habitual drunkard; so that it is difficult to conceive that he was not either a hypocrite, or a fanatic. To the remark of a missionary to him on his deathbed, that no one but Christ could succour him, he responded—“None but Christ!” Was this a heartfelt avowal? or was it only cant or mere echo? Whether one or the

* See the Narrative of an Eight Years’ Residence in Tongataboo.—*Lond. 8vo.*

other, as he had lived to the last in the practice of a degrading vice, laudatory epithets respecting him might well have been spared; yet the following is the language of the deputation:—

“Mr. Nott, among other curiosities, showed us a manuscript copy of the translated Gospel of St. Luke, executed by King Pomare in a very neat, small hand. It was from this copy that the first edition of that Evangelist was printed. Mr. Nott stated that he had been greatly aided by Pomare in making that version, the king being better acquainted with the Tahitian language than most of his subjects. This is probably an unparalleled instance of a prince—and that no mean one, for he had the power of life and death, and his will was law in all cases throughout his dominions—devoting time and talents to the slow and painful labour of translating the sacred scriptures, and copying out the work for the press with his own hand, that he might be the means of bestowing upon his people the greatest earthly boon which God has bestowed upon man.”

In order to enhance Pomare's merit, the translating of the gospel is represented not simply as a slow but as a painful process, though why it should be so styled, does not appear. It is, however, clear, that the translation was not effected by him at all! How, indeed, could a person, who knew only a few words and phrases of a foreign language, translate a book from that language into his own? That Pomare assisted the missionary who translated, by freeing his style from Anglicisms, is probable; but surely this could not justly entitle him to the panegyric of our authors. Mr. Nott made the version, and Pomare assisted him in putting it into the vernacular idiom; and for so doing, he is represented as surpassing all other sovereigns! Did it never occur to them, that amongst the occupiers of thrones, have been some of the most active patriots that ever lived? Who can regard the labours of Peter the Great, for the elevation of his country from barbarism, without the highest admiration? He travelled into foreign countries to learn different systems of polity; he worked at various mechanical arts, particularly that of ship-carpentry; he studied the mathematics, navigation, anatomy, and medicine; he acquired several languages, and translated various works into Russian from the French; and all this he accomplished after he was twenty-five years old! He did not, however, confine his knowledge to himself, but in the midst of obstacles which would have deterred ordinary men from proceeding, he employed it for the benefit of his country, introducing the arts, establishing commerce, improving agriculture, and exciting a taste for literature. Russia, which, before his time, was almost unknown to the rest of Europe, has risen to be a power of first rate importance, mainly by the impulse given by this extraordinary man. Scarcely, if at all inferior to him, was another monarch justly styled the Great—Alfred of England, whose early education had also been neglected; yet, though he fought about fifty battles, reformed the administration of justice, and restored his kingdom from anarchy to submission to lawful authority, after having expelled his country's foes, he found time to learn Latin, and to

translate Bede, Orosius, and Boethius into Anglo-Saxon. The last named author was also translated by Queen Elizabeth. We think, accordingly, that Pomare's merit is exceedingly limited when compared with that of others in his station. If the Society Islands owe to him the Gospel of Luke, Spain is indebted to Alphonso X. for her first translation of the scriptures at large, while science gratefully acknowledges that the celebrated astronomical tables published under his name, were useful for ages.

That part of the work relative to the missionaries and their labours may now be dismissed; but some miscellaneous information scattered through the volumes deserves attention. Of New-Zealand we learn no particulars illustrative of the character of the natives, beyond what we have already learnt from the volumes of Nicolas, Savage, and Cruse; indeed, the Deputation made too short a stay to gain much knowledge respecting them. To a remark of theirs, that the natives imagined a man afflicted with pleurisy to be possessed by some evil spirit, we may add, that according to Nicolas, this is a prevalent superstition respecting any incurable malady. In the case which they witnessed, the missionaries had applied a blister, and as the man's sufferings were considerable, inwardly from the complaint, and outwardly from the blister, he fancied that the Christian spirit, as he termed the blister, held a contest with the native spirit, each striving for mastery! As a cure was effected, he said that the Christian spirit succeeded at length in tearing the other out of his breast!

Arrived at Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, they were delighted with its appearance, not having seen a town inhabited by civilized people for upwards of three years; but though civilized, as far as a knowledge of the arts constitutes civilization, they are far from being what civilized people should be. "Among the South Sea Islanders," say our authors, "we had no fear for our persons or our property, by day or by night. Here we are surrounded with thieves, and violent men of the worst character, and must look well to ourselves and our locks for security." All this is not to be wondered at, considering the class which form the population of the nascent colony; but a better state of things will doubtless ensue, when the number of those born there, exceeds that of the English convicts in such a proportion as to render the latter comparatively uninfluential. Convicts were formerly sent to some of the colonies now forming part of the United States; yet no one pretends to say, that their moral condition now is below that of the other states, at least, from such a cause. The only novel information we notice, connected with New South Wales, is the mode adopted by the savages of punishing a murderer; for though Collins has given copious particulars respecting them, this appears to have been unknown to him. The

criminal, armed only with a wooden shield and a staff, is placed naked in the centre of a circle formed by spectators. Two relatives of the murdered man then throw each a spear at him; if he wards them off, two others are discharged, and if then successful, he must encounter others to the number of one hundred and fifty in all; when, if uninjured, he is dismissed from further punishment. A man who was *speared* while the Deputation were there, came off triumphant. The Australians, by their account, are inferior in mental capacity to the New-Zealanders; a conclusion correspondent to that drawn by Crawford in his History of the Indian Archipelago, in which work, the two races from which they respectively sprung, are philosophically described. Nicolas appears to be of the same opinion; so that, perhaps, Gibbon's splendid compliment to his brother historian may be realized, and some future New-Zealander may arise, the Hume of the southern hemisphere.

During the stay of the Deputation in Batavia, they had opportunities of observing the ways and manners of the Chinese residents, who appear to be numerous.

"These foreigners," they say, "live generally in small low houses, to each of which is attached a shop, with all manner of wares, drugs, fruits, &c., exposed for sale both within and without. In every shop, opposite to the front door, is an idol, painted on paper—a fat, squat, old man, a fiery flying dragon, a monstrous fish, or some horrible figure, before which is placed a petty altar—a little pot, containing fragrant gums, or sticks of sandal wood, which are kept continually burning. The ashes are carefully preserved, and accumulate in the vessel, till one or another of the family is going on a journey or a voyage, when a handful is taken out of the precious deposite, and thrown upon the road, or the water, to make the way safe, and the adventure prosperous. Mr. Medhurst conversed from door to door with many of these people, in their own language. They were exceedingly courteous, and offered us tea and tobacco from time to time. The tea is prepared in porcelain pots, holding about a pint each, and dealt out in very small cups, without any addition of sugar or cream.

"These people are very superstitious respecting the sites in which they deposite the relics of their friends, imagining that the future prosperity of their families depends upon the lucky choice of them. To secure such an advantage they will often consult such crafty knaves as, under one name or another, are found in all countries, who cast nativities, tell fortunes, recover lost goods, and do every thing that nobody else can do. The following marvellous story was told to Mr. Medhurst as a fact, by a Chinese who solemnly believed it. A young man, at his death, having left a father and several brothers behind, whose success in after life was to be determined by the hazard of his interment in good ground, one of these wise men was applied to for advice. He, being properly feed, pointed out a spot, which he charged them to keep closed upon the dead youth for seven years, at the expiration of which, if they opened it, they would find in it a full formed dragon, the emblem of the highest honours and riches that they could desire, either for themselves or their posterity. Five or six years afterwards, the father fell dangerously ill, and, as no means employed to relieve him were of any avail, the family concluded that there must be something unlucky in the place of his son's burial. They therefore asked his permission to open it. 'No, no,' cried the old man, 'rather let me die than break the charm and destroy the future hopes of my children.' But, agonized with disease, and harassed by their importunity, he, at length, yielded to their wishes. The vault was opened—when lo! to their utter consternation, they found the dragon so

nearly perfected, that he only wanted one leg and half his tail! In an instant the fortunes of all were ruined; for the spell not being completed, left nothing but dust and disappointment when it was violated."

In one house which they entered, they were surprised to see a man offering divine honours to a portrait of Napoleon, and on asking him what induced him to worship an article of European manufacture, he replied—"O we worship any thing." That polytheists have no objection to increase indefinitely the number of their deities, and that the most ignorant idolaters can offer their adorations to any consecrated object, are well known facts; but that any thing will serve a Chinese for a divinity, is, we believe, not equally well known. This degradation of intellect in a semi-civilized people appears almost inexplicable.

During the stay of our authors in Java, they made a journey to Solo, the sovereign of which is styled emperor—a mock-title so long as the Dutch remain masters of the island. He supports, however, much state, as the following account of him shows:—

"We had an opportunity of seeing the emperor on his way to the mosque. He rode in a magnificent carriage, preceded and followed by a large retinue of servants and soldiers, with flags flying and instruments of music sounding. A younger brother alighted first from the carriage, bearing a golden spitting-dish before him. His majesty, who is a graceful youth, about eighteen years of age, was dressed in loose, black robes, flowing down to his feet, which were without stockings and sandalled. He walked with much dignity, bearing a sword, with a golden scabbard, in his right hand. We were not permitted to enter the mosque while the royal worshippers were there, though we had seen the interior before. The place for service is a hundred and twenty feet square, besides a spacious veranda all round it; and beyond this, there is a broad moat in which devotees wash their feet before they tread the holy place. We observed nothing particular within, except an immense drum suspended, for what purpose we did not learn.

"In the evening we were sumptuously entertained by the resident governor, and General De Kock. A large party of civil and military gentlemen and their ladies were present, all of whom appeared interested in the missionary intelligence which we gave them. Having expressed a desire to be introduced to the emperor, his excellency procured us that honour.

"Alighting at the first court belonging to the royal residence, we walked through that and two beyond, which were thronged with thousands of spectators—all kept in perfect order by native soldiers on duty. In the fourth and centre court, where the palace stands, the military presented arms, and let fall their colours, in honour of the governor and the general, under whose convoy we were admitted. The people were all sitting cross-legged, having their persons, in general, uncovered as low as the chest. We found the emperor in this fourth quadrangle, enthroned on a state platform, which was raised four steps from the ground, and supported by pillars, low and open on all sides. As we approached the presence, his majesty rose up, and advanced to the margin of the platform, where he took the hands of General De Kock and the governor, and bowed graciously to the rest of us, who were in their train. General De Kock, as deputy-governor of the whole Dutch possessions in Java, was placed in a chair of state, on the emperor's right hand, and the resident local governor in an ordinary one on his left. Three rows of chairs were ranged on each side, in front of these, to accommodate the Dutch officers and ourselves, on the right, and the native courtiers and nobility on the left. The emperor wore a black vest, close at the neck, and reaching to the waist; below which a Javanese cloth, dark brown, spotted with white, descended to the mid-leg; his stockings were light-coloured, and

his shoes black, with gold buckles. He had on his head a conic-shaped hat, without brim, of a chocolate colour, and encircled with bands. The only extraneous ornaments about the royal person, were three brilliant stars of jewel-work upon his breast. The throne was nearly four feet square, covered with yellow silk, and splendidly fringed and flowered with gold; the legs also appeared burnished gold; and the height convenient for sitting upright, which his majesty did with great dignity, though there were neither elbows nor back to rest upon. A sword in a gold scabbard lay at his side, and a superb criss hung in a belt behind him. When all had taken their stations, the sovereign conversed affably with his distinguished visitors, the general and the governor, for some minutes. Tea, coffee, sweetmeats, and wine, were then successively handed round to the company. Whenever the emperor drank, he touched the glasses of the two gentleman on his right and left with his own, and then looked graciously round upon the rest of us, as though he were pledging his guests. On his left hand, at the distance of twenty paces, the folding-doors of the royal apartments being open, discovered great magnificence in the furnishing and embellishments.

"Out of these rooms presently issued a number of dancing-girls, who, crouching down, and working their way on their heels, in spite of the impediments of their long dresses and awkward attitude, seated themselves on a platform just on the outside of the folding-doors, and over against the emperor. Near them were placed a band of Javanese musicians, and a multitude of singers. On the emperor's right hand, another band, also Javanese, but with European instruments, appeared. The girls were not more than fifteen or sixteen years of age, sumptuously apparelled; those parts of the person which were exposed—as the face, neck, arms, and legs—were stained of a delicate yellow tint by means of a liquid prepared from sandal-wood and perfumes. When the musicians and singers began to play and chaunt, the girls rose slowly from the ground, making many graceful and significant motions with their arms, hands, and heads. These were at first very slow, never violent, and always simultaneous, as though the tunes or the burdens of the songs put one spirit into the whole—such a perfect consonance appeared in all their gestures and attitudes, while their countenances changed not for a moment their expression, or rather their passionless quietude of aspect. In most of their gesticulations the girls made use of a beautiful scarf, or zone, of which both ends hung down to their feet; sometimes unfolding these loose parts, by slightly raising the edges as with a touch; then throwing the one or the other over the shoulder or the arm, or passing them as veils before the face. The richly ornamented cloth, also, that girt the loins, had a long corner which fell to the ground, and lay in a train behind. This, in the course of the dance, they played with as fantastically as with the scarf above, spurning it with the heel or the toe, first to one side, then to the other. There did not seem to be any intentional indecorum in any of their movements; and certainly, for the gentlest and easiest exhibition of limbs and bodies, significantly following the sounds of instruments and voices, nothing could be less offensive. While we were looking on, attendants of the bands several times approached the emperor's officers, as if to receive orders. These servile creatures uniformly crawled, forward or backward, crouching on the ground, as though they were reptiles that feared to be spurned by the feet of their superiors while communicating with them. Both in advancing and retiring, they put the palms of their hands flat together, raising them till the thumbs came over the bridge of the nose. It was humbling to see human nature so degraded.

"After the lapse of half an hour, when we had concluded that this was all the entertainment to which we had been invited, the Emperor rose, and we were directed to follow. To our surprise we were conducted into another open court, like that which we had left, where a vast range of tables, in the form of a capital T, appeared, loaded with piles of all kinds of substantial meats, delicacies, and fruits, which the country afforded, set out in European style. The tables were so crowded with dishes that there was not room for another, and even the interstices were filled up with brilliant or aromatic flowers. The emperor took his seat in the centre of the arrangement, the general and the resident governor, as before, on his right and left; the rest of us, natives and foreigners, occupying the

remaining places. The breakfast (so it was called) was indeed sumptuous; and every thing was conducted with as much order as it might have been in the palace of a European prince. Multitudes of servants were in waiting. A band, detached from the other musicians, during the feast played on their various instruments exhilarating tunes, and among the rest, in compliment to us—the deputation from England—*God save the King*. All the while, the girls were dancing in the distance, the Japanese minstrels and singers accompanying them as before. The emperor honoured each of his guests with the opportunity of taking wine with him. Two or three toasts were also given, which were drunk by all the company.

“The emperor again rose up, and we returned after him to the dancing scene. The girls who had hitherto been engaged, now retired, and another company made their appearance, dressed like the former. When they were all seated, an old woman entered, and laid down at the feet of each, an instrument resembling a bow, with an arrow on the string, about two feet long, lacquered red and decorated with gold. The dancers soon afterwards rose and went through all the evolutions of the others, holding these bows in their hands, which added exceedingly to the beauty and picturesque effect of their groups and attitudes. The wheels and pinions of the most exquisite machinery could not more exactly have performed the prescribed motions,—nor, we may add, have betrayed less consciousness of what they were doing, so far as their looks might be regarded as the interpreters of feelings and thoughts within them. The airs, we were informed, and the songs, to which the dancers acted their parts, were national and mythological, referring to the wars and superstitions of the country. In due time we rose to depart, and, after wishing him a long and prosperous reign, were permitted to shake hands with his majesty. This token of friendship he bestowed with apparently hearty good will. The whole deportment of the emperor was that of unaffected dignity, ease, and condescension. In this respect no potentate of Christendom could have much excelled him. His nearest relatives, ministers of state, and the principal nobles of his court, were present. The whole time that we remained in the palace was something less than three hours. Our curiosity had been gratified, but our hearts were sad when we contrasted this vain and heartless magnificence with the simple dwellings, and meek and lowly manners, of the patriarchal kings of Eimeo, Huahine, and others in the islands of the west. O! that as the natural sun, in his course from Java to Tahiti, the day-spring from on high might thus visit the east from the regions of the Pacific.”

The pageantry of monarchs has been found serviceable in supporting their authority, people being more reconciled to submission to one placed at an immeasurable height above them, than to one on a level with themselves. Indeed, with the solitary exception of Dr. Francia, perhaps no monarch or dictator ever maintained his supremacy long, without the auxiliaries of pomp and splendour. In proportion, however, as nations become truly civilized and Christianized, these will, we believe, be disregarded and despised. Power emanating from the people, and not usurped over them by others, may be exercised with sufficient vigour, and retained during the period for which it was delegated, without the aid of dancing girls, bands of music, military parade, and crowds of nobility in robes and coronets. Justice, too, can be administered impartially and effectually without the aid of gowns and wigs; and though Mr. Wheaton, after viewing the English courts, expresses his conviction that such adventitious matters confer dignity and command respect, he has not shown that the absence of forensic habiliments in our courts, has, in the slightest

degree, been injurious to the public welfare. An officer of the government, in the discharge of his function, is entitled to respect but not to idolatry, the latter being always degrading to the bestower of it, and often hurtful to the receiver. When men learn never to forget self-respect, they will be cautious of conferring such distinction on others, as may tend to depreciate themselves. Accordingly, while we are amused by descriptions of ceremonies remote from our own habits, we need not shut our eyes to the evils they produce, but rather rejoice that an example of an opposite kind is exhibited in this country, and that it is likely, sooner or later, to produce imitators.

The following account of a grotto seems rather to partake of the extravagance of Sir John Mandeville, or of the fertile imagination of Southey as displayed in *Thalaba*, than of simple reality; yet the character of our authors forbids us from doubting its truth.

"While we were detained for want of post-horses, we walked out in the neighbourhood, and, among other objects of curiosity, lighted upon a Chinese grotto, constructed about twelve years ago by order of the Sultan of Choribon. This work, in various grotesque forms, extends over more than an acre and a half of ground, and is so fancifully diversified as to bewilder the senses and defy description. A person wandering among its mazes, where all is art of the most uncommon character, and utterly unlike any thing in nature, might imagine himself walking, in a dream, among such scenery and images as never were made visible to eyes of men awake. The approach indicates nothing extraordinary. The entrance is through an old door, with its jambs and cornice curiously carved. Thence, onward, is a passage two yards wide, between columns and statuary of the roughest style, yet evidently wrought by no mean hand. At the termination appears a brick gateway, on each side of which is placed a most outrageously misshapen lion of porcelain ware. From this portal we passed into a labyrinth of grottos—mounts, descents, subterranean ways, interior rooms, unexpectedly opening upon us; and all these decorated with Chinese temples, pagodas, figures of birds, beasts, fishes, and monsters, which no naturalist could classify, absolutely crowding the contracted view on every side. Several pools of water, here and there, like inlaid mirrors, reflecting the span-breadth of sky above, and the little circuit of rocks and images around, add much to the enchantment of the whole. Besides these, streams, cascades, and fountains, are carried through every part. In one of the recesses we were shown the sultan's bedstead, superbly carved and gilded. This was so placed, that, by a singularly ingenious contrivance, a current of water was conducted all round the tester, which, at pleasure, might be made to fall, in transparent curtains of rain, completely encircling the royal couch, for the double purpose of keeping off the mosquitoes, and tempering the warm air to the delicious coolness which, in this sultry climate, is the consummation of bliss to reposing listlessness. The *Castle of Indolence* itself, voluptuously as it has been furnished by the creative imagination of the first in rank of our descriptive poets; Thomson, was here fairly outdone;—the conception of sleeping in state, surrounded, as in a tent, by the drapery of lulling, tinkling, glittering showers, of which the moisture was carried away in grooved channels, about the basement of the bedstead,—could never have entered into the mind of a minstrel born beyond the Tweed. Besides this chamber, there were other handsome apartments for the accommodation of his highness and his harem, when they repair hither to anticipate the luxuries of Mahomet's paradise. But, if this were a paradise, there was purgatory, if not a place bearing a harder name, connected with it. Several horrid dungeons and deep pits were pointed out to us; and we passed near one fearful abyss, close by a narrow path, like that which

Bunyan describes, along the verge of Apollyon's den, in the valley of the shadow of death. Cruelty and sensuality are such blood relations, that, in eastern countries at least, they are rarely dissociated; the pleasures of palaces are heightened by the miseries suffered in prisons under their roofs, and the eyes of sultans and their concubines feasted with the spectacles of executions and tiger-fights in their court-yards. A shocking proof of this may be produced, in the current story, that the Chinese artist who contrived and executed this *Paradise of dainty devices*, this *limbo of vanity*, when the work was finished, had both his eyes put out, by order of the sultan, his employer, that he might not make another like it for either sovereign or subject."

Often have we seen it asserted, and sometimes denied, that the upas is a native of Java; the testimony of our authors is, accordingly, valuable. They say that they saw one growing in a garden, and plucked some of its leaves; that it produces no blasting effects; but that, as they were informed, a poison is extracted from the root-bark. From a memoir, however, published by the Geographical Society of London, it appears that there is a pestiferous valley in the island, fatal to both animal and vegetable life; hence may have originated the fabulous accounts of the poisonous nature of the upas.

From Java Messieurs Bennet and Tyerman took ship to China, and give much the same account of Canton as other travellers. The following, however, is a more minute notice of a Chinese dinner than we recollect to have seen elsewhere.

"In company with several gentlemen of the factory, we dined with Hoqua, an eminent Hong merchant. He lives in Chinese magnificence, and the entertainment was of the most sumptuous kind. The whole house and premises were brilliantly illuminated with lamps. The decorations of the rooms, and the style of the furniture, were splendid and curious, but absolutely undescribable, otherwise than in the general terms—that every thing was according to the perfection of Chinese taste. The dinner, which lasted nearly four hours, consisted of between thirty and forty courses, including all the luxuries of the clime and the season, served upon China table-ware of the richest patterns. To attempt a description here would be hopeless, for every thing was so thoroughly national, that to be understood would require more knowledge of the manners of this singular people than many of our countrymen possess, and certainly much more than we could have learned without seeing, hearing, and tasting for ourselves. Before each guest was placed a pair of chop-sticks and a silver spoon, with a plate resembling a saucer, and a small cup to serve for a wine-glass. The first course consisted of various sweetmeats, to which every one helped himself from the dishes which were placed down the middle of the table. Presently the wine—prepared from rice, and not unpleasant to the taste—was poured warm, from a silver vessel like a teapot, into the small cups before us. In pledging healths this cup is held between both hands; the parties then, exchanging courteous looks and bows, drink it off, and each turns the inside of the cup towards the other, to show that the whole has been fairly drunk, it being deemed a great incivility to leave any liquor at the bottom. More substantial provisions, in basins and tureens, were next set upon the table, every one choosing for himself from the nameless and bewildering diversity of soups and made dishes, composed of fish, beef, mutton, fowls, ducks, geese, quails, pigeons, pigeons' eggs, turtle, &c. &c., all in a stewed form, for the most part very palatable, and not pungently seasoned. A salt-cellar and a saucer of soy before each person, enabled him to heighten the flavour of the food to his own taste. Towards the conclusion, besides a second course of sweetmeats, basins of boiled rice, quite dry, were set before all the company with cups of tea; the tea, as usual, being prepared in each

cup, with hot water poured upon the leaves, and without either cream or sugar. The cloth was then removed, and the table covered with a profusion of the most delicious fruits. These were accompanied by Madeira wine, which was drunk, like every other beverage here, out of cups of the most delicate and exquisitely beautiful porcelain.

“The greatest rarity, however, after this feast, was the sight of a Chinese bride. The son of our host having been married a few days before, we were honoured—according to the usage of the country, during the honey-moon—with permission to look at his wife, as she stood at the door of her apartment, while we were passing out. The lady was surrounded by several old women, who held tapers and lamps above and about her, that we might have a more complete view of her figure and attire. She was a young person—perhaps seventeen years of age,—of middle stature, with very agreeable features and a light complexion, though she seemed to us to have used paint. She wore a scarlet robe, superbly trimmed with gold, which completely covered her from the shoulders to the ground. The sleeves were very full, and along the bottom ran a beautiful fringe of small bells. Her head-dress sparkled with jewels, and was most elegantly beaded with rows of pearls, encircling it like a coronet; from the front of which a brilliant angular ornament hung over her forehead and between her eyebrows. She stood in a modest and graceful attitude, having her eyes fixed on the floor, though she occasionally raised them, with a glance of timid curiosity, towards the spectators. Her hands, joined together, but folded in her robe, she lifted several times towards her face, and then lowered them very slowly. Her attendants, presuming that the guests would be gratified with that consummation of Chinese beauty, the lady’s feet, raised the hem of the mantle from hers for a moment or two. They were of the most diminutive kind, and reduced to a mere point at the toe. Her shoes, like the rest of her bridal apparel, were scarlet, embroidered with gold. In justice to the poor creature, during this torturing exhibition, as we imagine it must have been to her, her demeanour was natural and becoming; and once or twice, something like half a smile for an instant, showed that she was not entirely unconscious of the admiration which her appearance excited, nor much displeased by it.”

Arriving at Calcutta, our travellers were much struck with the extraordinary appearance of the city; but their accounts of it, and of the other places in Hindostan which they visited, appear to possess little novelty. Fakirs and yogees, brahmins and sudras, present themselves to notice as in the works of other writers; one piece of information was, however, new to us—that amongst the objects of Hindoo adoration at Benares is a living baboon! They themselves saw his godship. In another temple, in the same city, they were shown what was said to be an immortal tree. They found it to be a stump with a few live shoots; but they could not conceive the possibility of its having vegetated in such a situation. As, however, they chanced to see an old stump in another part of the building, they easily comprehended how the deception was maintained, by the substitution of a living stump, from time to time, for the decayed one. Such is the supposed sanctity of Benares, that the number of pilgrims who resort to it is so great, that about four hundred barbers obtain a livelihood by shaving the heads of these people prior to their bathing in the Jumna and the Ganges; and as the British government imposes a small sum on each, their superstition produces a revenue. This mode of taxation appears to us objectionable, and strangely

inconsistent on the part of a government which has relinquished the gain derivable from lotteries, on the ground of their immoral tendency. At one of the temples of Doorga, they witnessed the gambols of a species of animals, which, from having seen them only under confinement, we, in this country, are apt to regard with contempt if not disgust, whereas they, in common with all the other parts of creation, are worthy of admiration.

“The precincts of this temple are more lively than such places usually are, on account of the number and activity of the monkeys which frequent them, and which are said to have first flocked hither when the temple was opened—a circumstance which the superstitious builders would naturally interpret into a happy omen. There are several large and ancient trees at hand, some of which with their foliage overshadow the walls. On the branches of these, on the roof of the edifice, and on the top of the surrounding piazzas, multitudes of these impertinent animals, tame, quite at home, and conscious of their perfect impunity, are to be seen playing their tricks, up and down, here, there, and every where. Some of the elder and graver ones were lounging on the companion-places, watching the gambols of their fraternity above, but, with more interest,—from selfish but laudable motives,—the less exhilarating mummeries of those who, to them, might appear kinsfolks below—the priests and the votaries of Doorga; for many of the latter, after presenting flowers and leaves to the goddess, threw offerings more savoury and not less acceptable—sweetmeats—to the monkeys in their train. The habits of the females in nursing their cubs were very amusing, and as these chartered denizens of the sacred domain are fearlessly familiar, we might approach near enough distinctly to observe their actions. Some of them had young ones not more than a few days old; others were training up their progeny, through all the stages of adolescence, up to monkey’s estate. The dams were exceedingly vigilant and affectionate in performing their duties, and kept their little ones generally within reach of their hand, and always of their eye. While swinging about on the boughs of the trees, or scampering along the walls, if a giddy thing attempted to get too far from her, the dam darted forth her paw, caught it by the tail, or, if the tail slipped through her fingers, laid hold of a leg, and gently pulled the truant back. On any alarm or disturbance, she huddled it instantaneously to her breast, the little one seized the teat in its mouth, clasped its arms and legs round her body, and remained closely attached, while she ran up the trunk of a tree, or sought security on the extremity of a branch. Frequently the cubs mounted on their mother’s shoulders, jumped back again, frisked or lay down, at a growl, a beck, or a grin; for she seemed to rule by a set of nursery signals well understood.”

At the Convent of St. Dominic at Goa, the vicar-general hospitably entertained our travellers. He informed them, that Dr. Buchanan’s account of the Inquisition in that city was substantially correct, and designated it as “an infernal thing.” The building itself they afterwards visited, and found in ruins. The vicar-general asked them whether the edition of the Portuguese scriptures, issued by the Bible Society in London, was translated by the person whose name it bore, and being answered in the affirmative, one of the company remarked—“Purgatory itself could not speak against that translation.” They also spoke highly of the translator. It is a remarkable and melancholy fact, that not a single printing-office is established in the Portuguese territory in India;—such is the assertion of the deputation. We know indeed that the literary state of Portugal is low, but we had no

conception that her Indian territory was so destitute as this account implies.

"The inhabitants of Goa," they say, "are a motley multitude, consisting of Portuguese, Hindoos, Mahometans, and African slaves brought from the coast of Mozambique; with half-castes of every description that can be formed out of these, and varying in complexion through every shade between European white and Negro black. Their clothing is as piebald as their breed and their colour; some going nearly naked, others half-clad, and many full-dressed in Portuguese or English costume. The Roman Catholics in India have seven bishops, and their numbers in each diocese have been computed by the Abbé Dubois as follows:—

Under the Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Goa,	-	-	-	500,000
Under the Archbishop of Crangamore,	-	-	-	200,000
Under the Bishop of Cochin,	-	-	-	30,000
Under the Bishop of St. Thomé,	-	-	-	60,000
Under the Bishop of Bombay,	-	-	-	10,000
Under the Bishop of Pondicherry,	-	-	-	36,000
Under the Bishop of Virapoli,	-	-	-	80,000
				<hr/>
				916,000

Like most other Oriental travellers, Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet relate various anecdotes of elephants, the tendency of which is to manifest, as we believe, that those quadrupeds are actuated not simply by instinct, but by reason. Perhaps, however, it will be safest, with our present knowledge, to designate them in Pope's words as "half reasoning." That an elephant will not submit to an injury, nor even to an affront, without taking revenge on the perpetrator, is well known; but naturalists seem not to have sufficiently considered that in making a return, he proportions the punishment to the offence;—a degree of wisdom unequalled, perhaps, by any human legislature. A tame elephant, which had the range of the premises where he was kept, went one day into a room in which a large company were seated at dinner, and walking round the table, received a biscuit from one, an apple from another, and so on, till a young man thought fit to prick his trunk with a toothpick. This the animal resented, and, leaving the room, went to an ants' nest near by, drew up numbers of them into his proboscis, and returning, blew them into the young man's face! Another elephant, which was shot at by a military officer, levelled the assailant with a blow, and then threw his body a considerable height in the air.

The deputation proceeded from India to Mauritius, of which island we are furnished with some lively sketches. The state of morals at St. Louis appeared to be deplorably low, though, as they were given to understand, more outward decorum has been manifested since the island came into possession of the English, than was the case before. The slaves, as is too generally obvious in all slave countries, are ignorant and corrupt, though they heard of instances amongst them, which, in a different population,

would be ascribed to magnanimity. Take the following instance as a specimen.

“M. Perille, a French planter, is distinguished for his humanity towards his slaves; and it was mentioned, as a special proof of this, that he does not require them to work on Sundays. A short time ago, however, when the holes had been made for the young plants in a large plot of ground, and there had been a long drought, a shower happening to fall on the Sabbath, M. Perille was unable to resist the temptation to avail himself of the opportunity of setting the canes, and directed his slaves to perform the work as one of necessity, promising them a special remuneration at night. It was done; but in the evening when he called them to receive their wages, to a man they refused to accept of any thing, saying,—‘We are your servants, and bound to do what you bid us at any time;—besides, you use us so well that we cannot take any pay for this day’s work.’”

This M. Perille was attentive to the communication of religious instruction to his slaves; and our travellers were gratified by witnessing their celebration of worship. Two of them repeated the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer, the rest following them, and then they sang several hymns. Each, as the service ended, crossed himself. We should be glad to learn that such an example as this, had wrought its due influence amongst those of our southern brethren, who have imposed legal restraints on the religious instruction of their negroes. Perhaps few things tend more to the disparagement of our country by Europeans, than the knowledge that such a fact exists. To withhold knowledge, especially the best of knowledge—that of religion, under the plea of its leading to insubordination, is like putting out the eyes lest the hands should refuse to work.

The account of Madagascar in the Journal can scarcely fail to interest those who have read the adventures of Drury and Benyouski, especially as it is satisfactory to observe, that the natives have made some advances in civilization. The island is not now, as formerly, divided between a multitude of petty chiefs, the supreme authority being now principally in the hands of one; a circumstance favourable to improvement, as a people, by being united, are likely to avoid many evils incident to the juxtaposition of numerous small communities without a common head. Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet reached Tananarivo, the capital, at an interesting juncture—the king dying within a few days of their arrival. Mr. Tyerman also was taken suddenly ill, and died three days after the king, an event of more interest to his surviving companion than that of the royal exit. His remains were interred in presence of the missionaries and other European residents, as well as of a considerable concourse of the natives, the obsequies being partly in English, and partly in Malagasy, as the native language is termed. The royal funeral did not take place till about a fortnight later, and was preceded by a *kabarre*, or national assembly, in which proclamation was made, that King

Radama, having died without issue, the Queen, Ranavalona Marjaka, was his successor, agreeably to his nuncupative decision. The oath of allegiance was then administered by the chief judge, the ceremony of which consisted in taking hold of a spear fixed in the carcass of a calf, and imprecating death like that of the animal, for a violation of the promise then made. In the interval of the *kabarre* and the funeral, the city wore a melancholy aspect, the people generally lamenting Radama, as the best sovereign Madagascar had known, while females, with naked heads and shoulders,—such being their mode of testifying sorrow,—were staying at the sepulchre. The missionaries being invited to take part in the solemnities, went to the Silver Palace, so named from its being ornamented from the roof to the ground with silver plates. The roof, on this occasion, was covered with scarlet broad-cloth, and in front was a temporary pavilion, the pillars of which were ornamented with coloured silks, satins, &c. Over all was a canopy of gold brocade, with stripes of blue satin and scarlet cloth, bordered with gold lace and fringe. The coffin was made of silver plates, prepared from twelve thousand dollars, and ten thousand more were put into it for the corpse to rest on! The treasures buried with the king consisted of eighty British uniforms with hats and feathers, and a golden helmet; daggers, swords, spears, and guns; watches, rings, brooches and other trinkets; a rich service of plate including a golden cup presented to him by the King of England; with silks, satins, and cloths of the most expensive fabric. A pyramidal monument, twenty feet high, was erected over the sepulchre, the whole being faced with granite, the interior cavity for the corpse being a cube of about ten feet. The total expense of the funeral was estimated by the missionaries at sixty thousand pounds sterling! So extravagant are the charges belonging to royalty! It is, however, obvious, that a people who could spare such a sum in pageantry, are not to be regarded as mere savages; and should they become converts to Christianity, may hereafter, from their geographical position, have considerable influence in Oriental politics.

Mr. Bennet, shortly after the funeral, embarked for England. He landed at St. Helena, paid a visit to the tomb of a mightier monarch, and reached his native land after an absence of eight years. On this occasion, to him so memorable, he indulges in pleasing expressions of patriotism, so true is the line of Goldsmith, speaking of man generally,

“ His first, best country ever is at home.”

The volumes contain much matter to which we have been unable, within our limits, even to advert, and which are deserving the attention of those who make national character and peculi-

arities their study. Considered as a connected narrative, they are, however, rather tedious, owing to the prolixity with which the missionary operations are detailed. Of scientific information there is very little, but he who searches for particulars respecting manners, morals, and religion, will not be disappointed.

ART. II.—*An Essay upon National Character; being an inquiry into some of the principal causes which contribute to form and modify the Characters of Nations in the State of Civilization.* By the late RICHARD CHENEVIX, Esq. F. R. S. L.; and E. M. R. I. A. &c. 2 vols. London: 1832.

THIS work is an instance of the philosophic spirit and tendencies of the age, and this is the first time that it has been attempted to concentrate the ideas which float around society, upon a subject so diffusive and abstract. It is the first time, too, that such a treatise considers the real state of nations now existing, rather than that of antiquity and barbarism.

National character must always be a subject of speculation rather than of practice, since it is mainly founded upon causes beyond the control of man. The great objects of human desire are every where the same, and the only perceptible difference is in the mode of gratification. It is, nevertheless, certain, that there is a real and profound diversity between nations existing at this day, on the same apparent level of civilization. We uniformly consider as prominent, in one country, certain qualities which we utterly deny to another; and different men have different ideas as to the comparative excellence of each. In every circle of society, and even in almost every family, we perceive the predominance of certain tastes, feelings, and prejudices. As in the whole range of creation, whether animate or inanimate, we find no two objects exactly alike, however closely allied, or however certainly proceeding from the same common stock, it would be equally unphilosophical and impracticable to deny a like diversity in the developments of the human race—which admits in itself of greater variation—in which utter sameness would counteract the great ends of creation, as to the improvement for which we are fitted; and render unavailing the great and visible aptitudes, which all nature presents for peculiar and limited dispositions. And this evident difference of development is strictly compatible with such general and original uniformity, as might lead man to discover the specific uses and qualities of each portion of creation; for in his progress to perfection—such

at least as is prepared for him in this world—it is clear that entire sameness would not be a more insuperable bar, than total difference, between the portions of his own species, of brute existence, or of things. As the principle upon which he moves in amelioration is combination, and as no combination could ever be made of particulars essentially unlike, he must remain for ever in the state in which he was originally placed, if experience did not point out to him the remote and latent fitness and similarity of nature's works.

Esteeming all mankind to proceed from a common stock, and of course to possess original and general likeness, it is yet interesting to consider whence arise the specific diversities among, and the peculiar characteristics of, nations; and whether there can be any such thing as a good and better, or a bad and worse, national character. Those, who have written on this subject heretofore, appear to have thought, that in a state of wildness and barbarism only, could the nature of man be ascertained; forgetting that nothing can be more uncertain than the truth of our knowledge concerning this stage—that the savage, who to pleasures exclusively physical, adds crimes inconsistent with any but half developed reason, is no more under the influence of natural propensities, than the courtier in the most refined and complicated state of existence, and that in both, the same passions—only more fully disclosed in one than the other—are the ruling impulse. Those, who believe that in the present state of Europe, the nature of man is changed or eradicated, forget, that, from the earliest ages to the present, he has only been acting under the strongest and most undoubted of his motives, a love of improvement; and that as the productions of the earth need for their perfection, his fostering care and ministration, so, by the combinations of society, and the expansion of his intellect, he subdues and qualifies his rude ferocity, discovers and applies his latent properties, and blends both mind and heart in wonderful refinement. “If nature only is opposed to art,” says the learned Dr. Ferguson, “in what situation are the footsteps of art unknown. If the palace be unnatural, the cottage is so no less, and the highest refinements of political or moral apprehension, are not more artificial in their kind, than the first operation of sentiment or reason.”

It is not, then, by reference to human beings, in a state of nature, as it is called, that we can learn the extent of the natural powers of man. In inquiring into the savage state, we cannot learn what is good or bad, just or unjust; what tends to their happiness or misery; or what evolves their social or unsocial, their moral or intellectual qualities; but in examining the most favoured and elevated nations, we may be able to perceive traits, and ascertain rules, involving general welfare or unhappiness.

The first earthly cause of the improvement of man is his passions; for these stimulate his reason, and stir him to combine his ideas. They are in turn improved by his mental faculties, and divested of much that renders them baleful. Rousseau, in his eloquent, unreasonable, and now scarcely read *Discours Sur l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes*, has beautifully shown the mutual influence of head and heart, in ameliorating and refining each other. The passions are evolved by a variety of causes, acting with greater or less force. Among the principal is climate; of the influence of which we are disposed to think that the view taken by Mr. Chenevix is the most sensible.

"It is," says he, "by the wants which climate creates or satisfies, by the gratifications which it affords or refuses, by the sensations which it excites or allays, that its action upon sentient and reflecting beings is principally to be considered." Vol. i. p. 37.

The effect of climate upon man has been a subject of great dispute. No one regarding the world can fail to perceive a difference between men in the frigid and temperate zones; none deny but that excess of heat, or of cold, is equally unfavourable to great and continued exertions of mind or body; but none—unless he is disposed to believe in a special Providence for each variation of temperature—can attribute this difference to a peculiar and unalterable fitness for each. Lord Kames believed that neither temper nor talents had much dependence on climate; but he was also of an opinion—apparently inconsistent—that men were fitted for the places only in which they were born. Robertson, Ferguson, and others, attribute to it a direct and powerful influence; and Hume argued against it. Montesquieu, however, to sustain his notion of its immediate effect, experimented upon a sheep's tongue, by exposing it to extremes of heat and cold; and from his observation and arguments, finally concludes—"Comme on distingue les climats par les degrés de latitude, en peut aussi les distinguer par les degrés de sensibilité." L. 14. t. 2. *Esprit des Laix*. But it can scarcely be necessary to examine any of these arguments, when a position so reasonable as that which we have cited is before us—that heat and cold are each attended with consequences involving man's mental qualities, as they call them into action or depress them into torpor. The climates of the tropics, produce at once, and without need of laborious cultivation, many of the necessities, and still more of the luxuries of life. Want therefore does not spur man to exertion; neither does exertion invigorate his body or his intellect; nor labour inspire him with a love of excellence. In the frigid zone, no toil could command more than the merest necessities; and therefore a sense of its inutility, a feeling of despair, deprives him of all the advantages of ambition and of combination. But in the mean between these two extremes, where the soil does not spontane-

ously yield, nor obstinately withhold, where labour commands productions, and productions combination, and combination emulation—where the physical wants of man are not satisfied without toil, and are satiated with its consequences—where the passions, if not the keenest, are at least the deepest—and where the delay of fruition maintains the excitement of desire—there, the moral qualities, once called into operation, are modified by other circumstances of boundaries, of population, of situation, and of government, until at last a peculiar character is manifested by the inhabitants of one region, separated by a brook, or a mountain, or a river, and by no distance, from its dissimilar neighbours.

In inquiring into national character, then, climate is only worthy of consideration, as one of many causes, acting upon man's simple and fundamental qualities, and rendering more or less easy the gratification of his natural desires and passions. Fertility, extent of territory, and many others which we shall presently enumerate, are to be regarded as equally operative.

A knowledge of national character is not acquired from any knowledge of persons or of things, or of transient or particular events. "By the character of a nation is to be understood the combination of the prominent and leading features by which that nation is distinguished." It can be acquired only by inspecting the habits of a people; their public works, and modes of government; their social improvement; and the developments of their dispositions generally, through a long course of time;—none of which have necessarily any influence on the character or habits of an individual. It is the more easily perceived, because it is far more simple than personal character: for the causes which can interest a nation, or any large body of men, must be necessarily—even in the present complicated and refined state of the civilized world—very general; and few in number, though mighty in consequence. Dissimulation cannot disguise it, because the motives which animate the whole body of the people must be clear and obvious: while it is not only possible, but not of absolutely unfrequent occurrence, that an individual shall be so wrapped in deceitfulness, so shrouded in obscurity, that his real desires cannot be more known than the motives which actuate him, or the means which he employs to realize them. History, too, must present a true record of national dispositions, and in tracing the rise, progress, and fall of any people, it must unfold the characteristics which accompanied them through their existence. It must therefore be the philosophical result of historical examination.

The causes which modify the dispositions of a people in a state of nature, are the physical qualities of their situation; as a country hilly and sterile, or level and fertile; soil, atmosphere, geographical position as surrounded by land or water, enemies or

friends; a scantiness or an abundance of territory. There are others, which are perceptible in the development of national character in a state of civilization, and contribute to preserve the nation in the same traits—as government, industry, patriotism, religion, morality, social habits, intellect, &c.

In no state of existence, and assuredly not of society, can man be supposed deficient in that result of reason and conscience, called self-approbation; like all other innate faculties, more fully developed, and more strongly efficient in every step of his progress to improvement, and which, as it is the spring of all rules of conduct, in every part of life, is rightly considered by Mr. Chenevix, as the foundation of national character.

“Two modifications of this sentiment exist in our hearts:—the one resulting from actions, which, whatever other qualities they possess, must be intrinsically meritorious: the other from actions, which, whether of intrinsic merit or not, must attract the eyes of the world.

“Language possesses no accurate denomination to express these two modifications of self-approbation. The words which approach the nearest to the present meaning, are pride and vanity; yet their usual acceptation is so remote from it, that they cannot be applied without some previous observations.

“No sentiment which God has bestowed on man can be primarily injurious; neither is there one of which an ill use cannot be made. Pride and vanity, when in due keeping and proportion with the ends for which they were destined, are as fair and laudable feelings as any which dwell in the human heart;—nay, they are indispensable ingredients of the character, for without the one it would be deficient in dignity; without the other we should want many of the motives which draw us towards our fellow creatures, and make society a blessing. The man who has none of either would soon sink beneath his proper level; and he who has too much of them, would aspire to rise above it.

“It is with this restriction that the words pride and vanity are here to be understood. They shall be employed without any reference to praise and censure, and merely to denote any degree of self approbation which may justly arise out of any recollection. A proud man is used, in this Essay, in the sense of one who feels this just degree of pride; and a vain man for one who feels a just degree of vanity.

“From these statements it is evident, that the simple fundamental faculties upon which pride depends, are conscience, reason, and self-esteem: faculties, by which alone we can judge of the intrinsic value of moral or intellectual actions, and which alone can make man independent.

“Vanity is independent of the intrinsic merit of its cause. The powers which appreciate this, then, are not its necessary elements. But the objects which excite it, must be brilliant; it must shine in the eyes of the world;—without the approbation of the world, vanity cannot exist.

“From this it clearly follows, that we are perpetually exposed to find pride or vanity either gratified or wounded. And that it is impossible for us long to abstract ourselves from their influence. The operations which produce them are often imperceptible to our minds; and yet they proceed as surely and as constantly as any of the secretions of our body which are performed without our consciousness.” Vol. i. p. 21, &c.

Vanity, then, may depend on causes over which we have no control; but pride must be the result of our own rectitude and energy. Vanity may delight in qualities, in respect to which, neither our head nor our heart, in any sense, has any influence. But pride must be the consequence of the intellect or

the feelings. Now, it is clear, as self-approbation is so early manifested, that the "pride and vanity of nations must be governed by the same general laws, which found and modify the pride and vanity of individuals"—that vanity, as a national trait, may spring from causes of self-complacency, which do not originate in the moral or intellectual energies of the people: while pride, as a national trait, can be founded in nothing but a sentiment of difficulties surmounted, and advantages acquired. In nations, as in individuals, vanity then must be an earlier trait than pride; because the self-satisfaction of barbarians cannot be derived from any recollection of ability displayed in the avoidance of obstacles. In a fertile land and under a benignant climate, where all the senses and wants of man are gratified and supplied as if by the hand of nature; where no enemies assail him; where his territory is extensive, and his choice of place easy; where it is or may be increased by easy and rapid conquest, or by the peaceful means of aggrandizement, as negotiation, or marriage or inheritance of the ruler, and the boundaries are unsettled and indistinct, Mr. Chenevix properly considers the natives as exhibiting that modification of self-approbation, which he has styled vanity—indulged, as their condition is an object of envy or admiration—and not as it is the necessary consequence of their own toil and energy. But where, on the contrary, men labour for their daily bread, and war for the preservation of it; where the climate compels them to provide against its power or to subdue it to their will; where little is granted by the spontaneous bounty of nature; where mountains, enemies, and confinement, press them on all sides; and where the obstacles to their advancement and amelioration are insurmountable except by the union of strength and reflection; in such circumstances they display the modification called pride, inasmuch as they draw from themselves, and employ for themselves, without regard to the applause and wonder of others, the resources upon which they found their improvement.

Now, though this, as it seems like systematizing, may not meet with much respect—from those to whom system is an objection—yet the consideration of the development and reaction of these, as national qualities, cannot fail to be both instructive and interesting. As they are followed out, it will be seen, that in every disposition which we may have, particularly in this country, where, with adult intellect, we strive in the occupations of national infancy, to adopt the social habits or improvements, the modes of government or of action, of older people—we should carefully attend to the different consequences which attend upon national pride or vanity: for it is certain that wherever the moral or intellectual powers of man have been most fully developed and improved, his virtues unfolded, his individual exertions

rewarded, and his happiness and rights best secured; wherever his confidence in his fellow man has been increased and justified, his religion purified, his social improvement furthered, his intellect expanded, and his submission to government rendered a blessing, pride and not vanity has been the characteristic of the nation: and this, as a necessary consequence of the unsatisfied industry, of the continued combination, which a nation must be compelled to adopt at first, and which when properly directed, it is impossible it should afterwards abandon.

The first condition of man was well suited to his weak power, and encouraged his vanity. Every exertion, which his natural progress compelled him to make, was so much towards the development of pride: but it is not until we find him displaying his intellect and industry in Europe, that we are able to distinguish material variations in national destinies. The Greeks—as compared with succeeding times, the vainest and most luxurious of nations—were nevertheless the first people who subdued any of the asperities of nature. The forests, which covered their territory, were to be removed, to supply them with sustenance; and to this, the first instance of severe and habitual labour for any length of time in the history of man, (so far at least as he was not under the immediate direction of heaven,) is to be attributed the first honour which combined intellect received. Nor was this impulse ever lost. But their mental ability was modified by the very causes which gave it birth; as the removal of the woods destroyed the only obstacle to the genial influence of the sun, and the voluntary fertility of their soil. Combination and labour were then no longer necessary; the tendencies of the Grecians were always afterwards to enjoyment rather than to invention, to the productions of fancy rather than to the patient labour of thought; and vanity, with its train of vices and pleasures, ruled them to the latest hour of their existence.

Compared with all preceding nations, the Romans were proud. They were subjected to all the primary causes of this quality; and it is perceptible in all their institutions, whether public or conventional. They were surrounded by enemies in their first possession, and fought their way to the conquest of the soil; they were in a climate far more delightful now than then, as might be presumed from natural history, if it were not made known by their poets and annalists; the sea was their boundary; their soil required great cultivation, as is clear from the respect in which agriculture was held—the most popular occupation of their greatest men—and also, from the number and reputation of their greatest works. Their territory was limited, and they were, what no vain nation ever was—a nation of warriors—through a long series of ages making their way steadily and unchangeably to universal dominion. Had this energy been applied, as in

later ages it has been, as in this nation we trust it may be, to secure their rational liberty, to promote the industrious and commercial intercourse of distant people, and thus to advance human nature itself; little but imitation would have been the labour of those who followed, or they must have shown how illimitable is the expansion of the human mind. But the pride of Rome ceased with the certainty of conquest, and the negativeness of Italy betrays vanity and luxury.

Of all the countries of Europe, Spain is perhaps the most blessed with natural advantages. In none are there such easy means of national prosperity; in none, therefore, should there be a larger share of luxury and vanity. But the pride which for so many ages distinguished them, and the influence of which, in the good faith, morality, and patriotism of the nation, is still manifest, may be attributed to the fact, that, for nearly twenty centuries, from the first landing of the Carthaginians to the final expulsion of the Moors, Spain was scarcely ever in the undivided and unmolested possession of the Spaniards. The constant internal wars, in which with such heroic firmness and fidelity they persevered; the sentiments of grandeur which their repeated and finally successful efforts to be the masters of their own territory inspired, and the reverses, happily never desperate, which they underwent; as they filled their minds with recollections of what they had done, and with reflections upon what was yet to be effected; as they made them sensible of the necessity of combination, and the value of man to man; and as they made their duties to be of constant observance, have imparted to them a pride, not indeed, in comparison with that of other nations, of the most intellectual character, nor of the most diffusive consequences, but yet of magnanimity, of honesty, and of unyielding courage, whenever the independence or institutions of their country have been assailed.

Like the Spaniards, the French are blessed with many natural advantages; and unlike them, have been freed from the necessity of combating, age after age, the invaders of their territory. They are unaffected, therefore, by any recollections which may tend to imbue their self-complacency with the recollection of useful exertions in a noble cause. Their territory has been acquired without any serious or long continued exertion;—some of it by the marriages of its rulers, as Brittany and Normandy. The institutions of the country all tend to display, to luxury, and to vanity.

“The uses, to which the greatness of France has been applied, are perfectly analogous to the facility with which it was acquired. Her easy acquisition of power has made her prodigal of it; and more inclined to glory than justice. Success has increased her natural vanity; and the characteristics of this sentiment are most unequivocally expressed in the gaiety and levity of its natives; in their politeness often charged with being intrusive; in their thoughtlessness, and their

passion for splendid enjoyments; in their fickleness and indifference to great national concerns; in the constancy with which they follow pleasure; and in the preference which they too often allow to the point of honour over more sacred obligations.

"Of the remaining parts of Europe few are placed in a situation to give rise to vanity; accordingly, they are inhabited by men in whose characters pride has a larger share. The leading feature in German character is pride; and it predominates more toward the north, and in the cold and mountainous regions, than in the south and level country. The Swiss are proud, because, though situated in a lower latitude than Champagne or Burgundy, they pay a heavier tax of labour to nature than any of the inhabitants of France. The Hungarians indeed are vain, because they enjoy great natural privileges of soil and climate. But the Belgians, placed in a soil which, though fertile, yet requires their constant care, and living under a less genial sky, are less vain than the French, but less proud than the Dutch. The Dutch had every difficulty to contend with, and were obliged to rescue their territory from the elements as the Romans had conquered theirs from its prior possessors. Nothing can ever relieve them from the perpetual constraint of watching over its preservation, against an enemy that knows no repose. The Swedes and Danes are proud."—Vol. i. p. 51.

The vanity of Russia Mr. Chenevix attributes to their Asiatic and barbarous origin and connexions; from the influence of which their European relations have not yet relieved them.

Of all the nations, however, which have ever flourished, England, as the most civilized, is also the proudest, being the most affected by those causes which engender pride—the least favoured by those which minister to vanity. Her climate does not dispose to indolent repose; the dulness of the sky invites to reflection, and is more congenial to the seriousness and apparent melancholy of pride than to the levity of the opposite sentiment. There the toil, to procure the average quantity of subsistence, must be greater than in more favoured spots; the consideration and combination of men and of thoughts more necessary; and its productions are ever but little more than the necessaries of life. Their possessions in their immediate neighbourhood, though far from insignificant, either in themselves or in the recollections of their acquisition, are unimportant when compared with the hard won dominions in all quarters of the earth; and the remembrance that the "pigmy arm" of England has subjugated nearly one half of the civilized world, in defiance of the power and opposition of nations far more potent than herself, as it inspires wonder in the inhabitant of other lands, could scarcely fail to awaken pride in those of her own.

"The characteristics of the pride of the English are their gravity and reserve, which are often mistaken for melancholy; their habitual reflection, free from outward show; the value which they set upon domestic happiness, upon solid comforts, upon independence; the steadiness of their serious affections; nay, the extravagance and variableness of their whims, the general respect in which religion, morality, and virtue are held, and the little deference paid to the applause of man when not in unison with the approbation of conscience and reason."—p. 55.

"From what precedes, it appears, that the modification of self-approbation which has prevailed the longest, and among the largest portion of mankind, is vanity. The country in which it may be seen in its fullest extent is Southern

Asia. Its reign there is undisputed ; as it is in Syria, Arabia, Persia, Hindostan, and even in colder regions ; as among the Tartars, eastern and western, from the borders of the Caspian sea to the sea of Ochotzk ; and the gulph of Corea, where it is rather modified, by the addition of physical activity, than checked by the diminution of natural advantages. In Europe it first assumed a moral character, and became the stimulant of intellectual energies. In the north of this continent, self-approbation, founded first on the removal of greater physical difficulties, and latterly upon higher acquirements of intellect, became modified into pride. And this sentiment received its fullest development in the nation whose efforts have been the most severe and constant, and whose actual success the most surpasses its original capacity of attaining it.

“That vanity was the earliest modification of self-approbation developed in human beings, perfectly harmonizes with the wise designs of Providence ; for it was indispensable to their preservation and welfare, that no obstacles should be presented to their establishment and progress, but such as might be easily surmounted. The most fertile spot in the globe—that in which, with the least labour, they could procure what was necessary—was their cradle, in order to attach them to existence by uninterrupted enjoyment. Their inexperience and their weakness, which long made them require the superintendence of an all-wise Creator, were opposed to every feeling of pride. As in the infancy of individuals, so in the infancy of the species, their helplessness, which made men dependent upon a mightier being, allowed no sentiment but vanity to be awakened. But as they grew to strength and manhood, as they were left to themselves, as they met with difficulties in their path through life, their pride began to expand with their independence. And this is the feeling which suits the maturity of man and his race. Should no impediment be placed in his career, should he persevere in his endeavours to become wiser and better, should he build his happiness upon securer grounds, and attach his greatness to the distribution of good, his glory to the promotion of virtue, his enjoyments to the well-being of his fellow creatures,—should the sacred perception of morality be still more widely diffused, and the lowest of mankind be admitted into the sanctuary of knowledge, which once seemed to be set apart for the great, this sentiment will still increase. As more solid advantages are secured, and nobler blessings elevate the mind, as men become creatures of a higher value, they will learn to form a grander estimation of themselves, and attaching dignity to the things which they attain by their moral and intellectual faculties, will continue to become proud in proportion as they become enlightened.”—Vol. i. p. 53, &c.

Such is Mr. C's development of his view of the trait, which, as it is first in individual, must be first in national existence.

These modifications of self-approbation are still to be attached to nations with this qualification—that in every nation, far advanced in improvement—vanity, and its category of qualities, as imagination, luxury, conventional morality, elegance rather than solidity, the agreeable, rather than the useful, industry, the pleasures of fanciful, rather than the strength of reflecting, intellect, will always be developed and desired among the higher, more opulent, and more idle classes. The national character is to be discovered in the mass of the community ; for it is in their pursuits, and their interests, that it is principally developed, as it is upon them that the circumstances of the country chiefly operate. But in vain countries, the aristocracy, or what may bear that name, and only that, directs the mind and labours of all in an inferior station.

Now, in forming an estimate of national character, and of its

comparative value, we are, of course, to rely on the facts which history presents; but it seems proper to inquire whether there is any standard, by relation to which one nation must be placed higher, and another lower in the scale. What marks national improvement? is it displayed in the works of individuals, or of the nation? does it consist in wealth and luxury, or innocence and simplicity—in the modes of religion or of government, the prevalence of morality, the dissemination of intellect, or the improvement of science?

Optimism and perfectibility are two words, which, in their time, have done much harm to certain brains, by engendering bright dreams and fantastic visions. Each has been made the basis of many unintelligible schemes of philosophy; and the last engaged the attention of Madame de Stael in her "*Littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les Institutions sociales*." She has esteemed the world to be susceptible of perfection, and has imagined that in the universal diffusion of mind, and complete subjugation of the passions, human nature may be so far ameliorated as to be subject to none but divine impulses;—refined to that degree of sensitiveness and acuteness of discrimination, by which man may be rendered in truth but a little lower than the angels. But it is a striking objection to this theory of perfectibility, as applied to denote an universal improvement of man, that it is founded upon wonderfully limited grounds. In Greece, and in some parts of Africa, as Carthage and Egypt, man has been retrograde for many centuries. In China, in Asia generally, in most parts of Africa and in some of Europe, he has been always, or so far as we have any knowledge, stationary—and it is only in some half dozen nations of the last named, and in a very small portion of this, hemisphere, that he can be regarded as advancing. If his improvability to a state of perfection in this world, then, be stated as an incessant and uncontrollable operation, it is contradicted by fact; for, from the same period, and with means generally uniform, he has attained different degrees of excellence, and has receded at one time from the high grade occupied at another. In any other enunciation, the proposition is unintelligible and inconsequential.

But, nevertheless, human life in favoured nations is in a much better condition in the present, than in past, ages. Man's intellect is more fully stored, and his passions are better regulated. His actual enjoyments are increased in number and in degree. In the bonds of civilized life, in virtue and in religion, in business and in pleasure, in the social affections, and in the ascertained equipoise of all parts of society, his happiness is more secured, and himself more valued. That all nations are not equal in improvement; that in some, human beings are little else than brutes, in others, slaves; somewhere scarcely raised to any en-

joyment, and elsewhere apparently incapable of knowledge or courage; only proves that in some, people are in a higher state of happiness than in others; and the comparison once begun, may be continued, even among those, who, to common and ignorant observers, appear to be on a level, as to wealth, intellect, and civilization.

In every estimate of man, the mind is more worthy than the heart, the intellect than the senses; it is only by the predominance of the first, that we have any security for our virtues and improvement.—Though, as has been said already, the passions instigate, yet it is the mind which performs; and the passions preponderant in a nation, as in an individual, lead to the same certain results—misery, confusion, and ruin. It is, undoubtedly, too, by the indirect influence of our intellect, that all the qualities of our hearts are brought to light and refined; that our duties become complicated and yet clear, and that, as it were, new dispositions are given to practise new virtues. As we pray advice of our superiors in judgment, how we shall realize our desires, and in what mode we shall avoid or surmount difficulties—thus submitting our passions and feelings to the dictate of reason for the attainment of rectitude;—so it is only by consulting the wisdom developed in past times, and adding to it the results of our own judgment, reflection, and discrimination, that any body of people can hope to ensure its general welfare. That nation, therefore, where mind predominates, where the ardour of desire does not amount to reckless passion, where life is made rather a series of high deeds, and lofty aims, than the scene of perishable pastimes, and unavailing pleasures; where intellect, in any class, may attain the pinnacle of power in defiance of the influence of birth, or wealth, or fashion, is entitled to be ranked as most and best improved. Nor can vanity ever be the trait of such a people.—But this employment of life may be the lot of a few, or of many. The fame of a nation is sometimes spread abroad by its brilliant achievements, its apt ingenuity, its pleasant literature, its luxurious industry—these can be but the work of a few men in particular times, and for certain classes or objects. Sometimes it is dispensed by the slow but certain wealth that its continued labour acquires, by the sternness of its philosophy, the dissemination of its knowledge, or the repetitions of its success. This must be the work of many, acting under a uniform sentiment, and like the parts of an army, disciplined to succeed; aware of the value of combination for the well-being of each, the *vis unita—fortior*. But the glory of the first, dependant as it is on particular individuals or tastes, can never be the just attribute of the people. In the second, all spring from the nation—it is combination—and combination cannot exist without something like equality of mind. It would seem, then, that something like

an approach to intellectual equality—not (though there are some who would not be displeased at it,) as it depresses the elevated, but as it raises the low—involves the greatest improvement of man, and ensures national superiority.

This, however, has been denied. It has been contended, that, in this general level of mind, there is the less opportunity for the display of originality; that the sameness of instruction gives to all minds the same mould, deprives each of its peculiarities, and destroys every thing like individuality of character. If this were true, it would be lamentable; because, as may be perceived in almost every community, without the influence of some great and leading minds, above the usual rate of excellence, the world would be very apt to retrograde:—and this, not only because of the direction which such an intellect gives to the purposes and ability of those who surround it, but also because of the emulation which its fame and influence inspire. But to us it appears, that nothing can be more ideal or fanciful, than such an apprehension. It seems unjust and captious to argue that the present state of France, of England, and of the United States, where knowledge is presented at every turn, and where the divisions of intellectual, are almost as numerous and as well defined as those of physical, labour, is incompatible with, or at least, unfriendly to any great development of mind. That originality may be less frequent now, than formerly—that is, that there are fewer instances of individuals engaged at once, each one in all kinds of scientific pursuits, suddenly stumbling upon what he did or did not seek, and then illuminating and astounding an ignorant and unreflecting world with the display of his discovery—is possible. But this is not originality nor genius, in a philosophical sense. It is a wild and vulgar notion of genius to suppose that it suddenly invents what did not before exist, or that it discovers consequences by the force of qualities entirely peculiar and original. It is, on the contrary, the constant pursuit of a train in which none have persevered, and the perception of the consequences of rules extended beyond their ordinary and trite application. Men of genius do not possess qualities essentially different from those of less distinguished mortals. It is by their habits of mind, in the application of what all men possess in common with themselves, that they become famous. That which is peculiarly objected as hostile to the display of originality—the great division of intellectual pursuits—is, in truth, (unless Lord Verulam and Mr. Stewart greatly erred,) the strongest incentive to genius, as it involves method. The diffusion of knowledge, then, as it presents to different minds objects of contemplation, to be viewed in the peculiar mode of each, would rather tend to foster genius, when taken in this, its only sensible, meaning.

Genius, however, shares the fate of all mortal gifts, and as it

becomes common, loses its peculiar charm. After man has reached a certain point in mental labour, his progress becomes more slow, and is marked by fewer great and hasty leaps. The great discoveries which were made in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, pushed him forward with a rapidity inconceivable at this day. But rude and unfit as must have been the first specimens of powder and printing, it is only gradually, and scarcely perceptibly, that each has acquired its present excellence. When Bolton presented a model of his steam engine to George III., he said that he showed him "a new creation of power." Yet what idea had he of the uses to which its increase and diffusion would lead the intellect and industry of other men to apply it? No one of the improvers of any of these inventions or discoveries—not even Fulton himself—a man of true genius, a man who used his powers with the wisest energy, who perceived by the force of his reflections, consequences of which no glimmer occurred to men of less penetration and combination—has received the full degree of admiration which his mental ability deserved. The least of these improvements marks a certain degree of originality. But the very silence which attends so much improvement, though it may sometimes darken the reflections of the student with the shades of querulousness and misery, yet betokens the diffusion of knowledge, as we cease to be struck with wonder at what are almost daily productions. Within the last year, Mr. Herschel's Discourse upon Natural Philosophy has been read and understood by myriads of people, to whom, in the same condition of life, fifty years ago, it would have been a sealed book; and to the information thus disseminated, may, perhaps, in future times, be traced an amelioration of man's state, of which at the present day we can form no idea.

This diffusion of knowledge is not to be considered as benefiting man in one or two particulars. It can scarcely be the lot of a people to be generally informed on one or two subjects only; though, certainly, one may at one time be more popular, and therefore more examined, than another—as, forty years ago, the social compact was the rage, and now physics have the ascendancy. The impetus which the mind receives in one department, is exhibited in another; and, finally, the whole attain that degree which marked the learned but a little time before. But they do not for that approach them. On the contrary, perhaps, so illimitable is the mind, so disproportioned is the ability of the half-informed to that of the well-instructed, that there is a greater distance between the two classes than before. So far, then, from regarding the greatness or influence of mind as diminished by its dissemination, it ought to be considered as infinitely increased. There is established a communion of intellect and of pursuit between the most gifted and the most ordinary por-

tions of the community. And thus we must place the nation which owes its greatness to the energy and intellectual ability of the people, above that in which intellect and energy are developed only by individuals.

Now the fame of Greece and France rests entirely upon the great men whom either has produced, and not at all upon the mass of the people. All that either ever effected, was under the especial guidance of its leaders. And as they were generally far above their countrymen, their disappearance was uniformly followed by darkness and ineptitude. As the Greeks were a vain and luxurious people, so was their philosophy all imagination—entirely fruitless and inoperative upon the mass. Even Stoicism among them was equally fanciful and inconsequential. Philosophy was confined to the sects, and, whether good or bad, does not appear ever to have been adopted, or meant for practice. De Pauw says that the indecency of the bar and senate was such, that "*cette douce aménité, la fille du bon génie, et la compagne des bonnes mœurs,*" was obliged to take refuge in the gardens of the philosophers;—a pretty strong proof, equally, that the people were immoral, and were not in love with the associations of philosophers. We hear of no instances of that sublime devotedness to good, in the walks of common life, which indicates an universal aptitude to philosophic endurance and endeavour. They put to death Socrates, their wisest—and if wisdom be really practical and meant for men, rather than rhetorical, vague, and abstract—their only wise, man. As a nation, therefore, they did not love the wisdom of morality. Aristotle came from the colder and prouder regions of Thrace, and with a national spirit, soon rejected the fantasies and incomprehensibilities of Plato. He also was condemned to death, and managed to escape from Athens, with the denunciation, for such it was, that "the Athenians would always be Athenians;"—they did not desire then the wisdom of science. Their eloquence was fitted for an imaginative and excitable, not a brave or reflecting people; their historians appear insensible to any difference between virtue and vice; relating the most atrocious outrages upon honesty and morality, with a coolness and insensibility, equally different from the Roman habits, and inconsistent with a prevailing sense of propriety. In morals and in the moral elegancies of life, they were inferior to any distinguished people. "*La foi conjugale y était la plus faible des nœuds et la plus fragile des chaînes;*" so says one of their admirers. In all Greece nothing was more uncertain than paternity; and though the Lacedæmonians shut up their queens, yet two kings declared that they were not the parents of their wives' offspring. Connubial society was then not unlike its present condition in the south of Europe—for the first error of a wife was pardoned as an excess of passion, and the others unnoticed. Their courtezans

were the most admired of their women, and to them bent illustrious rulers, generals, orators, and philosophers, not only without the disgrace, but without the ridicule that would attach to them at this day. Husbands led their wives to the school of courtezans founded by Aspasia, that they might learn the art of pleasing;—and the same people presented to her a sceptre, and a cup of hemlock to Socrates. Husband, mother, slave, and child, all engaged in domestic quarrels; and the sophist Gorgias, exhorting the Athenians to make peace with the neighbouring states, was answered by taunts, insinuating his impotence to preserve domestic quiet. Both sexes are represented as continually inebriated; and Thucydides says that the Greeks were such habitual liars, that the truth was only spoken to deceive.

If we consider them in reference to religion, to government, to patriotism, to industry, or to social improvement, we find nothing to set a value on their national character—the most volatile and atheistical, the most unjust and luxurious, the most selfish and most slavish, the most idle and fanciful nation which ancient times present, with any authority of history. Never did any annals exhibit a greater want of patriotism, or more insensibility to public virtue. Here only do we find instances of armies bribed to lose a battle. In their eternal jealousy of each other, there was neither wisdom, nor pride, nor plan; and never is the accidental ascendancy, which a great man might gain for his native state, maintained by his coevals. Divided into factions, not into parties, as now understood; a preference for men, as they beguiled the passions and prejudices of a mob, not for principles, as they contained national power and greatness—flying from their homes, as an enemy seized their territory; for their love of country was not love for the scene of virtues and happiness, but for the place of meretricious charms, of luxury and pleasure—their gods ridiculed and defied; and yet all human virtue, public and private, considered to flow from their immediate inspiration, as if they could not imagine virtue to be of human conception;—their most celebrated comedian ridiculing wisdom and virtue;—Philip thundering at their gates, and they bent on scenic amusement;—their mountains covered with vines, and their fertile valleys uncultivated;—and they, by an imperfect marine, tributary to other nations for their food and raiment. From the plains of Marathon, or the straits of Thermopylæ, we only learn what despair and rage can effect against indolence and effeminacy—in the rigidity of Sparta, we only see the perversion of nature, followed by crimes, anarchy, and slavery—and from a nation in which vanity and its train of pleasures and vices were the pursuits of the people—we look in vain for one single national trait that now remains to exalt and dignify mankind. All these traits, and they are such as even their French

admirers acknowledge, and scarcely disapprove, show that there was no tendency to equality of intellect or knowledge throughout the people; upon which alone national character can be admired. That their market women could correct the pronunciation of their orators, only proves, that the people thought on insignificant and arbitrary proprieties; as the *connaissance* of a Neapolitan mob, of this day, in music, or of the French, in what they call taste and etiquette, marks the idleness of their minds. There was no combination, no reflection, no discipline; for never was any but an ignorant and fanciful mob led from plan to plan, by the unsubstantial, and sometimes destructive, fire of dishonest eloquence. Their religion itself was the source and scene of luxury and display; and six centuries after Grecian glory had passed away, St. Chrysostom declaimed against the sumptuousness with which they assisted at religious ceremonies. Pericles had indignantly cried out, "You Athenians love nothing but your gardens, and the works of art and ostentation which you have placed there."

As time advances, we find the Romans rising upon the ruins of the Greeks. Their influence we retain and acknowledge; and in their language we find that stern wisdom which now invigorates so large a portion of the globe. Their laws, founded upon the real feelings, habits, and sentiments of the people, are still the fountain of legal intellect, and contain the soundest practical morality that has yet been systematized. Philosophy first employed their mind—borrowed indeed from the Greek—for as has been said, little will be invented when borrowing will serve the purpose; but, for a long course of time, they neither borrowed nor displayed any trait of vanity; nor could any thing be more unlike another, than philosophy among the Greeks, and among the Romans. Sound views of government, strict honesty, a love of truth, and a respect for oaths, which modern nations might imitate;—a preference for the useful, over the agreeable, intellect;—faithful delineations of man as he is, and accurate perceptions of what he ought to be;—an abhorrence of that sophistry, so much admired in Greece, and of that inconsequential fancy, which luxurious indolence only can enjoy;—Cynicism, Epicurism, and the other vague systems of Scholiasts found but little favour among them; and Stoicism—of all, the only one which pride could adopt, or, perhaps, mistaken intellect uphold—shed its even and solitary light upon their national character; Madame de Stael describes it: "*Leur vertu dominante—le caractère distinctif de ses citoyens—c'était la puissance de l'ame sur elle même; et telle était l'importance qu'un Romain mettait à l'exercice d'un empire absolu sur tout son être, que seul avec lui même, le Stoïcien s'avouait à peine les affections qu'il lui était ordonné de surmonter.*" Unlike the Greeks, their women were highly honour-

ed; a trait never to be certainly found but in company with pride. Their feelings were tender, as is clear from their lives, and from much of their poetry; but pride condemned the public and unrestrained exhibition of them. Of their fortitude, their fear of disgrace, their devotion to the common weal, it would be idle to cite instances, from among the crowd of names that arise at once in the memory. Not to speak of the moral and conscientious honesty of Brutus, the judge of his own children, what instance in Grecian annals could parallel the heroism of Virginus—a common centurion, acting spontaneously, under the influence or for the egotistical display of no system of philosophy; but by the stern impulse of general and national virtue, as realized in his person. Even Cicero, vain as an individual, exhibits the influence of the pride and intellect of his country. Where does history teem with more indignant abuse of vice and vicious men? What people but such as honoured morality could exhibit such a system of law? In religion and its offices they were as pure as any pagans. But their industry belonged especially to a proud and laborious nation; how much it proceeded from the good sense, and how much it was directed to improve the condition of the people; how little productive of luxury, and how much of solid benefit; their remains, in every country which they civilized, still exist to prove. Never have any people been more uniformly victorious; nor does there appear in any nation which preceded them, any thing like the settled plan, the unchangeable determination, to conquer and to employ, which they exhibited; their decency of sentiment and language, their gravity of demeanour, their abhorrence of every thing that tended to lower the Roman name, are all proofs of pride amounting to a virtue; and their poetry alone, of all antiquity, can be said to exhibit the philosophy of passion. “In Rome,” says Mr. Chenevix most truly, “every man acted according to philosophy, though none professed to do so. In Greece, learning and philosophy had many teachers, but there was no philosophy among the people, and speculation was preferred to practice.” All the traits of the Roman character mark an intellect existing throughout the people, a sense to which the wisest leader might safely trust, and which the most artful could not deceive.

We have given this general view of the two great nations of antiquity, to exhibit the difference of the categorical qualities of pride and vanity; as the first indicates the existence of intellect and of virtue, predominant throughout the nation, the second the influence of pleasure and fancy.

The social improvement of nations is modified into luxury and civilization; the first being the concomitant of vanity, and the second of pride. The distinction between these two terms is neither unmeaning nor arbitrary; for civilization, as derived

from our moral and intellectual powers, discovered in the mastery of physical objects, is directed to bind together the race of man in social intercourse, and give the greater efficiency to the compact; but luxury, depending on a sensibility to external impressions, though it may elevate us above our original condition, is restricted by the limits of our physical capacities, while the boundaries of the other are, of course, as expansive as mind itself. France is an example of luxury. Always freed from any strong necessity to labour, and therefore deprived of the full advantages of combination, her social intercourse has been at all times more a matter of corporal and fanciful enjoyment, than of mental occupation. Though infinitely more advanced, three or four hundred years past, than the Germans or English, in refinement and pleasure, she has since been far outstripped in developing the mind, and solidly ameliorating the condition of man. Not only has she not made any advancement in the social compact, or in ethical philosophy—two sciences, the just development and comprehension of which are really the foundation of all social improvement—but by her wild and ready adoption of vain and fanciful schemes, she has done much to retard the rest of the world. In her society, the wit is more valued for his pleasantry than the philosopher for his wisdom; and honour is rendered to those who amuse the circle of sprightly and inconsequential *insouciance*, rather than to him who ameliorates and dignifies the community. There every act and thought are proper as they are in accordance with conventional rules; and conventionality is only adopted where vanity and selfishness are otherwise ungovernable impulses. But as a luxurious nation, it still exhibits more than any other of the same class, a tendency to civilization.

England, on the contrary, though from her immense wealth she indulges in many of the luxuries of life, still, as a nation, exhibits the qualities and advantages of civilization. The rights of man, in a political sense, have there been always best understood, most firmly asserted, and most wisely realized. Her social improvement includes every class. There arose, in its full strength, that power which draws near to each other, in commercial intercourse, all the quarters of the earth; and there is the fountain of that liberty which we so eagerly worship in this country. It has not been left to her rulers to perform acts of charity of their own mere grace and motion; nor have the people considered it to be their honour, that their monarchs have occasionally discovered their sympathy with the rest of mankind. Their poor are not outcasts from the law, nor from the soil. Their rich do not owe their wealth to the bounties of kings. On all sides is exhibited a confidence in the intellect of the people; and an adaptation of law and of policy to their confirmed and reasonable

habits. It is not their cities which contain the nation, as marking that those only are to be valued and regarded who can dwell in the abode of splendour and delight.

The diversities of pride and vanity are also discoverable in the influence, and in the forms and modes of religion. As a proud man is generally more moral and more regardful of the rights of others than a vain one, so is he more disposed to acknowledge his unworthiness, and to pray for counsel and strength from the Author of all wisdom and Parent of all good. His religion is pious, as it exhibits "a deep and constant sentiment of obligation and duty, an uninterrupted feeling of thankfulness to the Creator, a desire to stand in his presence unostentatiously, and to praise him in silence and secrecy." And the religion of vanity is termed imaginative, as it is characterized by "a wilder enthusiasm, and more pompous ceremonies, shows, and pageantry; more fanaticism, less reason; an extravagant longing after far-fetched rites; neglect of evident duties for useless trials, and an abnegation and intolerance of every other belief."—pp. 88, 89. vol. i. But much as we would like to follow the author through his delineation of the diversities which such modifications produce, we prefer to proceed to a subject of which the consequences are more practical.

That the moral sense is innate, that the feeling of right and wrong, in respect to others, is natural to man, independently of all religion and of all revelation, can scarcely be questioned, except for the sake of controversy. That it has existed, in different degrees of development, in all countries, and in all ages of the world, is indisputable:—otherwise, until the Christian era, there could have been no difference between right and wrong: and that it is more fully manifested, as man approaches to perfection, is equally undeniable, inasmuch as his experience and reflection discover new complications of motive and refinements of duty. But as morality differs in different ages, so it is differently defined in different countries;—like liberty, which can be scarcely recognised as the same, and yet for which each struggled so much, in Rome, in France, and in these United States; but like it too, inasmuch as it has general traits which are absolutely necessary to its apprehension. It is contended that there must have been a time, in all countries, when the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes was not only a dictate of nature, but absolutely indispensable to the habitation of the world. There could then be no developed rule of morality, in this respect;—but when marriage,—which is the child, and not the parent, of society,—became an institution, respect for its sanctity became a moral duty; and as we find that such a union does exist among all people who have at all emerged from barbarism, we must suppose that the morality on which it de-

penda, is latent in the heart of man, until called forth by his advancement in improvement. In respect to all other relations of domestic life and of society, the same improvement is discernible; and our Redeemer's injunction to love all men as ourselves, was but the divine recognition of the principles which nature had infused, and time discovered, in our hearts. The existence of morality, as independent of religion, was one of the most vexatious contests between the Romish church and the reformers;—a contest, in which the former departed, according to Dr. Cudworth, from the tenets of her fathers, and in which Melancthon declared—“*Neque ille ipse cœlestis Pater, plures a nobis, fieri eas leges voluit, quas in saxo scripsit, quam quas in ipsos animorum nostrorum sensus impresserat.*” So long, however, as morality depended only on the will or establishments of man, so long it was necessarily vague and conventional. The religion, under which social improvement has made the greatest advancement, involved a sure and unquestionable law, as to all the duties which it requires from its followers; and as the morality which it enjoins and embodies is practised or neglected, so is a Christian nation entitled to be ranked. As the highest developments of morality are accompanied by, and in truth require, the highest development of intellect, it would be unjust to compare infidel and half-civilized countries, with those, where a standard is visibly ascertained, and the powers of the mind most fully exercised. Morality, or the duty of man to his neighbour, consists in a regard for all rights, whether supposed to be natural, or evidently of human origin;—for the sanctity of marriage, for family relations, for debt, for truth, for kindness, tenderness, and compassion, particularly to the poor and distressed, and for the impulses of charity, in its widest sense.

National morality is either absolute or conventional; the first betokening the predominance of pride, as exact in all duties; the second exhibiting the influence of vanity, as it prefers its gratification to its obligations. It must be always a matter of some difficulty, to estimate the degree of national morality; for it consists in a multiplicity of details, it is liable to be considered as mere custom, and the want of it may be excused in favour of other traits of character, as honour, generosity, &c. But the most moral nation must always be that in which man is most valued.

Morality may be estimated in some degree by the number and qualities of crime; and a more conclusive test than either, must be the sensibility which the community manifests at its commission; since the louder the outcry, the deeper the abhorrence, and the more singular the offence. As a national trait it is more to be sought among the middling than any other classes. History must exhibit its prevalence. A tendency to riots and massacres, to popular ebullitions, and to change the establishments of the

nation, marks a want of morality; as in these, the innocent suffer, and the guilty suffer illegally. The dispositions of England and of France, in this respect, sufficiently exhibit the results of the different modifications of each.

To contend that the severity of the laws in England is a token of national cruelty, (which is of course a breach of morality,) is just as sensible as to assert that the frequency of theatrical murders is a proof of a love of blood;—the least reflection, on the contrary, shows it to be a natural result of the general abhorrence of crime. When an offence is declared to be capital, it is to be supposed that the national feelings are consulted—not as they anticipate the execution, but as they are disgusted with the action. The sense of the offence must always be in proportion to its frequency, and to the degree of virtue prevalent in the community. If afterwards, such enactments are suffered to become dead letters, it is because the crime disappears, or because the increase of temptation, as it multiplies the offences, diminishes the abhorrence; but this evil, as it is particular, is counterbalanced by general improvement, and the discovery of other duties; so that the ratio between virtue and vice is more than preserved. The punishment of death, which formerly awaited larceny, is now generally commuted or dispensed with; but, far from regarding this leniency as a token of national immorality, it should be considered only as a token of the increase of wealth. For this increase demands an augmented respect for the rights of property generally; for political and municipal establishments, and for the law—all of them the dictates of morality. These advantages clearly counterbalance the frequency of petty thefts, which are confined to blasted characters—and for which the desires and frailty of man, in such a state of society, form the only, and perhaps not an insufficient, excuse.

That judicial executions for treasonable offences have been frequent in England, is a common, but not a very correct idea. Very few in number make a great figure in history; they cannot however be taken as evidences of national cruelty, since (with the single exception perhaps of Strafford,) every one died at the instance of the monarch. But, even in this respect, can all the judicial murders of England be talked of, when the morality of the Spaniard was so much deadened by his bigotry in religion and politics, that the Duke of Alva was only honoured for the eighteen thousand victims whom he boasted he had put to death on the scaffold in Holland; and when Philip VI. of France condemned ten thousand Flemings to be tortured in three months; and when the French revolutionary tribunal, exclusively a work of the people, has just risen. If under the royalty of France, they are supposed to be less frequent than in England,

it is not assuredly because of a distaste for blood, but that the monarch needed not the aid of justice to condemn or to destroy. The Bastile, Pignerole, and Loches were for individuals; the Noyades and Dragonades for numbers. It is because of the solemnity of a trial and execution in England, of the rank and power of the accused, oftentimes great, but still subjected to the law, and of the rare occurrence of the event, that our minds are full of English legal cruelty; and the deaths of Lady Jane Grey, of Mary Queen of Scots, of Lord William Russell, and others, told as they are with all the pathos that can excite our pity, often arouse our hatred and disgust to the nation, which, in the merest justice and reason, should be directed exclusively against the rulers. Comparing the conduct of the English and French in their two great commotions, we are as much astonished at the small quantity of blood shed in the one, as at its diabolical profusion in the other; and it must be remembered, that all this horror was committed in the last, not for the benefit or at the sole instigation of the leader, but entirely for the gratification of the people. In every popular or internal excitement in France, the people have seemed to be insatiate of and drunk with blood; in England, horror struck and remorseful even of the small quantity shed. James II. disgusted and alienated his people by his religious executions—Louis XIV. was revered for his religious dragonades. All the life lost, for treasonable offences, in all the internal commotions of England, does not equal, it has been said, two mornings' work in the great French revolution. It might be unfair to cite particular instances, when not of a class frequently occurring, in illustration of national character; yet we must observe, that the execution of Joan d'Arc, so often pointed out as a blot in the English history, was the work of a tribunal composed of French prelates, with the addition of that Lord Cardinal "who died and made no sign." It was not only English superstition that attributed to her sorcery and heresy, for the University of Paris, and the Inquisition of France, had both demanded that she should be delivered up—"pour faire bonne et convenable reparation, et qu'elle fut brièvement mise és mains de l'église." Two centuries after, la Marechale d'Ancre was burned at the stake in France on the same charges. The murder of Mary Queen of Scots, abominable as it was in every light, might be paralleled, and even eclipsed, by many passages in French history—not to speak of the slaughter of the Duc d'Enghien in later times;—an event of which Fouché spoke the moral sense of too many, when he said it was more than a crime, it was a blunder. France can show her guillotinades, her lanternes, her noyades, her fusillades, her dragonades, her St. Bartholomew, her Jacquerie, of whom seven thousand were put to death in one day at Meaux, after

they were quelled; her "Tard-venus" and her "companies," which shed more blood than she had lost in all her wars with the English; her dozen popular revolutions, or at least attempts to change, which may be counted between 1383 and 1443. One of her historians, Velly, says, that formerly convicts and criminals were executed on Sundays and holidays to amuse the people. The Sicilian vespers were the effect of French cruelty. The atrocities of these ebullitions were perpetrated under such circumstances of deliberation, as may be estimated from the fact, that in the archives of the different towns where they took place, are preserved the registers of the various modes in which torture and death were inflicted. The disgusting and horrible detail of French cruelty, practised by the nation, would fill a volume of no small size; and down to the restoration of Louis XVIII., there sat not a monarch upon the throne, (except perhaps Louis XVI.,) whose reign was unspotted by a barbarity, not to be equalled by any occurrence in the history of England. But one event in all the annals of the last named nation is called a massacre; and at Glencoe but forty people or thereabouts were slaughtered; it was purely military, and rests upon the head of the Duke of Cumberland. Great severity was inflicted upon the insurgent Scotch in 1745, but, as a national trait, it might find a parallel at least in "Damien's bed of steel," for his attempt on the life of Louis le bien aimé.

Duelling is a custom, a fashion, and nothing more, in France, among all classes; in England it occurs only in the highest, where vanity of course predominates; in each it is equally immoral, but as in the last it is confined to one class of persons, the national morality is unaffected by it, and must be ranked higher than that of France. Suicide in a Frenchman seems unnatural, and yet the proportion between Paris and London in 1818, is stated by Mr. Chenevix to be as five to one.

Charitable establishments, their number, and the sources of their support, are indications of national morality. Where men rise in the world to wealth and honour by the force of their intellect and industry, they are generally aware of the value of man, and can sympathize with the sufferings of the less favoured; but where riches and pleasures are ready furnished, benevolence is less active. When Roderick Random tells his tale of distress to a French nobleman, he is asked by him, "Eh bien; qu'est ce qu'on peut faire pour vous." This was a trait drawn by a shrewd observer of men and morals. In France, establishments are instituted by the monarch; in England, by the people. These important and expensive public charities are founded by the community, either by a long series of legislative enactments, or by private donations of large amount. Even if ostentation were, as

it is said to be, the motive, yet a custom to be ostentatious of charity, continued for a great length of time, and without diminution or alteration, cannot mark a very selfish or immoral people; ostentation cannot be a motive, where every one only does as his neighbour; the individual may not perhaps claim much merit, but the nation cannot but be considered as generous and charitable. Where these charities proceed from the will of the ruler, applying, according to his own ideas and feelings, the public fund—or where they are drawn by superstitious fear from the conscience of remorse, the society can claim but little merit as charitable and compassionate. In England, nothing can speak more loudly the pride and kindness of the nation, than the numbers and magnitude of their charities. There the immense resources of the nobles and rich of the land are as regularly subjected to this drain, as to the payment of their household expenses; and they are as little honoured for this benevolence as for their personal outlays. In France, there are no evidences of any such conceptions of charity, and her capital abounds with proofs of the demoralizing tendency of an absence of feeling. No government ever can correct all the sorrows, or relieve all the desolation of poverty, crime, and misery. If the people do not exhibit generosity, and if they be not active in benevolence, vice and its consequences must increase, and every shoot of vice is but the stem of a thousand crimes. But this people has not yet learnt the self-denial which vanity cannot practise—they must enjoy their own display, and by an unworthy and womanish philosophy, they shun the sight of the evil which a manly spirit would relieve or eradicate. The kindness of the higher classes to the lower is not visible in undertakings for their real benefit and substantial welfare, but in sentiment, elegance, and stage effect. They are familiar with their inferiors, for this is a trait of vanity, greedy of all and every transient applause—but they are not kind, for kindness to those beneath us is generally found united with pride.

So far as the morality of a community depends upon woman, or her influence and character, France, by common consent, is scarcely to be named. In some countries we pity woman, considered only as a companion in sensuality—in others we lament her degradation to a state of servitude. But in spite of their elegance and vaunted refinement, the French, even more than any other inhabitants of the south of Europe, contrived, under the old régime, to deprive her of her real virtues and influence, and to combine the most factitious compilation of the worst and most uncongenial qualities—developing the love of intrigue and the passions of her sex—in union with the intellectual impurities, and moral induration of the other. The scenes of the French court are, even

allowing for a small degree of exaggeration, (and there cannot be much when all tales are nearly alike,) beyond parallel in any European palace of modern times—and not much surpassed by the worst and most singular of antiquity. What a striking fact it is, that no where else has the monarch declared his favourite to be “*maitresse en titre*.” Francis I. introduced the custom; and Louis XIII.—the least criminal, in this respect, of the French monarchs—has been ridiculed in all the memoirs of his own and subsequent eras, even by *Madame La Motte*, for his self-command, his hypocrisy, or his want of passion, that rendered him as averse to the willing beauties of his court as to his own queen—whom indeed he very sincerely hated. Louis XIV. appears to have been, all his life, a sullen sultan in his seraglio. What other nation could have tolerated the Regent, with equal reason suspected of the murder of the grandchildren of France, and of incest with his daughter—or Louis XV., a wretch whose life could not be paralleled in the stews. Even St. Simon, the most austere and moral of the memoir writers, relates as pleasantries, occurrences absolutely shocking to human nature. In all times and in all classes of society, the marital bond was slight; the shame of its violation fell upon the husband, not upon the guilty wife. It is strange that none of the annalists of the times, not even St. Simon, appears to have admired the dignified pride with which M. de Montespan, a singular exception, refused all intercourse with, or favours from, the guilty influence of his wife. But even he was not sensible of the duties of a husband; for after her intimations of the king’s attentions, he refused to withdraw from the presence of his monarch.

In respect to such immorality, the only period in which the English court is comparable to the whole history of the French, is the reign of Charles II.—a Frenchman in all his habits of thought, and action, and education. And yet his life and associations, immoral as they were, and therefore disgusting to the people, were pure to those of almost any one of the French monarchs. In all succeeding times, virtue has been the characteristic of the English female sex. The purity of George III., his court, and domestic relations, saved the nation—at least as much as any cause—from the horrors of a revolution. In France, a woman living in open adultery, making gallantry her business, and perhaps her livelihood, might be still a woman of fashion; but in England, such a one is lost to virtuous and elevated society for ever.

Such are the consequences of pride and vanity, as regards morality; and from the greater or less degree of virtue throughout the community, may be inferred the greater or less diffusion of intellect. The honour, as it is called—the fire, and gaiety of the French, concealed their viciousness; the splendour of the mo-

narch, and the religion of their devotees, were mistaken for the national dispositions. In England, the austerity of the people renders them displeasing, but it is a surer token of the purified heart of man.

Upon nothing can the physical condition of a nation have a more immediate effect than upon their industry. Its first operation was of course to render the world a source of sustenance and delight. In those climates in which man has but little to do, or in which all that he can do is of little avail, no great proficiency in industry can be expected. In luxurious countries, rich materials are at hand, and the object of toil is rather individual enjoyment, than its consequence is general improvement—for men were not led by necessity to combine their intellectual and corporeal endowments. Their industry is therefore denominated luxurious:—but necessary industry, the characteristic of proud nations, values iron rather than gold, engenders the welfare of society rather than of persons, and considers the wants of the poor more than the pleasures of the rich.

Interesting and learned as are the remarks of Mr. Chenevix, in respect to the industry of the ancients, of China, and of other nations, we are compelled to pass them over. France and England exhibit each the modifications of industry. These great nations are now—have been for the last three hundred years, and may be for as many more—the great rivals of each other in influencing the world. To their quarrels and ambition, to the grasping love of glory in the one, and the cold pertinacity of real power in the other; to the one's love of enjoyment, and the other's desire of amelioration, are mainly to be attributed, directly or remotely, the present refined state of man. All the productions of past ages, all that antiquity bequeathed, all that the Italian states effected upon the revival of letters, all that the zeal and science of Spain and Portugal brought to light in foreign climes, all the skill and industry of every people in every era, are now possessed and made their own by England and France. But between the industry of the two there is not only a striking difference, but very strong grounds for a comparison.

The fertility of France surprised the Romans under Cæsar, as wonderful, though they were fresh from the plenteousness of Italy. Yet they were frequently in want of provisions, of which the light inhabitants had made no store. The fertility has continued, and so have the dispositions of the people.

“The annual agricultural profits of France and England, in 1818, as deduced from documents as accurate as can be expected in such matters, were as twenty-one to nineteen. But the superficies of England is only as one to two; and in both countries there is much waste land;—in England, about one-fourth—in France, about one-eighth. Hence, then, the cultivated superficies of the former, is to that of the latter, as three to seven—and France has, moreover, the advantage of climate. Now, deducting one-fourth for the depreciation of the paper

currency in England, the ratio of produce is about as fifteen to nineteen—or in round numbers, sufficiently near the truth, as three to four, from surfaces which are as three to seven. But making all due abatement on account of the greater consumption in England, and the high prices which attend commercial prosperity, and reducing the value to equal surfaces, the proportion becomes as five to seven; that is to say, that the superior agricultural skill of England so much controls natural disadvantages, as to secure an excess of twenty per cent. in the absolute quantity of provisions produced from equal surfaces of British and French soil; while the superiority of her manufactures and trade, gives four measures of English soil a value equal to that of seven and a half of French soil. Such is the result of too easy fertility, which has not compelled the inhabitants of France to devise laborious methods of cultivation, but has bestowed upon them every advantage except an incitement to thought and a motive for provident reflection." Vol. ii. p. 93.

The advantages of thought and reflection, are, however, exhibited even in France in respect to their vines, in the cultivation of which, and in the manufacture of whose fruits, they excel all nations. Such is their situation, that, without care and foresight, their wines would be inferior, for nature does not do more than merely produce the plant. In Spain and Hungary, where it grows to far greater perfection spontaneously, their wines would be better than the French, if proper care and labour were bestowed upon its culture and produce.

In the manufacture of silk, the French were for a long time unrivalled. It was introduced as an article of luxury, and now, under the encouragement which it has received from various monarchs, is in the possession of every peasant. Sully, who saw that it was not fitted for the climate, endeavoured to dissuade Henry IV. from patronizing its increase. The same monarch held out inducements to the manufacture of fine linen, fine earthen ware, as well as Venetian glass; and it is in perfect accordance with the disposition of the people that tapestry should have preceded woollens. These were supplied principally by the English and the Dutch until 1646. Their manufacture has however been fostered, and even made, by royal patronage: and at the close of the seventeenth century, France supplied the Levant; supplanting the English by a scheme of the great Colbert. The arts of the manufacture and of dyeing, were learnt from the English; and the principal establishment placed at Abbeville, under the direction of Van Robais, a Dutchman. In 1818, the value of the manufacture of cloth amounted to £5,500,000, and their finest are superior to the English; but the usual qualities, such as are in daily use by all classes of society, are far inferior. Their bales were for a long time made up after the English fashion, by way of procuring a market. The fabrication of cotton threads and stuffs, in 1818, was not one-twentieth of that of Britain. In the amount of manufactures, as stated by Postlethwayte, (and the English have certainly not decreased since his time,) the French proportion is

the separation of America, the customs netted above £5,500,000, and the exports £16,000,000, the post-office £500,000, the tonnage of the navy generally was equal to three-fourths of that of the civilized world, the whole public revenue was £15,397,491, leaving a surplus of nearly one million. In 1823, the customs were £11,500,000, the exports £52,000,000, of which forty-three millions consisted in home manufactures, the post-office £1,500,000, the revenue £57,500,000, leaving a surplus of £6,500,000. To what is all this vast and almost incalculable wealth of Great Britain to be attributed? Certainly not to the productions of the island; for, they are few and as nothing in comparison with those of other nations. It is by the union of intellect, exertion, and time, that all is engendered; not by vainly neglecting what can be raised at home, nor by still more foolishly endeavouring to raise what cannot be produced there, but by putting forth to every quarter of the world for its fruits, by bringing home the raw material almost as cheaply, by means of her naval strength, as if produced within her limits, and by adding to it that unsubstantial, intangible, abstract commodity, called industry, in which mind and body, head and heart, are equally combined to the full strength of each. What nation equals her in wealth, in agriculture, in commerce, and in manufactures? and where is the intellect so much developed, and so universal as in Great Britain?

"That the faculties conferred by nature on the French, were as capable of leading them to as useful flights of invention as any other nation, cannot be doubted; yet the fact is, that they have discovered and invented less than any people whose rank in social improvement entitles them to honourable recollection. In proportion to the times, they have done less than the Egyptians, the Greeks, or the Romans; and in modern ages, every nation named in this chapter stands above them for some useful addition to the store of human industry. Spain and Portugal can look to America and to India; Italy can turn to the early history of reviving industry; Germany can show her useful labours—*tulit aller honores*—of which modern civilization has taken such advantage; and England can point to the empires she has created and is creating to attest this truth. But France cannot show, as here, a single grand discovery in navigation or geography, a single invention in industry, any addition to the general happiness of man, any large and benevolent conception in any of the important branches of welfare, comparable to those enumerated above. The most advanced in luxury, combining the greatest share of intellect with sensuality, more calculating than splendid nations, more polite than selfish nations, generally are, she has hardly deposited in the archives of true civilization a single principle of which enlightened industry could profit; and of all her rivals and contemporaries, of all her equals in renown, she has contributed the least to the progress and happiness of the species."—Vol. ii. p. 99.

In exhibiting the reaction of each of these modifications of industry, necessary and luxurious, upon nations, Mr. Chenevix is particularly strong.

"The island of Great Britain, smaller than any European state of the first, and than many of the second, order; situated in a more northern latitude than about

four-fifths of Europe, not gifted with the best of soils, and far removed from redundant or luxuriant fertility, is the greatest empire that ever has figured in the history of mankind. The proofs of this assertion are written in every part; in her power, which no hostile combination has been able to impair; in her fidelity to all her engagements, in her financial punctuality, in the success of her fleets and armies, in her philosophy, in her morality, in her government, in the empires which she has created and is still creating, in her restraining by her superior wisdom dependant colonies, six times as peopled and almost a hundred times as extensive as herself; in her educating them to all her virtues and knowledge, and teaching them to be free as she is; in her diffusing more happiness and less evil than any ruler of the earth ever did, and in her successfully opposing those who would trample on its poorest inhabitants. These are the fruits of her necessary industry. On the other hand, see what the luxury of France has produced. Not a colony to bless her; not an empire that she has benefited; bankruptcies in every age; fraud, violence, in every transaction; public debts effaced by confiscation, or cancelled by murder; more massacres than any Christian nation ever beheld, and her despotism costing more blood than English liberty; her bursts of glory followed by bitter reverses, her days of intellect chequered by nights of darkness; her magnificence bought by what is better than splendour, and her resources inferior to her means. Nor is France the only European country that shares these defects; but as the continental power which occupies the largest share in public attention, she stands the most prominent to be mentioned."—Vol. ii. 116.

To these views, and to the facts upon which they are formed, we cannot oppose any objection. We cannot differ from the author in his delineation of France in respect to her industry; and while we grant that she is, in every other respect, the most pleasant country, we do not mean to concede, that in respect to national intellect, energy, or any of the more elevated traits of character, she can soundly be compared to her supposed rival. At the same time we know of nothing that can render tolerable the eternal arrogance and assumption of the English, but such sound sense and argument as are contained in this work.

It was our intention and desire to examine other national characteristics, such as intellect, patriotism, religion, government, &c., and their modifications, and to investigate their development and reaction in other countries than have been named. In respect to all traits, Mr. Chenevix considers the nascent dispositions and tendencies of the United States, and with great propriety, as it appears to us, attributes pride and its category of qualities to the north; vanity and its concomitants to the south. Sixty years, however, is a small period for the demonstration of national character, over an immense land and different climates.

But we must draw our observations to a close, and advise those who may feel an interest in such speculations to consult the work itself. It would speak more for the literary habits of this nation, if one such work as this would pay for its reprint, than a myriad of novels or poems. We have already observed upon it as a philosophical production, freed from those metaphysical abstractions which generally bewilder equally the reader and the author. It is the philosophy of an age no longer deluded by

fancies, and too well informed to be content with theories which have nothing but their strangeness to recommend them. In our author's hands national character is really an idea—not a term. By a sound induction from facts, as unquestionable as any which history presents, he has drawn conclusions perfectly undeniable. Johnson, acute as he was, evidently attached no precise meaning to national character, when he declared that it was perpetually changing. He founded his remark upon individual instances.

The style of Mr. Chenevix is pure and nervous. He does not appear, however, to have paid so much attention to his belles lettres as to his thoughts. His elegance, his strength, and his occasional really eloquent passages, are evidently the productions of the subject itself, of great mental ability, and of deep reflection. It is not his language which supplies him with ideas, but his ideas produce his language. His work is far superior to some articles on nearly the same subject, which appeared ten or twelve years ago in the *Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews*, and of which he is stated in a prefatory notice to be the author. His style is better, more refined, and his profundity deeper and more clear.

Perhaps the principal objection to the book is his apparent illiberality in respect to France, as a rival of his own nation; a fault which we in this country may easily draw upon our charity to pardon. We shall be very kind to him in whom we perceive the impulse of a fellow feeling. His praises of England, as different as possible from adulation of the mob, may be attributed to patriotic emotions—a quality which may be regarded with respect, whatever be its results. The question, after all, is not so much of superiority as of difference, and men differ in their preferences; but we have done the author injustice if it be supposed that France and England only are the subjects of his reflection. All history, all nations, and all times, are examined and consolidated, to furnish objects of comparisons and illustrations of his opinions. The north and south, the old and new world, are all investigated. In respect to all qualities he turns to America, and particularly to these United States, with the most liberal spirit. His love of well regulated government, of municipal order, is apparent in the predictions of the future greatness of this country; and in the satisfaction with which he expatiates upon the energy and perseverance evident in the destruction of the physical obstacles—those only with which we are yet busied—to our improvement and civilization.

ART. III.—*Letters on Masonry and Anti-Masonry, addressed to the Hon. John Quincy Adams.* By WILLIAM L. STONE. New-York : O. Halsted : 1832. pp. 566.

It has sometimes surprised us, that among the numerous definitions which have been given of man, he has no where been called the mystery-loving animal. Man has always been a lover of the mysterious. Where nature speaks out most openly, that is, in a female or a child, this propensity appears with the least disguise. What little urchin is there, who is unconscious that he can, at any moment, increase his importance with his companions, by announcing, with a knowing air, that he has a secret which he might tell them if he would? Nor is the matter much otherwise with grown children. Does not every tyro in the science of human nature, know, that an affectation of reserve, with the finger on the lips, and a significant shake of the head, is the easy means whereby fortune-tellers, village politicians, aye, and city politicians too, acquire all their little consequence, and become successively the oracle of the hour? Vanity and curiosity lie at the root. One seeks for knowledge, and another for distinction; and the affectation of mystery is particularly the resort of the cunning, to make them equal with the strong.

Perhaps, of all the nations of the ancient world, Egypt was the most inclined to mystery. This tendency is every where to be perceived in the relics of her religion, philosophy, literature, and art. Nowhere has priestcraft grasped and maintained so mighty a dominion over the mind and conscience, nay, over the most petty habits of every day life. This power was exercised by means of mysteries. Her theology was full of absurd and extravagant notions, which the priests solemnized and made respectable, by throwing over them the mantle of secrecy. Not a beast of the field, nor a fowl of the air, but was sacred in the eyes of this priest-ridden people, and the worship of the animal creation, and likewise of a vast number of inanimate things, was celebrated with innumerable rites, which imposed on the unreflecting mass, while the grave and intelligent, like the traveller Herodotus, suffered themselves to be put off with the miserable pretence of "a mysterious reason," in the many cases where even the most cunning could give no reason at all. Religion was burdened and disguised with mysteries. Philosophy, too, had her full share. Pythagoras and Plato, especially the former, carried back to Greece the occult mysticism of the Egyptians, together with their refinements in science. The Samian sage was never particularly fond of giving reasons. "Avoid beans," said he, with the gravity that became a philosopher; "avoid beans," echoed his obsequious disciples, and all Greece regarded the

mystic maxim with reverence. A thousand surmises were made by the curious as to the motive of the prohibition; the real one was probably no other than this, that the same article was also forbidden by Egyptian superstition. Beans or balls, Ceres or Isis, all was one to him of Samos, so that he could impress his countrymen with a sense of the importance of his doctrines, and obtain that moral and political influence in the Grecian world, which he so ardently coveted. Hence, his concealment in the cave, whence he issued to announce that he had visited the infernal regions, and was indued with miraculous powers. But to return to Egypt; it is there we find the origin of those divisions into orders and degrees among the initiated, that have in all ages and countries, proved so mighty an engine in stimulating the zeal of the youthful aspirant for science or power. There originated the distinction between doctrines exoteric and esoteric, and various other contrivances to prevent the world from becoming wise at a jump. The intelligent and the cunning, the rich and the powerful, were flattered with the idea of looking deeper than other men into the secrets of the universe; the high price they paid for the gratification, was money, or individual or political influence; whatever, in short, could best be extorted from each; and all combined to hold at a high rate that which had cost them dear.

From science, mystery passed over into literature. The recent discoveries of Champollion have proved, beyond a doubt, that there were three species of writing in use among the old Egyptians, to wit, the hieroglyphic, the hieratic, and the demotic. One modification of the first, viz. the symbolical or enigmatical hieroglyphics, was exclusively appropriated to mysterious learning, and the priests alone, with such as they chose to initiate, had the key to its meaning. The other two species were of less, though different sacredness. The meaning of these, wherever found, on sarcophagus, mummy, or pyramid, will not now, probably, remain long undeciphered; but some of those who instructed Plato or Herodotus, must come back to earth, before the higher mysteries of the *sacred* character will be revealed to the vulgar curiosity of the moderns. Egyptian art, likewise, bowed her head before the all-controlling rage for mystery. In the vast and gloomy remains of the palaces and temples at Heliopolis, where Plato toiled to learn the secrets of Egyptian science, at Hermopolis, Esneh, Appollinopolis, Magna, and above all, at Thebes—her of a hundred gates, whose vast extent the whole diameter of Egypt was too narrow to contain, and whose suburbs rested on the two ridges of mountains which rise on either side of the Nile—are found porticoes covered within and without with hieroglyphics, representations of griffins, and other unearthly and fantastic forms, and avenues lined with statues of

that personification of mystery—the sphynx. The pyramids, too, are a standing mystery, which to this day leave the inquisitive world in doubt as to the means, materials, mode, and purpose of their construction. Thus it is, that the name of ancient Egypt has well nigh become synonymous with what is dark and occult. She may not unaptly be likened to the woman in the Apocalypse, who ruled over all the cities of the earth, and on her brow was written MYSTERY. In times more recent, the Alexandrian school displayed the same reverence for the mystical, which had distinguished their fathers of Memphis and of Thebes. The lore which they allege to have been taught them by Hermes Trismegistus, consisted, in great part, of the profound sciences of alchymy and magic.

If we glance at those eastern countries, whose early attainments in science and the arts have been most celebrated, we find in all of them a connexion established between the important and the mysterious. The Egyptian mysteries are believed to have been carried into Persia by Zoroaster, but there, Mithras, not Osiris, was the deity whose name consecrated the ceremonial. The probation of the novices bore a striking resemblance to that of Eleusis, save that it was still more tedious and severe. The Persian magi wrapt all their science and religion in the mantle of obscurity. They talked in sounding terms of the opposing spirits of good and evil, of Oromasdes and Ahriman, who are ever striving with each other for the mastery of the world, and of the angelic Peri, always in conflict with the fiendish Dives. They indulged their fancy in lofty and vain speculations in morals; but they carefully concealed from all but a chosen few, much that they called awful and mysterious, shutting up, like the Egyptians, in the Zend, which was a separate dialect, those truths which were too holy for common men to look upon.

The Chaldeans were early distinguished for their successful cultivation of the sciences, particularly of astronomy, and not less for their devotion to astrology, and other occult studies, wherewith they succeeded in imposing on the simplicity of the vulgar, and so attained all the influence and power they desired. From this, and the neighbouring regions, have come forth great numbers of magicians, or pretenders to secret intercourse with supernatural beings, who have amused the intelligent by their absurdities, and misled the vulgar by idle or mischievous impostures.

In China, which claims an antiquity many times greater than philosophers generally allow to the world in its present conformation, we find the records of mystery reaching back as far as the period of probable history. The ancient sect of Tao-see celebrated rites bearing a close resemblance to the orgies of Bacchus; the devotees filled the air with howlings, making at the

same time a hideous noise with drums and kettles; and from those days down to the present, we are told that there have always been secret associations in the Celestial Empire, holding nightly assemblies, where they curse the emperor, perform Priapian rites, and prepare every thing for the coming of a new Fo, who is to restore the golden age.

Next to Egypt, however, India has ever been the favourite abode of mysticism. Learning and the offices of religion were engrossed by a peculiar class, the Brahmins, and while these holy men have multiplied almost to infinity the rites and doctrines of religion and philosophy, they have prudently covered them from vulgar scrutiny under the cloak of a sacred language. Each generation of this favoured caste transmits to the following the mystic doctrines of the order; but with greater reserve than was shown in ancient Egypt—no prying foreigner is allowed to behold their mysteries. From time to time, a portion of their secrets has found its way to the profane, enough to show that some of the most vile and gross of the Egyptian ceremonies are to this day retained in the Brahminical worship. They are, however, divested of the coarse obscenity which characterized them on the banks of the Nile, as the inhabitants of India, more imaginative than those of Egypt, have adorned and concealed with poetical imagery, whatever was most offensive. The Gymnosophists have been charged, among other things, with the love and practice of mysteries, but so far as our research has extended, we are free to exonerate these simple and devout ascetics from any such propensity.

One of the most solemn of the Egyptian mystic celebrations was that commemorative of the search of Isis for the mangled and scattered limbs of her consort Osiris. These mysteries were imitated by the neighbouring people of ancient Canaan, changing the name of the deity to Adonis or Thammuz—

Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a summer's day,
While smooth Adonis from his native rock
Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded.

Indeed, it was from ancient Phœnicia, as some maintain, that Ceres brought the Eleusinian mysteries into Greece.

It is pretty well agreed among the learned, that all the famous mysteries of Greece, the Samothracian, the Dionysian, the Orphic, and the Eleusinian, if indeed these are to be regarded as distinct, claim an Egyptian origin. Orpheus is supposed to have been one of the earliest in that succession of illustrious Greeks, who were initiated in Egypt into those sacred mysteries, which they transplanted into the genial soil of Greece. Orpheus himself carried them to Thrace, whence they were afterwards brought

into Greece proper. With mere changes of name, it is curious to observe how exactly the descriptions given by ancient authors of the rites performed in honour of Osiris, correspond with the well known orgies of Bacchus. Whatever they afterwards became, there is no doubt that in the early celebrations of these orgies, religious ceremonies were united with philosophical instructions. Yet allusion can hardly be made with decency to some conspicuous objects, which equally in Egypt, Greece, Rome, and India, formed an essential part of the mystic ritual. Suffice it to say, that these objects too plainly establish the common origin of the mysteries.

Of this whole species of celebrations, the Eleusinian mysteries have become the most famous, from the lively genius and matchless eloquence of the people who devised them, or at least threw around them the charm of rich and graceful and poetic association. Other sacred duties were despatched in an hour, or at most in a day or two; but for nine successive days the initiated were engaged in celebrating what all Greece, by way of eminence, called "the mysteries." They dared not enter on the performance of the awful rites, till, for the space of a whole day, the cry, "To the sea, ye mystics!" had warned them not to profane these solemnities by the impurities of the world. Then followed sacrifices and processions, under the guidance of the hierophant, who represented the creator of the world, and was adorned with royal robe and diadem. On the evening of "the day of the torches," innumerable flambeaux turned night into day, and commemorated the untiring search that Ceres had made for her daughter. Then came, on the following day, the festal processions of the myrtle-crowned Bacchanals along "the sacred road." It was only in the solemn hour of night that novices were admitted to their first participation in the mysteries. The ceremonial of initiation, preceded by long and painful probation, began with washing the hands, during which the attentive novices were solemnly exhorted to keep pure their minds and hearts, without which the cleanness of the body would avail them nothing. They were then permitted to hear the reading of the holy mysteries from the cemented tablets of stone whereon they were engraved. Scenic representations were exhibited, illustrating the history and actions of gods and heroes, and the rewards and punishments of Elysium and Tartarus. While the catechumens were inducted into the venerable arcana, the scene around partook of the awful character of the revelations to which they listened; the vaulted temple was at one moment radiant with light, and the next immersed in sudden and fearful gloom; the earth groaned and trembled beneath their feet; unearthly phantoms appeared and vanished, leaving the minds of the spectators agitated with wonder and affright. It was no secondary

deity in whose honour the rites were celebrated ; they were instituted to Ceres, the goddess of corn and harvests, the benefactress of mankind, and to Proserpine, the awful queen of the abodes of the dead. Their object has been a matter of much doubt ; but though Clement of Alexandria, and others of the early Christian writers, have scouted them as being from the first repositories of indecency and blasphemy, we are free to confess a leaning to the more favourable view which Plato, and Isocrates, and Tully, and Sallust have given. These philosophic observers tell us that the purpose of the Eleusinian mysteries was to unite men at once more closely to their fellow men and to the gods ; to apply, in a seemingly indecent exhibition of external symbols, a safe remedy for youthful passions ; to communicate valuable physiological secrets ; to elevate men above the coarseness of physical life to the contemplation of the humane, the refined and the intellectual ; and best of all, to inculcate the doctrine of an immortal life. We may judge of the influence of these mysteries upon the Greeks, when we find that Spartan and Athenian, Cretan and Parrhasian, suspended their interminable feuds, and went hand in hand to the sacred banks of the Cephissus, brothers and friends during the continuance of the rites, deadly foes as soon as they were concluded. The initiated were regarded as ever after invested with a peculiar sanctity, and reaped great advantages in the increased consideration they enjoyed. Foreigners were generally excluded in the earlier times, yet the high reputation of the Scythian Anacharsis gained him admission. An intruder was put to death without mercy. Even the poet Æschylus had nearly lost his life for a simple allusion to one of the arcana. Socrates ventured to condemn them, and his fate was probably hastened by this free expression of opinion. They lost much of their sanctity after the time of Pericles, and were grossly abused to selfish and licentious ends. Yet even in Cicero's time, their ancient celebrity caused many illustrious foreigners to solicit admission, which was generally granted, the former rule excluding them having gone into disuse. At length the crying enormities attending their celebration, compelled the Emperor Theodosius to prohibit them, in the fifth century after Christ.

It was not on the banks of the Cephissus alone that the Greeks gave themselves up to the fascination of mystery. Throughout that classic land—

Where each old poetic mountain
Inspiration breathed around,
Every shade and hallowed fountain
Murmured deep a solemn sound.

Such were the terrors of the cavern of Trophonius, that they who had entered it never smiled again. The venerable oaks of

Dodona were endued with human voices, and inspired by the god, they uttered to the awe-struck votary the oracle of destiny, amidst the howling of winds and the crash of rent branches, when the storm roared through the forest. But with still deeper reverence did the kings and princes of all lands bow at the shrine of the Pythian Apollo, and depositing their rich gifts in his temple of Delphos, sought to know from his priestess the secrets of futurity. Imposing were the forms, and minute the ceremonial; the devotee might not approach the temple save in the month *Bétiuos*, his head crowned with laurel, and bearing in his hand a wool-encircled branch; his question might only be proposed in writing, and in the fewest words, and the inquirer must then wait the answer in respectful silence. The Pythoness sat on the sacred tripod; the divine influx came; her limbs quivered, she beat her breast and tore her hair; she foamed at the mouth; at length, the dreadful paroxysm found relief in utterance; she spoke, and from her mouth flowed forth, in measured verse, the awful secrets of futurity.

Let us not be thought to dwell with undue particularity on the oracles of Greece, for they formed an important link in the chain of mystery that bound the Greek to the popular superstition. True, the Samothracian and Eleusinian rites, and those of Bacchus, were more peculiarly called the mysteries. Yet it was the tendency of the age to find mystery in all around. It was involved in their philosophy, lent awe to their religion, invested every grand or gloomy scene in that romantic land with a deeper colouring, and gave new and engrossing interest to their anticipations of the future.

The Roman character, in the early ages of the republic, was manly and stern. These noble qualities did not, however, exempt their possessors from the universal propensity for the mysterious. We observe it in the story of the Sybilline oracles, a third part of which the superstitious king was glad to buy at the exorbitant price that had been asked for the whole; and all Rome believed them fraught with the destinies of the republic. We observe it in the story of the politic and philosophic Numa, his secret interviews with the goddess Egeria, and the institutions, both civil and religious, which he founded on her suggestion; among these we must not forget particularly to mention the corporations of mechanics under the names of *collegia et corpora opificum*, which afterwards became the prototype of the associations of architects, in the ages subsequent to the fall of the Roman empire, and through them of the Masonic lodges.

As Rome extended her dominions, and increased her power and her population, she adopted the religious ceremonies of many of the nations she had vanquished, and ingrafted their rites and mysteries upon her own simple worship. The mysteries of Isis

were transferred at once, together with the name of that deity, from Memphis to Rome; under the different appellations of Vesta, Cybele, Fauna, Fatua, and Bona Dea, the goddess whose real name might not be pronounced by mortals, received the homage of the Romans, accompanied by the celebration of august and profound mysteries. At some of these ceremonies, none but females were admitted, and it was upon these that the libertine Clodius intruded. These rites grew more complicated as the state grew older, and with the universal corruption of manners which accompanied the downfall of the republic, they became the scenes of the grossest riot and debauchery.

It was about the same time when the Roman manners began to yield to luxury, that Cæsar made his irruption into Britain, and the masters of the world became first acquainted with the Druids of that island and of Celtic Gaul. The history of this remarkable sect furnishes another instance of the powerful tendency there is in man to the secret and the marvellous. Like the Egyptian priests, the Druids pretended to be the depositaries of all knowledge, human and divine; and like them too, they obtained the undisputed mastery over the minds of the people. They were indeed acquainted with all of science that was to be found in their secluded island, and they cautiously kept it within their own circle. To affect the vulgar mind with suitable awe, the rites which they practised were of the most mysterious, nay, of the most horrible kind. They immolated to their gods human beings, and of them only the most perfect and beautiful. Amid the deepest gloom of the forest, in the stillness and darkness of night, they celebrated their dreadful sacrifices;—disturbed by no sounds save the scream of the owl, the howlings of the wolf, or the shrieks of their victims. Their influence over the Britons was unlimited; but as the light of Roman intelligence and science arose upon the island, the Druids were compelled to retire within narrower bounds, till nothing remained to them but the inaccessible fastnesses of Wales.

Whether or not the Druids were pupils of Pythagoras, we shall not now stop to inquire; certain it is, that they too, like the priests and philosophers of other nations, had two sets of doctrines, the one for the common people, the other, of a sacred character, was reserved for the ear of the initiated; and during the continuance of their power, so artfully had they woven around the people the web of their power, that princes and kings pressed with eagerness to be admitted into their mysteries, for the sake of the privileges and influence which they were able to confer. All that has come down to us of this singular order, furnishes ample proof, if such were wanting, of the iron grasp with which superficial knowledge may take hold on the minds of the

ignorant, if it be only sanctioned by the name of religion, and shrouded in the mantle of mystery.

Even among the simpler tribes of the north of Europe, we find traces of mystery in the doctrines of religion. Though Odin welcomed to his palace of Jalhalla all who fought and fell bravely in battle, yet the minds of the rude Scandinavians were darkened and troubled with auspices, and divinations, and oracles, and magic; and among their observances we find an annual festival, attended with mystic rites, and much resembling the Roman Saturnalia. So too among the ruder tribes of the North American aborigines, magic and mystery have been found at home. The Obi of the Creoles furnishes still another illustration of this universal weakness.

At the period when the Roman power had reached its culminating point, and had begun its downward march, a science, which had not before gained much notoriety among men of distinction in this quarter of the world, found its way to high favour. This science was astrology. It had its origin among the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and was the offspring of the divine science of astronomy, though begotten by the foul fiend Superstition. Astrology undertook to teach men to read their fates and fortunes in the aspects and conjunctions of the stars. The potent and secret influences of the constellations became the source of gain and power for the pretending few, and the terror of the credulous multitude. Even the pride of the tyrant Tiberius, and the philosophy of Adrian, bowed themselves down before the wand of the astrologer.

In another quarter the influence of the cunning few over the many was extended and retained by the same powerful talisman. We refer to the Cabbala of the Jewish rabbins. They are mysterious and important doctrines, which it was forbidden to commit to writing, but which have been handed down from the day when they were first given to Moses on Mount Sinai, through chosen individuals of each generation. They were lost during the Babylonish captivity, but supernaturally restored to the Jews in the person of Esdras. Among these awful secrets were words whereby spirits might be invoked, and any good rabbin could doubtless promise as fair as the monk in the Lay of the Last Minstrel; and probably would escape from performance by the same saving clause.

And, warrior, I could say to thee
The words that cleft Eildon hills in three,
And bridled the Tweed with a curb of stone;
But to speak them were a deadly sin;
And for having but thought them my heart within,
A treble penance must be done.

The sects of Gnostics, Essenes, and Manicheans, each in turn

excited attention and commanded respect, certainly not more from the correctness of their views in theology and philosophy, than from the friendly shadow of secrecy under which they reposed. Like the Pythagoreans of Crotona, and indeed like nearly every secret society, ancient and modern, of which history gives any account, they had each their long probation before admittance, their division into different orders, each successive rank being inducted into fuller fruition of the glorious arcana, their esoteric and exoteric doctrines, and their enthusiastic devotion to their respective societies.

Agas wore away. The rapid succession of revolutions which had shaken the political world to its centre, during the dominant and declining power of Rome, had at least produced one favourable effect. It had pulled down the gods of Pagan idolatry. If superstition and ignorance still remained, they had sunk lower than before in the ranks of society. Even in Cicero's time, augur could hardly look augur in the face without laughing. The earlier teachings of Christianity were pure; they had not yet been mingled with those deadly corruptions, which in after times so often made the whole head sick, and the whole heart faint. As early as the sixth century after Christ, the northern barbarians were in possession of the fairest portions of Europe. They trampled under foot the luxuries and refinements of the enlightened but now enervated race, who had built up the mightiest empire of ancient times. To those who had never been allowed to pronounce the name of fear, it is not surprising that the degenerate Romans should have appeared contemptible. "When we would brand an enemy with disgraceful and contumelious appellations," said Luitprand, "we call him a Roman." So low had those fallen, who but a little before were the masters of the world! The sentiment of religion was always strong among the nations of northern Europe. When they had obtained the sway of the Western Empire, there grew up with remarkable rapidity those religious orders which withdrew both men and women from active life to the devout seclusion and privations of the monastery. In imitation of the religious, were established the military orders. From the sixth to the fourteenth century, the propensity of individuals, and the passions of rulers, conspired to fill the camps and halls of the Templar, and down to the sixteenth century, the cells of Franciscan and Dominican, Benedictine and Carmelite. The world was captivated by the austerity of their life, and voluntarily accorded to them honours which power and wealth had been unable to extort. The various orders which holy zeal had once established, soon began to vie with each other in claims to superior sanctity. The novitiate was made a period of the severest penance; and after its painful

ceremonies had been accomplished, and all the rites of initiation into the order had been performed, the brother was taught to believe that a new sacredness was attached to his character, which raised him far above the vulgar mass of men.

The resemblance to the assuming priests of Egypt, was still further increased by the circumstance, that well nigh all the little remnant of literature and science of which the middle ages could boast, was shut up in the cloister. It soon became manifest that the monks, with the vows of poverty, devotion, and celibacy upon them, might be powerful instruments of promoting the aggrandizement of the church. It also appeared, and quite as early, that pride and ambition might lie concealed under the cowl, and that the naked foot, of yore consecrated to chastity, might even walk in the paths of voluptuousness. It is not a little remarkable, how universally the votaries of mystery, from the remotest ancients down to the Freemasons of to-day, have availed themselves of the interest which all men feel in theatrical representations. The mysteries or miracles exhibited by the monks in the middle ages, jumbled together in one heterogeneous mass all that was sublime and grotesque; the holy fathers declared that from beholding them the devout would derive edification; none surely could fail to find entertainment. In proportion as they became numerous and influential, there was more of ceremony and mystery interwoven with the rules of the religious brotherhoods; till at length, in the order of Jesus, the world saw a rare austerity of manners combined with accomplishments the most varied, unflinching obedience to a superior united with the most towering ambition, and all harmonized in a perfect system of discipline, in which rank rose above rank in long succession from the feeble novice to the omnipotent general, while all the mighty machinery by which their ends were achieved, was shrouded in a secrecy as profound as that which protected the awful mysteries of Eleusis. And for nearly two hundred years, the proud and subtle Jesuits ruled with open or secret dominion the chief part of Europe, with a sway as truly absolute as that which they exercised over the simple inhabitants of Paraguay.

Our limits will not permit us to trace the curious coincidences which exist between the institutions of chivalry and those of ancient mysticism. We can only glance in haste at those military orders which had much in common with the monkish fraternities. The former borrowed from the ancient mysteries still more of their initiatory ceremonial than the latter. It was only after long fasting and penance and study, that the aspirant was received into the pale of the Temple, and his investiture with the insignia of the order was attended with imposing pomp and

circumstance. Without entering into the vexed question of the innocence or guilt of the Templars, and certainly without approving the horrible barbarity which exterminated the order, there can be no doubt that they gave occasion to the suspicion and hatred of their enemies, equally by the mysterious rites they celebrated, and by the lordly arrogance too often exhibited.

Anarchy has sometimes goaded men into temporary associations, which have usually fallen asunder as soon as the object of joint action was accomplished. Of this nature was the *Hernandad* or Brotherhood which existed among the towns of Spain, and served as a check on the violent and arbitrary *grandees*. The league of the *Hanse Towns* owed its origin to a similar reason. The holy *Fehme*, or as Sir Walter Scott writes it, *Vehmgericht*, was founded far back in the dark ages, from a like justifiable motive; but in process of time, it was found convenient to extend the jurisdiction of the Secret Tribunal, till it became the instrument of advancing the selfish views of its members at the expense of the rest of the community, and thus rendered itself the terror of Westphalia, and other portions of southern and eastern Germany. The region of its fearful operations was called, from their cruelty, the Red Land; and the prince of novelists has given us, in *Anne of Geierstein*, a vivid picture of the audacity and secrecy of its deeds of darkness.

Partaking the judicial character of the *Fehme*, but in other respects resembling more the monkish orders, was the Holy Inquisition. Even now, when the sceptre of this mother of abominations is broken, we find it difficult to speak of her deeds with calmness. Language fails to utter the abhorrence with which the just and humane contemplate her bloody altars. Cold and passionless, this modern fury was far more odious than they of the Grecian mythology; for while with just retribution they punished the bad, she fiercely tortured the good. Neither age, nor sex, nor station, was respectable in her eyes; she rent asunder as if for pastime the bonds of kindred and of friendship, and made a mockery of the stronger ties of love. If the Brahmin arrogated to his caste peculiar privileges, and the Druid stained the forest leaves with the blood of his victims, it may yet be said in extenuation of their selfishness and inhumanity, that their principles of morals were generally pure and wholesome, and their reverence for science great; but self-aggrandizement was the moving principle of the inquisition, with no care for a pure morality, no regard for the discoveries of science.

Of a very different nature have been those associations of mechanics, which, on account of the usefulness of their labours, have received, in different ages and countries, the special protection of princes. The earliest society of this kind which has

left any distinct trace in history, is that of the Dionysiaca, or Dionysian architects of Asia Minor. The beautiful productions of Grecian architecture could not have been finished without liberal encouragement of the art, and great proficiency of the artist; and in those unstable governments, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that in addition to the liberal remuneration for each particular work, the builders should have found it necessary for their safety and prosperity to unite together in corporations or companies, and that the taste or vanity of the monarchs who employed them should have conferred upon them peculiar immunities. Such we are assured was the fact with regard to the Dionysiaca. The notices of these architects are but sparse and uncertain; enough however remains to show considerable analogy between them and the *collegia artificum* which existed in the Roman state. In states where war is the primary object, it was well for mechanics if they could find any bond of union sufficiently strong, any protection ample enough to save them and their craft from annihilation. We doubt whether any means short of a vigorous union of artists could have ensured their existence through the troublous scenes of the Roman republic; but when luxury came in aid of civilization and taste, union was no longer needful.

But when the hordes of northern barbarians invaded the luxurious capital of the world, they swept ruthlessly away whatever savoured of the effeminacy they despised; and their undistinguishing rudeness buried in one common heap that which ministered to indolence and licentiousness, and that which promoted taste, intelligence, and comfort. Some of these haughty conquerors ate from vessels of wood, and contemptuously ordered their Roman captives to be served upon silver. The noblest works of architecture were to them no more than the rude hut. We owe what remains to us of the Pantheon and the Colosseum to their neglect of art, not to their reverence for it. Even when wave after wave of these fierce barbarians had inundated Europe, and the tumult of that stormy sea had at length subsided, these rude conquerors showed no relenting spirit towards the arts. But the religious feeling which always distinguished them, finally wrought out the salvation of the arts, and architecture was the first to enjoy favour. Churches and cathedrals and monasteries were wanted, and architects could only be obtained to build them by the grant of alluring rewards, accompanied with such immunities, obtained by the influence of the clergy, as put them and their acquisitions above the reach of the rapacious barons, who seized unscrupulously on all that was exposed to their power. No permanent employment for a large corps of builders could be found even in the largest cities, in those ages when Paris and London were filled with mud-walled hovels thatched

with straw. The companies of Masons, therefore, called Free, by reason of the privileges they enjoyed at a time when most of the mechanic arts were incumbered with restrictions, went from place to place as their services were wanted, and formed their little encampment near the buildings they erected. To prevent the intrusion of the unskilful and the unworthy, they instituted an examination into the qualifications and habits of each apprentice that presented himself for admission, and if his character and skill were approved, he was made free of the craft by a certain ceremonial. The notices of the first appearance and early operations of these corporate Masons in Britain are few and unsatisfactory. There and on the continent they seem to have much resemblance to the Guilds, in which, from the feudal times, the mechanics who followed the different handicrafts had found it expedient to associate themselves.

From these societies of operative masons have arisen the speculative lodges generally known as the *Freemasons*. Far be it from us to maintain on the one hand, with the unscrupulous supporters of the order, that ancient saints and kings have been masters and fellows of the craft; that Jerusalem owes her temple, Athens her Parthenon, Christendom the preservation of the sacred canon, and the world its morality and its charity to the Freemasons; and on the other hand we shall be equally slow in attributing to the order the gross licentiousness of the Bacchanalian orgies, the wild mysticism of Gnostic, Pythagorean or Rosicrucian, the absurdities of astrology and the Cabbala, the cruelties of Druidism and the Inquisition, or the dangerous tendency of the Illuminati and the Jacobins. All we mean to say is this, that the names of the societies, the mode of initiation, the style and tenor of the moral instruction, the technical terms appropriated by both, and the entire absence of proof of their separate contemporaneous existence, are enough to satisfy any impartial person, that if the companies of operative masons of the feudal times had never existed, we should likewise never have heard of the Freemasons of the last century and the present.

A few words will suffice to connect the external history of Freemasonry with those secret associations to which we have already called the attention of our readers. We find a few Englishmen meeting together under the name of Freemasons, not much more than a hundred years ago. At first it is not easy to tell the purpose of their assembling. By and by we are told that science and morality in general are the end they have in view. Soon afterwards charity is added to the list of their ostensible objects. Certain strange ceremonies are acknowledged to be practiced among them. The brethren have a secret language by which they make themselves understood to each other, but unintelligible to all beside. Then we hear of degrees and

orders among the initiated; sister lodges are founded in other parts of the world, various orders and insignia of chivalry, with their appropriate terms and splendid pageantry, are adopted; wherever a Freemason travels, it is observed that immediately, as if by magic, he finds himself in a circle of friends, no region so distant as to remove him out of the sphere of Masonic influence; and finally, and it is not certainly the least among the merits of the order, we find it in despotic and ill-governed monarchies affording a nucleus around which all patriotic hearts may gather to concert the delivery of their country. If we believe the Abbé Barruel and Professor Robison, all that is licentious and depraved in religion, politics, or morals, was fostered and quickened into a noxious growth at the time of the French Revolution by certain eclectic sects of Freemasons in Germany and France, although their horrible doctrines became notorious and contemptible, not as emanating from the order just named, but from the Illuminati and the Jacobins. Yet if Masonry has any blame to bear from this quarter, it is but just to acknowledge that within the present century the Carbonari of Italy, the Tugendbund of Germany, and the Masonic lodges of Spanish America, have shown that Freemasonry may be of great value as a rallying point for the friends of liberty.

The result of the brief and cursory survey we have taken of mysteries and secret brotherhoods is any thing but favourable to either. If we look minutely into their history, in general we find them established for the ostensible purpose of promoting religion, virtue, science, and humanity, and as often degenerating into absurd and puerile pageantry, into the orgies of gross licentiousness, into blasphemous impiety. It is often said that we may not fairly argue against the right use of an institution from its abuse. The true rule we take to be, that no institution should be put down merely for a fancied liability to abuse. Those institutions are fully open to objection against which it can be proved, that wherever established, and under whatever circumstances, they have been the actual instruments of the bad for attaining selfish ends, and have thus shown themselves peculiarly liable to misuse and corruption. This has been eminently the case with secret associations. We have seen something of the course they have taken in the old world. What has been the case in the new? Let Mr. Stone answer the question, from whose very interesting narrative we fear we have too long detained our readers.

It cannot be unknown to any into whose hands these pages may fall, that within five years past a party has arisen in these United States, with the avowed object of excluding every Freemason from public office. Resolved and stern, like the Covenanters of Scotland, this party has pursued its object with a per-

tinacity, that seemed to acquire equal strength from success and from defeat.

"It had its origin in a small town in the interior of this state, with reference, solely, to a town election. Since that period it has drawn into its ranks nearly one hundred thousand free and intelligent electors of the state of New-York; it has almost divided the vote of Pennsylvania; it has planted itself deeply in the soil of Massachusetts; it is spreading in other of the New-England states, in Ohio, and elsewhere; while in Vermont, like the rod of Aaron, it has so far swallowed up both of the former parties, as to have obtained the control of the state government."—p. 5.

In the volume before us is given, in an easy and agreeable manner, the history of the origin of this party. Mr. Stone comes to his task with singular qualifications for executing it well. Having been for several years the editor of one of the best and most spirited journals in the city of New-York, he not only holds the pen of a ready writer, but has been led to follow closely on the track of his subject, as successive events of interest have occurred in relation to it. He enjoys the additional advantage of having been a high Mason, which circumstance has of course given him access to the mysteries and advantages of the order, such as they are. Above all, Mr. Stone brings to the work an impartial mind, seeking only the truth, and fearless in its avowal.

The following passage gives a bird's-eye view of the beginning of the Anti-masonic excitement.

"In searching for the origin of Anti-masonry, we discover it as proceeding exclusively from the fact, that in the year 1826, a great outrage was committed in the western part of New-York, against the peace of the people and the majesty of the laws. An extensive conspiracy was formed against a free citizen, commencing in his seizure and abduction, and ending in his murder. The men engaged in this foul conspiracy, thus terminating in a deed of blood, belonged to the society of Freemasons; and the life of the victim was taken, as a punishment for a disclosure, on his part, of what have been deemed the secrets of that institution. The fact of the abduction and murder having been satisfactorily ascertained, the people of that section of country, labouring under a very honest feeling of indignation at the perpetration of such an outrage, set themselves about a thorough investigation of this black transaction. But they soon found their investigations embarrassed, by Freemasons, in every way, that ingenuity could devise. At that time, by the then existing law of the state, grand jurors were selected and summoned by the sheriffs of counties. In one county, suspicion was strongly fastened upon the sheriff himself; and the grand jurors summoned by him refused to find bills, where the *ex-parte* testimony was on all hands believed to be sufficient to put the offenders upon their trial. In some instances, where convictions were had for the lesser crime of abduction, the parties offending, so far from having been expelled from their respective lodges for their crimes, received aid and comfort from their brethren. In others, some witnesses stood mute; others were believed to have perjured themselves; while in other cases, the Masons on the petit juries, would refuse to convict, even where the testimony was strong as proofs of holy writ. The arm of the law was raised, and the power and authority of the state invoked and exercised in vain; while the grand supervising bodies of the Masonic institution, were themselves strongly suspected of favouring the cause of the accused. The natural consequence of such a chain of circumstances, was to increase the excitement of the people at every new development of facts, and to chafe them into a yet more angry mood, with every successive disappointment. A large portion of the press, moreover,

either observed an ominous silence, or attempted to heap ridicule upon those who honestly believed the blood of an innocent man to be crying from the ground for vengeance.

"Thus irritated and inflamed, the Anti-masons no longer confined their denunciations to a few misguided Masonic fanatics at the west, but proceeded in no measured terms, to denounce the whole fraternity, and to hold the institution of Freemasonry itself as directly responsible for the alleged murder. At one time it was said that the Grand Lodge, at another that the Grand Chapter, and at another that the General Grand Chapter, had directly authorized and required the murder of the victim—whose name, I need not add, was *WILLIAM MORRIS*."—pp. 6-8.

After describing in lively terms the baneful effects produced by these suspicions and denunciations, the poison they infused even into the charities of private and domestic intercourse, the distrust and exasperation they spread over all the social relations, Mr. Stone thus states the object of his book, an object which does as high credit to the goodness of his heart, as the general execution of the work to his taste and ability.

"These asperities must be softened. The Anti-masons must be made to perceive, that, whatever they may think of Freemasonry itself, their indiscriminate proscription of its members, whom they know to be pure and virtuous, patriotic and upright citizens, is cruel and unjust. The Masons, on their part, must in like manner be made to perceive, that there has been great cause for the excitement and indignation of the Anti-masons. They must likewise be made to perceive, that the masonic institution, having over a wide region of country been corrupted and abused—nay, stained with blood which its officers have not tried to wipe away—is liable to be so abused and corrupted again; and, therefore, that it cannot and ought not longer to be sustained."—p. 11.

In the execution of the task undertaken with such praiseworthy motives, Mr. Stone begins with describing Masonry as he himself received and practised it. To the uninitiated portion of our readers, at least, we think this part of the work will prove highly entertaining. The mixture of absurd fable, of sound moral instruction, of mechanical terms and symbols, of scenic representation, and of touching and eloquent appeals to the heart, in the ceremonial of the various degrees, is interesting though highly incongruous, and shows in strong relief the mongrel origin of the order as now existing, tracing its paternity to knowledge and ignorance, chivalry and mechanics, history and fable, in about equal proportions. We can hardly refrain from copying the lively description of the emblems of the Master's degree, in the third, and of the initiatory rites of the Templar's degree, in the sixth Letter. In the seventh our author examines the nature of the masonic obligations, which, as received by virtuous men, he maintains to have been understood as perfectly consistent with patriotism and religion. He shows that some of the most objectionable clauses of masonic oaths are recent interpolations, while at the same time he correctly concludes his remarks on this head with the declaration that "these oaths are all wrong."

There has been some variance among the brethren about what

constitutes the real secrets of the order. Mr. Stone's opinion has long been,

"That the essential secrets of Masonry, consisted in nothing more than the signs, grips, pass-words and tokens, essential to the preservation of the society from the inroads of impostors; together with certain symbolical emblems, the technical terms appertaining to which served as a sort of universal language, by which the members of the fraternity could distinguish each other, in all places and countries where lodges were instituted, and conducted like those of the United States." p. 71.

And we are glad, without being at all surprised, to find our author declaring, shortly after,

"That should a brother Mason tell me, as a secret, that he had robbed a store, I should very speedily make the matter public in the police office; or, should he say that he had helped to murder William Morgan, I should as certainly help the civil authorities to put him in the way of being hanged." p. 73.

In the eighth and ninth Letters, Mr. Stone briefly examines the numerous claims that have been set up for the antiquity of speculative Masonry, and although he assigns to it an origin some hundred years earlier than we should be willing to admit, yet he rejects with merited contempt the baseless fables which would trace the order from Adam, through Abraham, Solomon, and Julius Cæsar. He cannot, with Lawrie, find Masonry in the Egyptian hieroglyphics. "Equally difficult," says our author, "in my apprehension, would be the task of finding any verisimilitude" (doubtless a *lapsus pennæ* for similitude) "between Freemasonry and the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, which were borrowed from Egypt, and celebrated with so much strictness in several of the Grecian states, particularly in Attica." p. 91. We do not, any more than Mr. Stone, see in Freemasonry a continuation of the Eleusinian mysteries. But we cannot escape from the conviction, that the origin and perpetration of both are to be traced to precisely the same infirmities of the human mind. This survey of the history of the order is concluded by an array of eight reasons, drawn from the character of the institution, why it should be abolished, and which we doubt not all impartial men will agree in thinking good and sufficient. These reasons are, substantially—that the history of Masonry is founded in fraud and imposture; that its ceremonies are puerile; that the institution is useless, since the diffusion of Christian as well as intellectual and political truth has superseded the necessity of inculcating morality and virtue by force of oaths, and through the medium of symbols and emblems; that its legality is questionable, and its oaths contrary to divine command; that attendance upon its duties occasions great waste of time; that there is a growing jealousy among the people against secret societies, and not without cause; and lastly, that the institution has been abused, and may be again.

Mr. Stone then proceeds to relate what is known of the life

of William Morgan, the Masonic victim. His failings, it would seem, were many, and among them was an avaricious disposition. His unsettled habits keeping him continually poor, and poverty rendering him petulant, he quarrelled with his masonic brethren, and avarice and revenge suggested to him a double gratification in publishing to the world the treasured secrets of Freemasonry. The masons were soon apprized of his design, which occasioned them the greatest alarm. The terror of the threatened publication spread widely and rapidly, and various were the schemes, legal and illegal, to which the brotherhood resorted to frustrate it. We pass over the first outrages against Morgan and his partner Miller, and extract Mr. Stone's account of the final abduction of the former, on the 11th of September, 1826, upon a charge of petit larceny.

"Early on the following morning, (the 11th,) Morgan was arrested by Hayward, and brought to a tavern kept by Mr. Danolds—Morgan making no objections to going along with him, and breakfasting with the officer and his associates. An extra coach was again engaged for the return; but while preparations were making for their departure, Colonel Miller appeared, and objected to Morgan's being taken away, on the ground that he was then on the limits, and, of course, in the custody of the sheriff of Genesee; Miller, being his bail, feared that should he be carried beyond the prison limits, he (Miller) would then become responsible for the debt and costs. In answer to this objection, it was maintained, that, inasmuch as the warrant was issued in the name of the people, for a criminal offence, the officers had a right to hold his person, and take him to Canandaigua. Morgan made no objections himself, and voluntarily entered the carriage, according to the account of Brown; but the narrative of the Lewiston committee, which appears to have been drawn up with great caution, conveys a different impression. Miller, it says, was rudely pushed aside by Danolds, the inn-keeper, who closed the door, while Chesebore, mounting upon the outside, directed the coachman to drive fast, until they should cross the line of the county. The coachman, it appears, was suspicious that all was not right, and being reluctant to proceed, was persuaded by Chesebore to keep on to Stafford, on the assurance that Ganson would then become security against all responsibility—and this responsibility was assumed by Ganson. At Le Roy, Morgan was told by Hayward, that if he chose, he might go before the magistrate who had endorsed the warrant, and be discharged, on giving bail for his appearance to answer to the charge, at the next term of the General Sessions of the Peace for Ontario. It may have been that Morgan, being thus away from home, felt that it would be difficult for him to procure bail, should he make the exertion;—but he said he preferred going on to Canandaigua, where, as he believed, he could soon satisfy Kingale, that, although he had not returned the trifle of clothing, yet he had no intention of stealing it. The distance between Canandaigua and Batavia, is fifty miles; and the party having Morgan in custody, arrived on their return, at about sun-set. The prisoner was immediately taken before Justice Chipman, and examined upon the charge preferred against him, but which soon fell to the ground. It appeared that he had merely borrowed the shirt and cravat of Kingale, and of course there was nothing felonious in the transaction. On being discharged from this prosecution, however, in which a Mason, by the name of Loton Lawson, appeared on his behalf, he was immediately arrested by Chesebore for a small debt of two dollars, due to one Aaron Ackley, another tavern-keeper in Canandaigua, and for the collection of which Chesebore produced a power of attorney. Morgan admitted this debt; judgment was taken by confession; and an execution was sued out on the spot. Having no money to satisfy it, he pulled off his coat, and made a tender of that;—but the officer refused to take it, and the unhappy man was

forthwith taken to prison, and locked up at about 10 o'clock in the evening. It was on the morning of that day, that the sun last dawned upon his freedom." pp. 145—7.

Mr. Stone has well described the distress of the unfortunate man's wife upon the arrest and removal of her husband. In the hope of procuring his release, she went to Canandaigua under the protection of a man named Ketchum, carrying with her the manuscripts whose publication was so much apprehended.

"During the journey from Batavia, the feelings of Mrs. M. had been sustained by the confident expectation, that she would not only meet her husband on her arrival at Canandaigua, but procure his release, even were she to find him in duress. The charge under pretext of which he had been so rudely torn from his family and home, was of such a paltry nature, that it could not be doubted that in the wonderful papers, which were now in her trunk, she had a charm that would readily dissolve all the bolts and bars that might stand in her way. But hope was a deceiver. Ketchum, after an absence of some time, returned to the inn at which they had stopped, stating that he had not been able to find her husband; adding that the Masons looked upon him as a friend of Morgan's, and being apprehensive that he had come to get him away, would hold no conversation with him. He then asked her for the papers, and taking them with him promised to do all in his power to ascertain where her husband was, and bring her the intelligence. Hour after hour passed away, without any tidings, during which time her apprehensions became painfully oppressive. Towards evening, however, he again returned, and informed the distressed woman of her husband's having been there; of his trial for larceny; his acquittal, &c.; together with the particulars of his second arrest and imprisonment for debt. But although he truly added that Morgan had subsequently been taken from the prison, by a man who had paid the debt, and carried off in a close carriage, yet he stated the falsehood, that this debt had been paid by a man from Pennsylvania, to whom he (Morgan) was indebted, and at whose suit he had now been carried thither. He then coldly asked Mrs. Morgan, when she wished to return home to Batavia. The desolate woman replied that she would go immediately, as she had left a child but two years old, and, without money, was there, among strangers, with an infant in her arms only two months old.

"Once more was the poor woman left alone, while her guardian went to take a passage for her in the stage. Returning again, in the evening, a scene occurred of the most interesting and painful description. He found Mrs. Morgan traversing the room, in the bitterest anguish, relieved only by the tears which were flowing down her cheeks. Though beyond a doubt he was deeply in the plot, yet he could not withstand the passion of her grief; he could not, it seems, suffer her to depart under the cruel deception which he had attempted to practice upon the now wretched woman. Accordingly, after surveying her for a few moments in her distress, he took her to a seat, and attempted to sooth the bitterness of her feelings. He assured her that he did not know where her husband was—that his place of concealment was not known—but that if she would permit him to take the papers to Rochester, he thought he should be able to discover him. He then told her that a part of the papers which they wanted were missing—particularly the illustrations of the mark-master's degree—and he urged that, on her return to Batavia, she would find the remainder of the papers, if possible—assuring her moreover, that if she could ascertain where the sheets of the first three degrees, already printed by Miller, could be found, and give him information at Rochester, by letter, he would give her twenty-five dollars, and the lodge would pay her one hundred dollars more. Mrs. M. declined making the attempt to obtain the papers, or printed sheets, from Miller, and said she would not receive the money. She also hesitated about giving up the papers now in her possession, fearing, as she frankly told him, that it was their intention to keep her husband in concealment until they should obtain them all, and then take his life. He again pressed her to write to him at Rochester, and in-

form him as to the state of public feeling at Batavia, in regard to the taking away of her husband. He gave his name on a slip of paper, 'George Ketchum,' and on taking leave, made a solemn pledge as follows:—'I promise, before my God, that I will not deceive you, but will do all I can to find out where he [Morgan] is, and let you see him: I have no doubt when I get back to Rochester, I can find out more, and I think I can find where he is.'

"Ketchum had paid her passage, and he now gave her two dollars to defray her expenses back to Batavia. Thus was this unfortunate woman left—a stranger, in a strange place—homeless—friendless—with an infant at her breast, and another child at fifty miles distance, which, though not quite so young, was, nevertheless, equally dependant and helpless. Her husband—no matter what were his faults, he was still her husband, the father of her children—had been torn from his family; and with a heavy heart, she was now compelled to return, after a fruitless search, equally as ignorant of his fate, or of the place in which he had been concealed, as when she had set out upon the bootless mission."—pp. 149-152.

The extraordinary story of the kidnapping of Morgan from Canandaigua is related as follows:—

"Morgan was thrust into prison, at about the hour of nine o'clock in the evening. Immediately afterwards, on the same night, a man named Loton Lawson, hired a horse of Ackley, avowedly for the purpose of going to Rochester—distant thirty miles. He returned early in the morning, and went immediately to bed—informing Ackley, the inn-keeper, that some gentlemen from Rochester would call for him in the course of the day. In the afternoon, two men from Rochester, viz.: Burrage Smith and John Whitney, called, agreeably to the intimation. Lawson being aroused from his sleep, came down stairs, and all three went out together. In the evening of this day—September 12—(at which time, it will be remembered, that, under delusive guidance, the alarmed and distracted wife of Morgan was engaged in her ineffectual pursuit of one who never was destined to return,)—Lawson went to the jail, and applied to Mrs. Hall, the wife of the keeper—her husband not being within at the time—for permission to see Morgan, and have some private conversation with him, for which purpose he desired to be admitted into his cell. This request was refused, and eventually Morgan was called to the door, where some conversation took place between them. Lawson informed the prisoner that he had come to pay the debt and costs, and release him; and asked him whether, on being discharged, he would go home and stay with him that night; to which proposition Morgan replied in the affirmative. Lawson thereupon requested Mrs. Hall to let him out, and he would satisfy the execution. But the request was declined. Her husband not being at home, Mrs. H. was properly cautious in her proceedings; and besides, the execution being locked up in a desk, she could not ascertain the amount due. Lawson then said he would pay the amount of the execution when Mr. Hall came in; but Morgan, being then undressed and in bed, replied that it was no matter that night—the affair might as well be left till morning. Lawson, however, insisted upon doing it that night, complaining, at the same time, of being much wearied, in consequence of having been running about for him [Morgan] all day. He then went out, as he said, to look for the jailor, and returned in about half an hour, averring that he had been at every place where it was likely he should find the keeper, but without success. He was now accompanied by a man named Foster, as he called himself, but which Mrs. Hall believed was an assumed name. She thought he was one of the prisoners on the limits. Lawson again pressed Mrs. Hall to release Morgan, proposing to leave five dollars, a sum much greater than the amount due on the execution, by way of indemnity. The proposal was again declined—the lady stating that she had understood that Morgan was a rogue—that great pains had been taken to secure him—and she did not wish to let a rogue out. Lawson pressed his request importunately, and offered to leave fifty or a hundred dollars in pledge, to bring her husband off harmless, if she consented. But she was inexorable, and he again went away.

While these proceedings were going on without the debtor's apartment, Morgan himself seems to have had some misgivings as to the motive of the proffered kindness—observing to a fellow prisoner, ‘that should that man [Lawson] prove a traitor to him, he would not give much for his life.’ The applicant soon afterwards returned once more to the jail, accompanied by Col. Sawyer, and both urged Mrs. Hall again, very strongly, to receive the money and release the prisoner. Being still resolutely refused, they went away in pursuit, as they said, of Cheseboro, whom Mrs. Hall knew as the plaintiff in the suit. On following them to the door, Mrs. H. saw two men near by, one of whom proved to be Cheseboro himself. On coming up to the jail, he directed her to let Morgan go, as these men, he said, would pay the amount of the execution, and he wanted no more of him. The money having been counted down, Mrs. Hall took the keys, and was going to release the prisoner, when Lawson interposed, and said he would go with her—stepping to the door at the same time, and giving a shrill whistle. Mrs. H., again looking out of the door herself, perceived a man, whom she had seen with Lawson at an earlier hour of the evening, coming towards the steps. On reaching the outer door of the prison, Lawson told her, as they entered, that she need not lock that after them; but there were other prisoners in custody, and she insisted upon doing it. She unlocked the door of Morgan's apartment, and Lawson, calling to him, directed him to hasten, and dress himself quickly. On coming out of the cell, Lawson took him by the arm, though not in an unfriendly or forcible manner, and they departed. Before Mrs. H. had secured the fastenings of the prison, however, she heard the cry of ‘murder,’ and hurrying to the door, saw Morgan between Lawson and the other man, who had previously approached the steps, at the signal of the whistling, struggling with all his might, and crying out in the most distressing manner. Both Lawson and the other man had hold of his arms; Morgan exerting himself in vain to get loose, and crying out until his voice was suppressed, as if by something thrust suddenly into, or placed over his mouth, or across his throat. At this time, and while they were dragging him away, Cheseboro and Sawyer were standing near by, without showing any concern in the transaction, which was passing before them. Morgan having been taken out of sight, a violent rap with a stick was made upon the curb of a well, and a carriage drove past, following in the direction taken by those who had dragged him away. Immediately after the carriage passed, Cheseboro and Sawyer went off in the same direction—the latter picking up and taking with him the hat of Morgan, which had been lost in the affray. It likewise appeared, from the evidence of a woman, who resided opposite the jail, that sundry men had been walking, sitting, and standing, about the premises, during a great part of the evening, appearing to be much engaged in consultations, which were carried on in an under-tone of voice. Among these men she recognised Cheseboro, Sawyer, and a man named Chauncey Coe. This woman likewise heard the cries of distress, as of one in perilous circumstances; and from the suspicious conduct of the persons before mentioned, had apprized her husband of her apprehensions that all was not right. After the noise upon the well-curb, she saw the carriage of Mr. Hubbard, with his gray horses—it was a bright moon-light night—driving down the street in the direction taken by the men, it being at the time empty; but it soon re-passed, taking the direction to Rochester, having several persons in it. These facts were all distinctly corroborated by other deponents. One of them, on hearing the noise, went to the door, and seeing the struggle, stepped up to Col. Sawyer, who was a little behind, and inquired what was the matter? To which he replied:—‘Nothing, only a man just let out of jail, has been taken on a warrant, and is going to be tried.’ Sawyer being a respectable man, the answer was satisfactory. The statement of Hubbard himself was, that he had been engaged by a man whom he did not know, to take a party in his carriage to Rochester, on the night in question;—he expecting them to start from Kingsley's tavern. At about nine o'clock in the evening, however, a man came and stated to him, that the party had gone down the road towards Palmyra, and would get in when he overtook them. He thereupon drove down the road past the jail, as requested, until he saw several men in the street, who directed him to stop. He did so, and five or six of them got into the car-

riage, directing him to turn round, and proceed to Rochester. Stopping but twice on the way, they arrived in Rochester at about the dawning of the day, but passed immediately through that town, and proceeded to Hanford's Landing, three miles below, where he understood it to be the desire of the party to obtain a vessel. He drove about eighty rods beyond Hanford's, towards the ridge road, where he stopped—there being no house nearer than Hanford's. His party alighted here, in the road, near to a piece of woods. He then turned about and drove back to Rochester—meeting two carriages, even thus early, one of which was of a green or cinnamon colour, and thence proceeded home—not knowing either of the party who had ridden with him; nor received any pay; nor observed any violence practised towards any one of the company.”—pp. 161-5.

The testimony of Edward Giddings, which was not elicited till long afterwards, follows out the clue to other steps in this march of violence and crime.

“Giddings was thereupon sworn. He testified, that in September, 1826, he lived at Fort Niagara, and kept the ferry. About midnight of the 12th he was called up by Col. King, who said he had got the d——d perjured scoundrel who had been revealing the secrets of Masonry; that he was bound, hood-winked, and under guard; wanted witness to take them over the river, and deliver him up to the Masons in Canada, for them to do with as they thought proper; went over the river with them; Morgan was sitting on a piece of timber when witness went out of the house; he had a handkerchief over his eyes; he was then led to the boat by two men; one had hold of each arm; was not intoxicated; appeared to be very weak; his legs were not bound; nothing was said to him before they got to the boat; one of the men, (Eli Bruce,) called for some water, and said the wretch is almost famished; there were four of us with him; five in all, including Morgan, went into the boat, viz.: Col. King, Hague, Bruce, Morgan, and witness; two of the men, when we got over, went up to the town, (Niagara.) While they were waiting in the boat, Morgan said; ‘the handkerchief pains me most intolerably;’ the man who sat in front of him felt under the handkerchief, and said, ‘it is not tight, keep silent;’ he then said, ‘gentlemen, I am your prisoner, use me with magnanimity;’ the man who sat before him pressed a pistol against his breast, and told him if he said any thing more he would shoot him. Morgan tried to put his hands into his vest pocket, and could not; witness then saw that his hands were tied behind him. In about two hours they returned with intelligence that the Canadians were not prepared to receive Morgan, whereupon he was brought back and put into the magazine. Witness had the key; went up the next morning to give him food and refreshments. They went into the porch door, and were about opening the door leading to the magazine, when Morgan said, you had better not come in, for as there are but two of you, I can defend myself against you, as I am situated; I am determined not to be bled to death. John Jackson then said, where is that pistol, is it loaded, is the flint in good order? for I will shoot the d——d rascal; this was said in a loud voice to intimidate him. Morgan then cried murder and made much noise. Witness requested a man, (John Jackson,) who was going to Lewiston, to send somebody to still Morgan. A person, (Hague,) came, and in going up to the magazine, he said, ‘I know Morgan, and he fears me as he does the devil; he will make no more noise after I see him.’ Afterwards thirty more came, of whom all returned except the six defendants. The colloquies that attended the interviews between them and their prisoner, do not seem to be material to the issue, until the evening of the 15th, when his further disposal became a matter of deliberation,—and it was at first determined to put him to death. While they were proceeding to the magazine for that purpose, under the direction of Col. King, one of them made an objection. He said he felt bound to assist, but could not approve of the deed. They concluded thereupon to defer the execution until they could send to ‘the Grand Lodge now sitting at Jerusalem,’ for instructions. They apprized Morgan that they had determined to send to the east for instructions what to do with him. At this interview he said he thought that by climbing up on a frame, he

could see to read, and he asked for a Bible. He also requested permission to see his wife and children ; and these indulgencies were promised to him—but not granted. After leaving the Magazine, they were joined by Adams, and the manner of disposing of Morgan was again discussed. One man said by putting a rope round his body, arms and legs, and sinking him in the river, no trace of him could ever be discovered. Miller said he could prove from scripture that it was right to take his life ; quoted a passage, but witness don't recollect what it was ; some high words passed between King and witness, who told King he would go and release Morgan ; King was in a great passion, and told witness to do it at his peril ; witness then gave him up the key and told King he would have no more to do with it ; he (King) took the key and gave it to another person. On the 17th, witness went to York, (U. C.) and returned on the 21st, when he was told by Col. Jewett, that 'they had murdered that man.' " pp. 497—9.

The final catastrophe of the tragedy is thus related by Mr. Stone ; we could wish he had omitted the expletives which we have italicised.

"On the 19th of September, eight Masons, having finally determined to put their prisoner to death, believing, probably, that it would be safer to have a smaller number actually concerned in the execution, held a consultation as to the best mode of proceeding. The object was to select three of their number for executioners, and to have the other five excluded, and so excluded, that neither should know who else, besides himself, was thus released, or, who were the executioners. For this purpose, the following ingenious process was devised :—They placed eight tickets in a hat, upon three of which were written certain marks, and it was agreed that each one of their number should simultaneously draw a ticket. They were instantly to separate, before examining their tickets, and walk away in different directions, until entirely out of sight of each other. They were then to stop and examine the slip of paper they had drawn, and the five drawing the blanks were to return to their own homes, taking different routes, by which means neither of them would know who had drawn the fatal numbers, and of course no one of the five could be a witness against the others! The three drawing the tickets designated,—a bloody hand should have been the device,—were to return to the magazine at a certain hour, and complete the hellish design. The manner of his murder, is believed to have been by attaching heavy weights to his body, and taking him out into the middle of the stream in a boat, where, at the *black* hour of midnight, he was plunged into the *dark and angry* torrent of the Niagara!—The boat for this purpose was got in readiness by Adams, in obedience to the commands of the *vengeful* conspirators. But he, with all those deeper than himself in guilt, (excepting the villain Howard,) failing in being brought to justice in this world, has been summoned to render an account at the bar of a higher tribunal." pp. 544—5.

Comment on details like these is unnecessary. There is no one, having the feelings of a man, and the spirit of an American, that will not contemplate the story of Morgan with mingled pity and indignation. Well might our author indulge the promptings of a full heart :—

"Such was the melancholy fate of William Morgan—a free American citizen—whose death is unavenged. He was stolen from the bosom of his family by an infamous perversion of the forms of law,—he was thrust into prison for the gratification of private malignity,—he was kidnapped under the guise of friendship,—transported like a malefactor one hundred and fifty miles through a populous country,—and executed in cold-blood (cold-blood ?) by a gang of assassins, under circumstances of as damning atrocity as ever stained the annals of human delinquency!" p. 545.

The horrible crime against humanity and the laws which has

been here set before us, was by no means discovered at once. The facts were only elicited by long and painful investigation—an investigation that would have been utterly fruitless, had common means of discovery alone been employed. In the present case the community was up in arms. The public feeling was naturally first excited in the village where Morgan had resided, but it soon extended itself far and wide, till it embraced a large part of the state of New-York. The cry for justice was loud and deep. The most vigorous measures were adopted, in different sections, for bringing the guilty to condign punishment. On the other hand, the conspirators, and we regret to add, the masonic brotherhood in general, assumed the defensive. It plainly appeared, that a systematic and determined combination existed to set at nought the power of the law.

“ But the conspirators took very efficient measures for escaping indictments even for the minor offence of the abduction. The parties suspected disappeared; witnesses were spirited away; and when attempts were made to procure indictments, witnesses often declined to testify, alleging that they could not do so without criminating themselves. I have already spoken of the first grand jury, after the abduction, summoned by Bruce, for the county of Niagara, of which he was sheriff. In like manner, each successive grand jury summoned by him, or under his orders, while he continued in the sheriffalty, was composed, a strong majority at least, of Masons; and the public prosecutor of that county was also a Mason, who knew all about the affair. Hiram B. Hopkins, a Royal Arch Mason, and one of Bruce’s deputies, has declared that he had directions in summoning the grand jurors, to select at least three-fourths Masons—Bruce telling him at the same time, that it would not do to have all Masons, as the device would occasion suspicion. Hopkins states that when he had inquired of them how they expected in the end to escape detection and punishment, they always assured him they were in no danger, as they would have to deal only with Masons. At the April General Sessions of Niagara county, 1827, of twenty-one persons present on the grand jury, thirteen were Masons, of whom one was subsequently found to be an important witness, and another was afterwards himself indicted as an actor in the conspiracy. It was before this jury that complaint was made against Bruce, as one of the conspirators; and a scene of corruption took place on this examination, unsurpassed, probably, in the annals of judicial iniquity; too flagrant, indeed, almost, for belief. Every possible effort was made by the jury, to shield Bruce. Another witness desired to be excused from giving evidence, because he was a poor man, and the fact of his giving testimony, he said, would ruin him. He was excused! One witness, notwithstanding all the cunning in putting the questions, actually testified to Bruce’s own acknowledgment of having had an agency in carrying Morgan away. Questions, which had been prepared carefully beforehand, in writing, and furnished to members of the jury, and which it was believed would elicit the truth, were not allowed to be put by the majority. The revelation before referred to, which was made to a respectable man when at work upon the Welland Canal, was testified to before this grand jury. One juror insisted that the witness should name the person who gave him this information, but he refused, and nearly, if not quite all the other jurors present, sustained the witness in his refusal, and he was allowed to retire without answering the question. It has also been stated, without contradiction, so far as I have been able to ascertain, ‘that a series of questions, to be propounded to the witness, had been so framed, that the witnesses could answer without eliciting any dangerous information. This must have been the case, or real perjury must have been repeatedly committed, on the investigation before them. All the important witnesses, to trace the whole abduction from Rochester to

Fort Niagara, were examined before this grand jury; the same witnesses, upon whose testimony, bills were afterwards found in other cases, and convictions had. Thirteen of the witnesses examined before this grand jury, were subsequently indicted, not one of whom protected himself on the examination, on the ground that he should criminate himself. Three of them, were afterwards shown by the testimony of Eli Bruce himself, to have had a criminal agency in the abduction. Edward Giddings, in his published 'Statement of Facts,' says he was subpoenaed before this grand jury, which much alarmed those who were implicated. One of them informed Giddings that he would go and see the foreman, and state to him Giddings's situation, that he might know how to question him, so that his answers might not injure others. He subsequently informed Giddings that he had told the foreman what Giddings knew of the affair, and that the foreman would put no question but what Giddings could safely answer.' Nay, more than all, 'while this jury was in session, the foreman took Eli Bruce privately into a side room, and was there with him some time. And this grand jury, so far from finding any indictment against Eli Bruce, or any other person, drew up a presentment to the court, that they had discovered nothing which would authorize them to find a bill against any person, and also framed and sent a memorial to the Governor, in which they stated that there was not a shadow of testimony implicating Eli Bruce, as guilty of, or accessory to, the abduction of Morgan, with the exception of one witness, who was so contradicted, and whose general reputation was so bad, that they did not place any reliance upon it.' " pp. 247—9.

As however the passage just cited relates only to a single county, we take from another part of the work a more general statement.

"It is indeed one of the most extraordinary features of this conspiracy, that, when the fatal secret must have been known, (at least with sufficient certainty to have indicated the principals,) to so many people, no disclosure should have been made of the particulars of the last terrible act of the drama. Neither the apprehensions, nor the jealousies, usually existing among partners in crime; nor the hope of reward; 'nor the compunctious visitings of conscience;' had the effect to produce any satisfactory legal disclosures, in regard to the final disposition of Morgan, after his confinement in the magazine. This fact furnishes the strongest possible illustration of the strength of the tie which bound the conspirators together, while it affords an unanswerable argument against the continuance of any social institution whatever, that can exert such a dangerous power, for evil, as well as for good, if indeed good can again flow from it.

"The difficulty of procuring testimony, was, from the beginning of the legal investigations, the greatest obstacle with which the prosecutors had to contend. Witnesses either fled the country voluntarily, or were spirited away, or were hired to absent themselves, in numbers, and with a readiness, altogether unexampled in the judicial annals of this, or perhaps any other country. Often did it happen, that, when the officers of justice had been apprized of the existence of fresh testimony, or when they had become acquainted with the place of retreat, far beyond the boundaries of our own state, of important witnesses, while they supposed the possession of such knowledge was a secret in their own bosoms, such witnesses have been secretly apprized that the officers would soon be upon them, and were thus enabled again to escape their vigilance. In other instances, have these witnesses, when caught by surprise, while in charge of the officers, been followed hundreds of miles by members of the fraternity, interested in the fate of the accused, until plans could be matured, and the means put into operation, to steal them away from their keepers. In other cases still, witnesses have no sooner agreed to make honest revelations of the facts with which they were acquainted, than they have been surrounded by their masonic brethren, and so successfully dissuaded from their good resolutions, as to become as silent and uncommunicative upon the subject as the sphynx. Examples of this description have already been noted in the progress of this history, and others might be adduced were it necessary. Money seemed to be of no value, in these

matters. Travelling agents were kept in pay, whose duty it was to visit the absconding witnesses in their places of retreat, and strengthen their integrity towards each other. Even Giddings, much as they affected to discredit his testimony, was tampered with, and money offered him to any amount he might desire, if he would leave the country.

"Nor was this all. When, after encountering every difficulty, the attendance of reluctant witnesses had been secured, their conduct, as it has already been seen, was often of the most exceptionable character. In many instances, the manner of the witnesses upon the stand, was painful to look upon. Whatever of truth was obtained, was absolutely wrung from them. There was not only an almost uniform evasiveness of manner, among the masonic witnesses, but numerous cases of obvious and palpable falsehood." pp. 535—6.

"The instances of peremptory refusals to testify, in the cases of Bruce, Turner and John Whitney, have already been stated, in the progress of the trials, too prominently to be soon forgotten—for which contumacy they were severally fined and imprisoned. But fines and imprisonment, for this, or for the still greater offence of having participated in the abduction, were nothing. The prisoners were cheered by their friends without, and lavishly supplied with the comforts and elegancies of life, not only by individual contributions, but by lodges and chapters, hundreds of miles from the scene of action." p. 537.

The statement here made respecting the attentions paid to the convicts during their imprisonment, seem almost incredible. Yet we observe that it is distinctly made in another part of the book, the passage being adopted by Mr. Stone, although the source is not given. After mentioning that Eli Bruce was convicted at the Ontario sessions of participation in a conspiracy to carry off Morgan, and sentenced to be imprisoned for two years and four months, he adds:—

"During the whole term of his imprisonment, he was visited by Freemasons from every part of the United States, who repaired to his cell as that of a martyr suffering for the conscientious discharge of some high and imperative duty. Notwithstanding the atrocity of his guilt, so clearly established by the testimony of his deputy and his own evidence, yet crowds daily thronged around him, testifying their sympathy and their respect. Every comfort that the laws would allow was provided for him; and even ladies of character waited upon him in person, with delicacies prepared by their own hands. The same jail has often contained Freemasons, imprisoned for debt, who were never cheered by the visits, or solaced by the sympathy, of their brethren."—p. 387.

A similar statement is made by Mr. Stone, on his own authority, respecting Orsamus Turner, who was imprisoned for contempt of court in refusing to answer when a witness on the stand.

"During Turner's confinement he was supplied by his masonic friends with every luxury that the country could furnish, and that money could procure; he was constantly visited by his masonic brethren, and their wives and daughters; and at the expiration of his term of imprisonment, was conducted from the jail to his residence in a coach and four, with attending Masons, shouting at the triumph of crime over justice!"—p. 446. note.

Masonic influence could hardly fail to be exerted upon the petit juries, when, as we have before seen, grand juries were not exempt from its operation. In the case of Wright and Brown, Mr. Stone says:—

"Judge Marcy charged the jury with great clearness and impartiality, and the cause was submitted to the jury at the close of the fourth day of the trial. The jury remained out thirty-six hours, and then came into court with a verdict

of 'NOT GUILTY'—to the astonishment alike of the Bench, the Bar, and the People. There is not—there cannot be, a particle of doubt, that both of the defendants were concerned in the abduction, though not as principals. They knew that Morgan was a free citizen under constraint—held under such constraint without legal process—and they were not only assenting to his being thus held in duress, but were aiding and assisting.

"It was understood that ten of the jurors were for convicting the defendants; but the two obstinate members solemnly declared that they would stay out and die, before they would consent to a verdict of guilty; and the ten accommodating gentlemen yielded. While the jury was out, a Mason was detected in conveying provisions, wrapped in a cloak, to the two 'faithful' members. He was arraigned before the court, and promptly punished."—p. 464.

And in the trial of Elisha Adams we have the following statement:—

"The cause was committed to the jury at about seven o'clock, on Saturday evening. On Monday morning the jury came into court, and declared that they had not agreed upon a verdict, and could not agree. Eleven of them were ready to render a verdict of guilty; but there was one who would never agree. Such being the state of the case, the court directed the dissenting juror to stand up in the jury box. He did so, and proved to be the only Mason on the panel. The jury was then discharged."—p. 501.

Nor was the combination to uphold the guilty limited to the region of the excitement. The same secret power, whose footsteps were so plainly visible on the shores of Lake Ontario, can command no less effectively on the banks of the Arkansas and the Mississippi.

"Early in the same month, (April,) Messrs. Garlinghouse and Bates, who had been despatched, as I have already stated, to the southwestern part of the territory of the United States, returned from an unsuccessful mission, and made a report of their proceedings to the acting Governor. It was known that Smith and Whitney had fled to the valley of the Mississippi. The officers went thither, but, although they often heard of the fugitives, yet they could not succeed in arresting them. Repairing to Arkansas, they were furnished by Gov. Izard with the necessary papers, with which they proceeded to cantonment Towson, upon the Red River, twelve hundred miles above its junction with the Mississippi, and arrived there on the 14th of February, 1828. 'Mr. Garlinghouse went alone, and privately presented his papers to the commander of the station, while his companion remained without the fort. He exhibited the order of the Governor—a letter from the Adjutant General of the army, under the direction of the Secretary of War—and also a letter from Col. Arbuckle, commanding officer at cantonment Gibson, and requested Capt. Hyde, then in command of the station, to furnish assistance for the arrest of King, who, it appeared, was then there. This officer refused to assist himself, or to furnish assistance, or even to furnish a guard for his removal.' He proposed, however, to send for a lieutenant to accompany the sheriff to King's store; but the officer thus sent for could not be found: and it afterwards appeared that the captain himself, during the absence of the messenger, held a conversation with the very officer for whom he had sent; and it also appeared, that, after the sheriff had obtained another officer to accompany him to the store, the lieutenant referred to, and with whom the captain had thus conversed, had already anticipated the sheriff, and taken King away into the woods. Mr. Bates was afterwards informed by the officer himself, of the fact that he did thus take King away, on learning that messengers had arrived to arrest him for the murder of Morgan, and that he had directed King's clerk to take his horse to him, where he was waiting for him in the forest. The officers who had thus favoured the escape of the fugitive, were understood to be Masons. To attempt a pursuit, in the vast wilderness of the

west, would have been a hopeless undertaking. The idea was therefore abandoned; and the messengers, after making a fruitless search, even to New-Orleans, for Smith and Whitney, returned to report the circumstances of their bootless mission."—pp. 334-5.

If the power of Masonry had only been exerted to save its votaries from punishment, after the commission of crimes into which they had been hurried unawares, something might still be said in extenuation. But, says Mr. Stone—

"It is rendered positively certain, that, so far from the abduction having been the device of a few mad-men, in a moment of passion, it was a work of deliberation, and of extensive correspondence and concert among the acting Masons, individually and collectively, over a wide space of country. This conclusion is inevitable—the facts supporting it irresistible."—p. 552.

The charitable might possibly suggest that the whole array of damning facts, of which we have exhibited a part, was only the ebullition of individual passion, and did not affect the character of organized bodies of Masons. But even this last apology is taken away by Mr. Stone.

"I do not wish to be understood, in what I am now going to say, as inculpating, or intending to inculpate, the great body of the lodges and chapters of this state, directly, as accessories to the abduction after the fact. But I do say, that while great numbers of Masons individually, and some chapters collectively, have laid themselves open to grievous censure in this respect, the characters of all the lodges and chapters of the state have been compromised by the grand bodies in which all are supposed to be represented. In the month of February, 1827, five months after the perpetration of the crime, the Grand Chapter rejected a proposition offering a reward of one thousand dollars, for the discovery and apprehension of the authors of it: while, on the other hand, they appropriated the like sum of one thousand dollars, under the pretext of unspecified charity, but in fact to be used for the aid, comfort, and assistance of the criminals. In the month of March, of the same year, Howard, one of the murderers, by his own confession, was cherished by certain of the Masons in this city: he was kept in concealment from the officers of justice: funds were raised for him: and he was finally smuggled across Long Island, and put on board of one of the foreign packets, off Gravesend or Coney Island. In the month of June, of the same year, the sum of one hundred dollars was voted from the funds of the Grand Lodge, to Eli Bruce; and the additional sum for which he had applied, was raised for him by the brethren out of the lodge. In the autumn of the same year, the sum of one hundred dollars was appropriated from the funds of Jerusalem Chapter of this city, for the benefit of 'the western sufferers,' as the conspirators were called. Money for the same object, was raised by one of the encampments in this city; but to what amount, I have not been informed. I have likewise abundant reason to believe, that other lodges and chapters of this city, contributed to the same object;—and the sum of five hundred dollars was subsequently applied to the same benevolent purposes, by the Grand Lodge. These facts are known," &c.—pp. 554-5.

Besides their sins of commission, it would seem that there are also some of omission to be laid at the door of the Masons. For after all the judicial investigations that have taken place, in the course of which the guilt of many of the accused was placed beyond the shadow of a doubt, after the conviction and imprisonment of some, and the voluntary confession of others, after refusals to testify on the part of some witnesses, and the manifest

perjury of others, none of these guilty persons have been expelled from the Masonic lodges. "Indeed," adds Mr. Stone, "THERE HAS NEVER YET BEEN UTTERED, FROM THE WALLS OF EITHER LODGE OR CHAPTER, FROM THE HIGHEST TO THE LOWEST, AN EXPRESSION OF REAL CENSURE, OR OF HONEST INDIGNATION, AGAINST ANY INDIVIDUAL, HOWEVER CLEARLY IT MAY HAVE BEEN KNOWN THAT HE WAS ENGAGED IN DEPRIVING A FREE CITIZEN OF HIS LIBERTY, AND PUTTING HIM TO DEATH IN COLD BLOOD!"—p. 558.

Our limits admonish us to abstain from further extracts, although there is a great deal more in this book which we should gladly present to our readers, and many facts hardly less startling than those we have selected. Mr. Stone has evidently written with haste, which is betrayed by a want of condensation, and by frequent carelessness of style. But his vocabulary is ample, and his periods flowing; and the method he has adopted in narrating the gradual development of the fearful story, is in a high degree dramatic. We heartily recommend these letters to the perusal of all who feel an interest in preserving our republican institutions and our legal tribunals pure from the taint of corruption. We beg them to read with particular attention the history there given of the "Morgan trials," and we think they will then be fully prepared to acquiesce in the soundness of the reasons with which Mr. Stone sums up the whole matter, and which he has drawn from the demerits of the institution, why Masonry should be abolished in this country.

For ourselves, we are neither Masons nor Anti-masons. We have nothing in common with either, save what we share with both—the boast of citizenship, and the lot of humanity. We have no pride of opinion, no prejudice of association, to make us take part with the Masons; nor have we shared the feverish excitement which has attended the growth of Anti-masonry. We feel ourselves therefore able to decide impartially in this matter. On a calm review of the work before us, taken in connexion with the history of secret associations in other times and countries, at which we have glanced in the commencement of this article, we see no reason to exempt Freemasonry from the general condemnation which experience has passed on such institutions. In passing judgment on Masonry, we do not condemn Masons; we cannot do that, while we see upon the rolls of their lodges many of the brightest and purest names our country can boast. But not even the light of their virtues can blind us to the spots that darken the escutcheon of the society, which ranks them, often with a very dubious title, among her sons. It is our solemn and deliberate opinion, that Freemasonry, as it now stands before the American public, invested with sounding names and petty mummery, a baneful political influence, and

some ineffaceable crimes, is not merely a puerile and useless institution, far behind the spirit and intelligence of the age, but that it is also opposed by public sentiment, and is entirely inconsistent with our republican institutions; worst of all, its character is tainted by perjury and treason, its garments are stained with blood. It is therefore we desire that the institution may be abolished. If the revelations lately made of its character are full, there is surely nothing in the institution to make us wish to prolong its existence for a single day. If those revelations have not been full, then that which is still behind is either good or bad; if good, every citizen of the republic has a right to share it; if bad, let the institution be suppressed.

ART. IV.—*Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Strait, to co-operate with the Polar Expeditions; performed in His Majesty's ship Blossom, under the command of Captain F. W. BEECHEY, R. N. F. R. S., &c. In the years 1825, 26, 27, 28. Published by authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. Philadelphia: Carey & Lea: 1832.*

THE propriety of the dedication of this book to "William the Reformer," (as the present king of England has been designated,) can hardly be questioned. We believe that the English navy has been uniformly one of his majesty's chief objects of favour. Himself a sailor, and, as Captain Beechey calls him, "a working member" of the naval profession, he has always entertained for the marine of his country a peculiar fondness. Indeed, the royal house of Brunswick have shown a strong propensity to maritime expeditions and discovery. Under the auspices of George the Third, a good though weak sovereign, the interesting voyages of Cook and Vancouver were projected and prospered; and to the credit of the late king, who, with all his vices, had the liberal and expanded views of an educated gentleman, be it said, that he zealously encouraged the expeditions of Parry and of Franklin, which have shed so much light upon the geography of the Arctic regions.

We may be excused in turning for a moment from a consideration of the book before us, for the purpose of bestowing a passing tribute of deserved panegyric upon the praiseworthy liberality which has constantly characterized the British government in regard to scientific and literary productions and researches. It is perfectly well known, that but very few of the vast population of Great Britain ever purchase those expensive

scientific works, the publication of which adds so much to the permanent reputation of a nation, and contributes so effectually to the advancement of every species of knowledge. They are far beyond the limited means of the mass of the community. The literature, that is widely disseminated, consists, of necessity, of the lighter and cheaper kinds of information. Newspapers, pamphlets, periodical publications—books of comparative cheapness—must form nearly the whole of the literary circulation of the country. It falls then upon the government to extend its patronising arm, and bestow the assistance which is indispensable in such cases. That assistance the government of England has never meted with a niggardly or sparing hand. On the contrary, it has always kept in view the permanent reputation of the kingdom; and science, the arts, literature, and literary men, have there ever found the kindest reception and a home. The effect has been what the enlightened statesmen of that country anticipated and deserved. The halo that has been cast around the British Isles, and the respect and reverence which have been the necessary result of a course of conduct like this, have gone far to sustain that government amid the rude shocks to which it has been exposed. This liberal policy has adorned the old system of British administration with the graces which render age venerable, and the fact proves that it contains, amid all its defects, so much of good, that we look with no surprise upon those, who resist any, the least, change, which may possibly derange the operation of so admirable a structure. There can be no doubt, that very many and great benefits have flowed to the whole world, from the British Constitution. The great difficulty to be now overcome seems to be, to accommodate old institutions to the advanced, and still advancing, spirit of the age—to abolish what has been found to be practically bad, and to introduce that which is more consonant to the improved spirit and views of the present generation. These remarks are excusable, as the eyes of the civilized world have been recently turned, and are even now fixed upon the interesting struggle between reform and its opponents, which has been in progress in the British Isles. We may be allowed to add, that in our opinion, this country has been deficient in proper encouragement to literary men. It is true, we are a young people; and our views have been rather turned to the necessities than the elegancies of life; but there is no reason that it should continue to be the case any longer. We are, as a nation, rich; in fact, embarrassed in the disposition of our funds. Let the national government hold out substantial encouragement to the youth of America, to attain the brightest and most enduring of a nation's ornaments—literary renown—and we are sure they will receive the lasting gratitude of the country.

The object of Captain Beechey's voyage was as follows: It is

known that the discovery of a north-west passage to the Pacific had occupied for a long time the attention of the British government, and that several brilliant but ineffectual attempts, both by sea and land, had been made to ascertain its practicability. In 1824, another expedition was projected, for the purpose of attaining the long-desired object. The command of the sea-party, which was to proceed by way of Prince Regent's Inlet, was given to the famous Captain Parry, who had so distinguished himself in northern discoveries; and that of an expedition to journey by land, with the design of descending the Mackenzie river, and of coasting the northern shore of America in opposite directions towards two previously discovered points, was entrusted to the equally famous Captain Franklin, whose promptness and perseverance had been eminently manifested. It was supposed, that if either of these parties should reach the open sea at Behring's strait, it would be with resources nearly, if not quite, exhausted; and in addition, that the party of Captain Franklin would be left without the opportunity of a conveyance to Europe. It was therefore determined by the British government to send a ship to the strait, to await the arrival of the two expeditions. This gave rise to the voyage described in the book before us. The vessel selected was His Majesty's ship *Blossom*, of twenty-six guns, but carrying on that service only sixteen; and Captain F. W. Beechey was appointed to the command. On the 19th of May, 1825, the vessel sailed, well equipped; and provided with every thing which could forward observations and discoveries in botany, natural history, and other departments of science. In October, 1828, she returned to England, having been absent about three years and a half, and having sailed 73000 miles. The main object of the voyage, that of meeting with Captains Parry and Franklin, or either of them, failed, in consequence of neither of those gentlemen being able to surmount the numerous and appalling difficulties which met them in their progress. Several discoveries of small islands were, however, made by the *Blossom*; many valuable surveys of ports and harbours completed; and much useful information collected, to direct future navigators in those dangerous seas. The book cannot be called deeply interesting; the inhabitants of many of the places visited had been previously known from the statements of earlier voyagers. Yet, we may extract enough that is amusing to occupy the attention of our readers for a short time. Of the literary composition of the work we shall speak hereafter.

The first island which the ship made, in which the occurrences seem of any moment, was Pitcairn's island; here they fell in with the famous mutineers of the British ship *Bounty*. The tale of this mutiny is, probably, not unknown to our readers. As narrated by our author, who obtained his account from

the mouth of Adams, at that time sixty-five years of age, and whose name is the most familiar to us of any of the mutineers, the story possesses much interest. The ship *Bounty*, under the command of Lieutenant Bligh, was sent out by the British government in the year 1787 to Otaheite, to purchase the bread fruit of that country, and transport it to their settlements in the West Indies, and likewise to bring some specimens of it to England. After they had effected their object at Otaheite, and were on their return, visiting occasionally some of the numerous islands which deck the broad bosom of the Pacific, the disagreements which had previously existed between the commander and some of the officers, particularly a Mr. Christian, broke out afresh; and he and some others determined to take possession of the vessel. This object they accomplished on the 28th of April, 1789, and Lieut. Bligh and a part of the officers and crew were put into the launch, with a small quantity of provisions, upon the open sea. They fortunately succeeded, after great suffering and privation, in reaching Timor, whence they procured a passage for England. The mutineers, after cruising about for some time, constantly haunted by the fear of falling in with an armed vessel of their country, and anxious to select a site as remote as possible from civilization, pitched upon Pitcairn's island as the place of their retreat. Wives they had procured from Otaheite, by carrying off some of the women, whom they had invited on board under the feigned purpose of taking leave. The jealousies, the quarrels, the bloodshed, and the murders, which disfigured the first few years of the new settlement, present a striking picture, though on a small scale, of the history of mankind. Intestine commotion and destruction finally reduced the number of the mutineers to two—Young and Adams. They appear both to have been of a serious turn of mind; and taught by the experience of the dreadful scenes through which they had passed, they determined by their efforts in later life to atone for the crimes of their youth. They commenced the work of reformation by an endeavour to train up their own children, and those of their late companions, in piety and virtue. Young was a man of some education, and his efforts were not without success: he, however, did not live long enough to perfect his good intentions, and, by his death, Adams was left the sole survivor of the original party. There were then nineteen children upon the island; several of them between the ages of seven and nine; and of course favourable objects for the good intentions which Adams entertained, and had determined, though left alone, to prosecute. An obstacle to his success presented itself in the Otaheitean women, whose conversion seemed no easy task. Not dismayed, however, by the apparent difficulties of the undertaking, he steadily persevered, and his efforts were fortunately crowned with success. The

women and children imbibed a taste for scriptural knowledge, and acquired fixed habits of morality and piety—intermarriages occurred; the colony prospered, and Adams died at a good old age, respected, as he deserved to be, for the praiseworthy efforts of his later years.

We will make, from this part of the book, but one short extract: it is in regard to their devotional exercises. The earnestness with which they performed them, and the extreme care they manifested, that no part of the sermon should be lost, are edifying and amusing. We much doubt whether the plan would be acceptable even to our most church-going citizens:—

“The Sabbath day is devoted entirely to prayer, reading, and serious meditation. No boat is allowed to quit the shore, nor any work whatever to be done, cooking excepted, for which preparation is made the preceding evening. I attended their church on this day, and found the service well conducted; the prayers were read by Adams, and the lessons by Buffet, the service being preceded by hymns. The greatest devotion was apparent in every individual; and in the children there was a seriousness unknown in the younger part of our communities at home. In the course of the litany they prayed for their sovereign and royal family, with much apparent loyalty and sincerity. Some family prayers, which were thought appropriate to their particular case, were added to the usual service; and Adams, fearful of leaving out any essential part, read in addition all those prayers which are intended only as substitutes for others. A sermon followed, which was very well delivered by Buffet; *and lest any part of it should be forgotten, or escape attention, it was read three times.* The whole concluded with hymns, which were first sung by the grown people, and afterwards by the children. The service, thus performed, was very long; but the neat and cleanly appearance of the congregation, the devotion that animated every countenance, and the innocence and simplicity of the little children, prevented the attendance from becoming wearisome. In about half an hour afterwards, we again assembled to prayers, and at sunset service was repeated; so that with their morning and evening prayers, they may be said to have church five times on a Sunday.”—p. 85.

On their passage to Otaheite they discovered a small island, on which the name of Byam Martin was conferred, and which we mention merely because an interesting story is connected with some of the South Sea islanders, who were fortunately found there by the Blossom. A man named Tuwarri, with several companions, inhabitants of Chain island, which is situate about three hundred miles to the eastward of Otaheite, and tributaries to the king of the latter place, had landed upon the little isle referred to, after a voyage of extreme suffering. Upon the accession of a new king, several chiefs and commoners of Chain island, among whom was Tuwarri, undertook a voyage to Otaheite to render homage to their new sovereign. Three double canoes were prepared for the occasion. They launched forth in these small, and for such a passage, altogether unfit conveyances, with nothing but the stars for their guides, in search of a place whose situation was not accurately known, and about reaching which they had very little doubt, simply because they were aware that the voyage had been successfully prosecuted by

others. In Tuwarri's canoe there were twenty-three men, fifteen women, and ten children, with a supply of water and provisions for three weeks. All the natives assembled on the beach to witness their departure; and the canoes were pushed into the ocean, having been first placed in what was supposed a directly straight line for the island they desired to reach. They started with a fair wind and every indication of a prosperous voyage; but the sea and the winds very soon asserted their claim to the character of variableness. The monsoon began earlier than was expected. The privations and dangers consequent to exposure in an open boat on the ocean, with women and children on board, may easily be imagined. Their canoe was, at one time, becalmed, beneath a glaring sun; not a drop of water to quench the burning thirst of the voyagers—and, again, tossed with tempests, the sea continually washing over them, and their distance from home every moment increasing. Some of the weaker died; for food, the survivors were reduced to the last shocking alternative of famishing humanity. At their extremest hour of distress, Providence sent them a refreshing shower; and not long after, they reached a small verdant isle, where they remained for thirteen months. They set off, then, in search of home, and having landed upon another island, were accidentally discovered by the commander of the Blossom. The other two canoes were never heard of.

The details of barbarism are never interesting: they contain so much that is positively disgusting, that they cannot with propriety be extracted into a publication intended for general circulation. The only circumstance that makes them at all of moment, is the insight they afford into human life and character, and the variety of forms under which human nature is presented to us. There are, too, in all savage character, qualities variant only in degree, and not in kind, that stamp, therefore, upon it, the impress of sameness; and though we may behold, on the one hand, the wandering Indian, war or the chase his occupation and delight, and presenting along with the bloodthirsty qualities of the heart much that is imposing and exalted; and on the other, the filthy laziness and beastly propensities of the cannibal; yet, both the one and the other are but different modifications of the same savage nature. In regard, however, to one point, the treatment of females, the accounts possess more interest from the very nature of the subject; and we accordingly quote a passage from a notice of the natives of Bow island, which affords another instance, if such be wanting, of the effect of Christianity upon the condition of that sex, whose virtues and elegancies find their appropriate sphere in the highest walks of refinement and of cultivation.

"It appeared that the chief had three wives, and that polygamy was permitted

to an unlimited extent; any man of the community, we were told, might put away his wife, whenever it was his pleasure to do so, and take another, provided she were disengaged. No ceremony takes place at the wedding; it being sufficient for a man to say to a woman, 'You shall be my wife,' and she becomes so. The offspring of these unions seemed to be the objects of the only feelings of affection the male sex possessed, as there were certainly none bestowed on the women. Indeed the situation of the females is much to be pitied; in no part of the world, probably, are they treated more brutally. While their husbands are indulging their lethargic disposition under the shade of the cocoa-nut trees, making no effort towards their own support, beyond that of eating when their food is placed before them, the women are sent to the reefs to wade over the sharp-pointed coral in search of shell fish, or to the woods to collect pandanus-nuts. We have seen them going out at day-light on these pursuits, and returning quite fatigued with their morning toil. In this state, instead of enjoying a little repose on reaching their home, they are engaged in the laborious occupation of preparing what they have gathered for their hungry masters, who, immediately the nuts are placed before them, stay their appetites by extracting the pulpy substance contained in the outside woody fibres of the fruit, and throw the remainder to their wives, who further extract what is left of the pulp for their own share, and proceed to extricate the contents of the interior, consisting of four or five small kernels about the size of an almond. To perform this operation, the nut is placed upon a flat stone endwise, and with a block of coral as large as the strength of the women will enable them to lift, is split in pieces, and the contents again put aside for their husbands. As it requires a considerable number of these small nuts to satisfy the appetites of their rapacious rulers, *the time of the women is wholly passed upon their knees pounding nuts*, or upon the sharp coral collecting shells and sea eggs. On some occasions the nuts are baked in the ground, which gives them a more agreeable flavour, and facilitates the extraction of the pulp; it does not, however, diminish the labour of the females, who have, in either case, to bruise the fibres to procure the smaller nuts."—pp. 157–8.

With the island of Otaheite and its inhabitants, Americans are probably better acquainted than with any other in the vast Pacific; partly from the circumstance of its having been frequently visited by navigators, from the time of Captain Cook downwards, but more especially from its being a seat of our missionary labours. Since 1815 a code of laws has been drawn up by one of their kings, Pomarree II., with the assistance of the missionaries; and since 1825, a parliament has been established, to which representatives are returned by popular election. They have likewise police magistrates and officers, their system of police, according to Captain Beechey, being very strict. The simple fact, of the existence of a House of Representatives, is all that is communicated by our author: he omits any notice of what would certainly be a matter of the deepest interest, the mode in which affairs are conducted in congress, and how the system works. We have often presented to our notice such very grotesque scenes in the Chamber of Deputies in France, and occasionally even in the House of Commons in England and in our own Congress, that it would be a most amusing occupation to compare the mode in which the representative system is carried into practice by the half-savage natives of the Society Isles, with that in more civilized communities. Their penal code is very severe; though

in practice, the punishment of death has yet been inflicted upon very few.

Captain Beechey says, and if the facts which he states be so, very properly, that the system of laws introduced by the missionaries is altogether too rigid, and evinces a want of acquaintance with the history of mankind. They show an apparent anxiety to interfere with, or rather to put an entire stop to the innocent pleasures and recreations of the savages, and to force them to lead a life of austere privation. The effects have shown the impolicy of the principle adopted.

The royal party paid our author a visit; and for the purpose of introducing our readers to a new variety in the race of princes, we shall extract his account of their personal appearance.

"On the day appointed for the visit of the royal party, the duty of the ship was suspended, and we were kept in expectation of their arrival until four o'clock in the afternoon, when I had the honour of receiving a note, couched in affectionate terms, from the queen regent; to whom, as well as to her subjects, the loss of time appears to be immaterial, stating her inability to fulfil her engagement, but that she would come on board the following day. Scarcely twenty minutes had elapsed, however, from the receipt of this note, when we were surprised by the appearance of the party, consisting of the queen regent, the queen dowager and her youthful husband, and Utamme and his wife. Their dress was an incongruous mixture of European and native costumes; the two queens had wrappers of native cloth wound loosely round their bodies, and on their heads straw poked bonnets, manufactured on the island, in imitation of some which had been carried thither by European females, and trimmed with black ribbands. Their feet were left bare, in opposition to the showy covering of their heads, as if purposely to mark the contrast between the two countries whose costumes they united; and neatly executed blue lines formed an indelible net-work over that portion of the frame, which, in England, would have been covered with silk or cotton. Utamme, who, without meaning any insinuations to the disadvantage of the queen, appeared to be on a very familiar footing with her majesty, (notwithstanding he was accompanied by his own wife,) was a remarkably tall and comely man: he wore a straw hat and a white shirt, under which he had taken the necessary precaution of tying on his native maro, and was provided with an umbrella to screen his complexion from the sun. This is the common costume of all the chiefs, to whom an umbrella is now become almost as indispensable as a shirt; but by far the greater part of the rest of the population are contented with a mat and a maro."—p. 177.

We shall omit the private history of the royal family of Otaheite. It is in substance like that of all regal households. The chief incidents are, the usual proportion of wars and fightings, the succession of infants and formation of regencies, left-handed, or rather double-handed marriages, and little matters of a similar kind. The family name was derived from a hoarseness that succeeded a sore throat which one of the early kings caught in the mountains.

The queen, who was regent at the time of Beechey's visit, at one time took it into her head to levy taxes—by the by, not a strange idea for a crowned head. The *modus operandi*, one that certainly dispensed with the delays and formalities that usually attend the collection of revenue, was efficacious to forward the

main object, to wit, the filling of her majesty's exchequer. It was this. Orders were issued to all the tributary islands, to seize every vessel found trading in pearl-oyster shells, (at that time an extensive article of commerce with the Europeans,) which had not previously obtained the royal license. Unfortunately for the officers and crew of an English brig, the *Dragon*, they were found by a party of the Chain islanders, engaged in the forbidden occupation. The natives, at first, behaved in a very, apparently, friendly manner; and permitted the brig to take her cargo on board; when, under some pretence, they boarded her, and immediately commenced to bind the master and crew, sending them on shore as prisoners, and to plunder and carry away every thing valuable and moveable in the vessel. They then went to church to return thanks for the victory; and after divine service, these converted savages debated whether the master should not be put to death and eaten—a fate which he very narrowly escaped. The English consul, when he complained of the outrage, was only laughed at by the queen. The *Blossom*, however, taught them a different lesson—restitution was demanded and obtained. Her majesty was very much out of humour at being forced to abandon her new mode of filling her pockets; but was restored to her complacency by listening to the beating of a drum.

The mode of trial of offenders and the appearance of the court are thus detailed. The court was ranged upon benches, and the prisoners were placed in front, under the charge of an officer with a drawn sword; the *aava-rai* of the district where the crimes were committed, (an officer whose duties are not clearly defined, but whom we should conjecture to be a sort of half-prothonotary and half-policeman,) took his station between the court and the prisoners, and was thus habited when seen by Captain Beechey.

“He was dressed in a long straw mat, finely plaited, and edged with fringe, with a slit cut in it, for the head to pass through; a white oakum wig, which, in imitation of the gentlemen of our courts of law, flowed in long curls over his shoulders, and a tall cap surmounting it, curiously ornamented with red feathers, and with variously coloured tresses of human hair. His appearance, without shoes, stockings, or trousers, the strange attire of the head, with the variegated tresses of hair mingling with the oakum curls upon his shoulders, produced, as may be imagined, a ludicrous effect.”

The prisoner was brought up, accused of stealing a gown from an European—the law was read to him by the *aava*, and the culprit, as our author remarks, “saved a great deal of trouble” by pleading guilty. He was fined four hogs; two to the king, and two to the person from whom the property was stolen. As bail is not demandable, he was allowed, after sentence, to go where he could easiest beg, or some how or other procure the requisite quantity of hogs.

It was the lot of our author to be present at another trial in which he was more interested, as a part of the ship's stores and of the wearing-apparel of the officers had been stolen. It was conducted in the same manner. The prisoners were cross-examined; but the evidence against them was only circumstantial—sufficient, however, to induce five of the six chiefs to pronounce them guilty. As the judges could not agree, the matter was referred to the captain, who proposed, in order to deter others from the commission of like offences, that they should suffer some corporal punishment. This was contrary to their laws; the penalty prescribed being a restitution of four-fold the value; a poor satisfaction, where, as in that case, the articles could not be replaced. The prisoners escaped punishment: and Captain Beechey, as we think, pays a very equivocal compliment to their code, when he says that their fate was very different from what it would have been before the introduction of Christianity, when a dreadful punishment would have been inflicted—though, he admits it as very probable, that then the thief would have been discovered; whereas, as things went, he never was caught.

The queen dowager was very fond of raw fish; and was in the habit of eating it in order to give herself an appetite for her regular meals. As the captain was, one day, sitting down to dinner, the interpreter, Jim, came to him with her majesty's compliments, "and she would be very much obliged by a little rum." One day, he missed her suddenly from the cabin, and upon looking over the stern of the ship, he saw her very quietly seated in a boat at her favourite repast.

From these anecdotes of the "first society" of Otaheite, our readers may judge of the manners of other less favoured individuals. From the account of our author, they must be very little improved, either in manners or morals, (we speak of the general mass,) by their, so called, conversion to Christianity. We do not wish to undervalue missionary labours: very far from it—and we pretend to no particular knowledge on the subject, other than what is derived from the book before us—but if that be correct, the conclusion we have stated inevitably follows. It is Captain Beechey's opinion. From his account, the acquaintance of the natives with the scriptures must be very limited. They seem to consider the bible, and other religious books, as household gods. When a riot occurred, they deposited them secretly in a place of safety, saying, that so long as these sacred volumes were safe, they were indifferent about the fate of themselves or their property.

The missionaries, as before stated, have suppressed their dancing, singing, and music, and thus they have been led to attach ideas, in some degree, of pain and punishment, to the introduction of the new religion. Another evil has followed: they are

passionately fond of recreation, and require much relaxation; being without amusements, they pass much of their time in idleness and sensuality. No manufactures have been established, in addition to those in use when the island was discovered. In truth, there was a general appearance of apathy and indifference. We omit extracting many passages and scenes tending to show the utter and debasing immorality of even the better classes of the people—they prove that much is wanting before the inhabitants can be worthy of the name of Christian.

In July, 1826, the ship approached Behring's strait, on her progress to her destination, and the passage in which the incident is mentioned, is extremely well written, and the more worthy of being extracted, as the book does not abound in specimens of fine writing.

"We approached the strait which separates the two great continents of Asia and America, on one of those beautiful still nights, well known to all who have visited the Arctic regions, when the sky is without a cloud, and when the midnight sun, scarcely his own diameter below the horizon, tinges with a bright hue all the northern circle. Our ship, propelled by an increasing breeze, glided rapidly along a smooth sea, starting from her path flocks of lumes and doves, and other aquatic birds, whose flight could, from the stillness of the scene, be traced, by the ear, to a considerable distance."—p. 212.

She was a long time detained skirting the shores of the two continents, and visiting the islands in the straits.

The fondness for dancing, which is a peculiar characteristic of savage tribes, seems to be perfectly in accordance with the taste of the Esquimaux, who roam over the whole of the north-western coast of America. This amusement they introduced at all times, and old and young participated in it.

"After some few exchanges, the advantage of which was on the side of our new acquaintances, who had nothing curious to part with, an old man produced a tambourine, and seating himself upon the roof of one of the miserable hovels, threw his legs across, and commenced a song, accompanying it with the tambourine, with as much apparent happiness as if fortune had imparted to him every luxury of life. The vivacity and humour of the musician inspired two of the old hags, who joined chorus, and threw themselves into a variety of attitudes, twisting their bodies, snapping their fingers, and smirking from behind their seal-skin hoods, with as much shrewd meaning as if they had been half a century younger. Several little chubby girls, roused by the music, came blinking at the daylight through the greasy roofs of the subterranean abodes, and joined the performance; and we had the satisfaction of seeing a set of people happy, who did not appear to possess a single comfort upon earth."—p. 230.

In dress, like more polished females, the miserable dirty tribes of the arctic regions indulged a great variety of taste, and displayed much ingenuity and imagination. The materials, to be sure, differed—but the same attention to the subject, and desire to attract notice by the appearance of singularity, prevailed. The young Esquimaux ladies, referred to in the following paragraph, may, when dispassionately judged of, appear not to have wandered further from propriety in this respect, than those who, in

refined communities, carried enormous hoops beneath their dresses, or have converted a sleeve from its original intention of being a covering merely for the arm, into one for nearly the whole body.

"We remarked in two of the young ladies, a custom, which, when first discovered, created considerable laughter. When they moved, several bells were set ringing, and on examining their persons, we discovered that they had each three or four of these instruments under their clothes, suspended to their waists, hips, and one even lower down, which was about the size of a dustman's bell, but without a clapper. Whether they had disposed of them in this manner as charms, or through fear, it was impossible to say; but by their polished surface, and the manner in which they were suspended, they appeared to have long occupied these places. They were certainly not hung there for convenience, as the large one, in particular, must have materially incommoded the ladies in their walking."

When the vessel had proceeded as far north as the ice permitted, it was determined to man the boat, and send her forth for the purpose of penetrating still further to the north, and skirting the shore, to effect, if possible, a communication with Captain Franklin. The narration of the expedition of the boat possesses interest; more especially from a knowledge of the fact which was afterwards obtained, that they approached to the distance of one hundred and forty-six miles from the place to which that traveller had penetrated. They endured many hardships; the boat was beset by the ice—tossed in a terrific gale; and the commander and crew were in imminent danger of losing their lives. They met with numerous wandering Esquimaux, who did not seem surprised at the sight of Europeans; but as if conscious of superiority, attempted, what we believe is contemplated by all barbarous tribes in their dealings with the whites, to cheat their civilized visitors in bargaining.

Having met with no success in their first attempt, and the season compelling a return from the cold regions of the north, it was necessary to look out for a port in which to refit, lay in provisions, and recruit the exhausted strength of the crew. Captain Beechey selected the harbour of San Francisco, in California; and as it introduces us to a country, we believe but little known here, and presents us with additional information upon a subject of great interest, that we have before touched upon, we mean the conversion of the Indians, we shall devote a short time to a consideration of this part of the work.

We must confess, that heretofore, whether in attempts at civilization or conversion, the whites have been unfortunate in their intercourse with savages. Whatever may be the reason of the fact, or the design of Providence in its existence, it seems certain that the poor Indians are any thing but improved by intercourse with more civilized persons. Every advance in refinement necessarily brings with it an acquaintance with vices which seem to follow steadily in its track; and those are the very vices

which savages at once embrace, because they address themselves to their sensual inclinations. Intemperance is the chief of these; and it would seem to be a melancholy truth, that the devastating influence of this destroyer has been one of the main evidences of the foot of the white man having intruded itself on the solitude of the savage forests. Without a miracle, which is not now to be looked for, we should suppose that great length of time, and almost a total change of character is wanting, before the mind of the Indian can be brought to understand the truths of Christianity. These barbarians, it must be recollected, are as ignorant as human beings can possibly be, and of consequence, superstitious and idolatrous. To understand and appreciate the truths of our holy religion, these imperfections must be remedied effectually; and it would seem, from sad experience, that to succeed at all, the work must be commenced with children, whose minds may be gradually enlightened as their senses expand, until, in progress of time, they are enabled to comprehend the wonders of revelation. However this may be, one thing is undoubted, that the conversion of the adult inhabitants of the Sandwich and Society islands, has been but in name; and that debasing superstition still deforms the fair face of nature in that region. We do not pretend to point out a plan to be pursued in designs of this nature, but certain we are, that that adopted by the good fathers of California is any but the right one.

In upper California there are twenty-one missions, (as these establishments are called,) which contain about seven thousand converts. To the south of Soledad the Indians in the missions are calculated at twenty thousand. Each mission has about fifteen square miles of ground attached to it, and also a church. Two priests of the mendicant order of San Francisco, have the charge of each establishment. The object of the missions is to convert as many wild Indians as possible, and teach them a trade. We do not now mean to speak of the value to the government of these missions, in a political or economical point of view; but simply of the plan, and its effects in reference to making Christians out of these poor savages. The produce of the land and the labour of Indians is appropriated to the support of the mission; and the surplus is at the disposal of the padres. Thus they have a direct pecuniary interest in the increase of converts. From this cause, therefore, and indeed from the natural tendency of the human mind, the good of the establishment and the increase of wealth are objects more attended to, than the spread of the pure principles of the gospel. Money, not the good of religion, must be the motive. It is a connexion, of the worst kind, between church and state; and the consequences are easily perceivable. We will extract the account of the manner of their

conversion; it is interesting, and proves the truth of what we have said.

"Immediately the Indians are brought to the mission, they are placed under the tuition of some of the most enlightened of their countrymen, who teach them to repeat in Spanish the Lord's Prayer, and certain passages in the Romish litany; and also to cross themselves properly on entering a church. In a few days, a willing Indian becomes a proficient in these mysteries, and suffers himself to be baptized and duly initiated into the church. If, however, as it not unfrequently happens, any of the captured Indians show a repugnance to conversion, it is the practice to imprison them for a few days, and then to allow them to breathe a little fresh air in a walk round the mission, to observe the happy mode of life of their converted countrymen; after which they are again shut up, and thus continue to be incarcerated until they declare their readiness to renounce the religion of their forefathers."—"A person acquainted with the language of the parties, of which there are sometimes several dialects in the same mission, is then selected to train them, and having duly prepared them, takes his pupils to the padre to be baptized and to receive the sacrament. Having become Christians, they are put to trades, or if they have good voices, they are taught music, and form part of the choir of the church. Thus there are in almost every mission, weavers, tanners, shoemakers, bricklayers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and other artificers. Others again are taught husbandry, to rear cattle and horses; and some to cook for the mission; while the females card, clean, and spin wool, weave and sew; and those who are married attend to their domestic concerns." p. 302.

When converted, they are then to be instructed.—We have here the mode—

"Those who were taken to the mission were immediately converted, and were daily taught by the neophytes to repeat the Lord's Prayer, and certain hymns in the Spanish language. I happened to visit the mission about this time, and saw these unfortunate beings under tuition; they were clothed in blankets, and arranged in a row before a blind Indian, who understood their dialect, and was assisted by an Alcalde to keep order. Their tutor began by desiring them to kneel, informing them that he was going to teach them the names of the persons composing the Trinity, and that they were to repeat in Spanish what he dictated."

The neophytes being thus arranged, the speaker began—

"Santissima Trinidad, Dios, Jesu Christo, Espiritu Santo—pausing between each name, to listen if the simple Indians, who had never heard a Spanish word before, pronounced it correctly or any thing near the mark. After they had repeated these names satisfactorily, their blind tutor, after a pause, added—' Santos,' and recapitulated the names of a great many saints, which finished the morning's tuition."—"They did not appear to me to pay much attention to what was going forward, and I observed to the padre, that I thought their teachers had an arduous task; but he said they had never found any difficulty; *that the Indians were accustomed to change their own Gods, and that their conversion was in a measure habitual to them.*"

The idea of habitual conversion is certainly a novel one.

An expedition was undertaken, during our author's stay, against the Indians, to revenge a supposed aggression, which was, in fact, nothing more than an anticipation on their part of a meditated assault by the Spaniards. The account is such a mixture of bombast and barbarity, the authors apparently unconscious of it, that we must be excused for extracting the greater part.

"Journal kept by a citizen, Jose Antonio Sanchez, ensign of cavalry of the

presidio of San Francisco, during the enterprise against the gentiles, called Cosmenes, for having put to death the neophytes of the mission of San Jose."

It was written with gunpowder on the field of battle!

"On the morning of the 20th the troop commenced its march, and after stopping to dine at Las Positas, reached the river San Joachin at 11 o'clock at night, when it halted. This day's march was performed without any accident, except that neighbour Jose Ancha was nearly losing his saddle. The next day the Alferes determined to send forward the auxiliary neophytes to construct rafts for the troops to pass a river that was in advance of them. The troop followed, and all crossed in safety; but among the last of the horses that forded the river, was one belonging to soldier Leandro Flores, who lost his bridle, threw his rider, and kicked him in the face and forehead; and as poor Flores could not swim, he was in a fair way of losing his life before he came within sight of the field of battle; assistance was speedily rendered, and he was saved. As Sanchez wished to surprise the enemy, he encamped until dusk, to avoid being seen of the wild Indians, who were travelling the country; several of whom were met and taken prisoners. At five, they resumed their march, but neighbour Ghexbano Chaboya being taken ill with a pain in his stomach, there was a temporary halt of the army; it however soon set forward again, and arrived at the river of Yachicume at eleven at night, with only one accident; occasioned by a horse of neighbour Leandro Flores again throwing up his heels and giving him a formidable fall." p. 308.

The only other misfortunes they met with before arriving at the battle-ground, were the running away of two horses, which it distressed them very much to catch, and the bursting of the gun of soldier Jose Maria Garnez, which inflicted a mortal wound in his forehead—but the misfortune, it is gravely asserted, did not hinder the other soldiers from firing. When they came to the fight, the poor Indians suffered much. The party was divided into two bodies. One took charge of the booty and prisoners, amounting to forty-four souls, mostly women:

"The other party went with the veteran Sanchez, to the rancheria, to reconnoitre the dead bodies, of which he counted forty-one, men, women, and children. They met with an old woman there, the only one that was left alive, who was in so miserable a state, that they showed their compassion by taking no account of her."

The converts that were made, were supposed to counterbalance the many barbarities which this marauding party inflicted upon the almost defenceless natives.

The religion of the Californians is idolatrous, like that of all other wild tribes. They worship the sun, and believe in the existence of good and bad spirits. When one dies, they adorn the corpse in a fanciful manner, and place a bow and arrows along with it. They burn the dead body, and while it is in the act of consuming, they shout aloud, and wish the soul of the departed a pleasant journey.

The government of California is miserable indeed: and the idleness and ignorance of the people very great. There is no public spirit among them. They were living amidst forests of pine and upon the sea-coast, and yet, our author says, they were buying salt and deal boards at exorbitant prices. So they were

purchasing otter skins at twenty dollars a piece, whilst the animals were swimming about unmolested in their own harbours; and buying them,* too, from the Russians, who are intruders upon the coast, and are depriving them of a lucrative trade.

Husbandry is in a very backward state. As many as seventy ploughs and two hundred oxen have been set to work upon light ground of not more than ten acres. In fact, there is no people who would appear to stand more in need of the spirit of reform to be at work amongst them, than the inhabitants of California.

While at San Francisco, it was necessary for Captain Beechey to send an expedition over land to Monterey, to endeavour to obtain supplies for the ship. Three of the officers went on the journey. They saw much of the interior of the country; and their remarks in relation to it are instructive. With the good padres at the head of the different missions at which they stopped, they were extremely pleased. They received from them the hospitable welcome, and the good cheer so refreshing to the mind as well as the body of the weary traveller. With padre Arroyo, the chief of the mission of San Juan, we must make our readers acquainted.

"This worthy man was a native of Old Castile, and had resided in California since 1804, dividing his time between the duties of his holy avocation, and numerous ingenious inventions. Supper was served in very acceptable time to the fatigued visitors, and the good natured padre used every persuasion to induce them to do justice to his fare; treating them to several appropriate proverbs, such as: 'Un dia alegre vale cien anos de pesadumbre.'—(One day of mirth is worth a hundred days of grief), and many more to the same purpose. Though so many summers had passed over his head in exile, his cheerfulness seemed in no way diminished, and he entertained his guests with a variety of anecdotes of the Indians, and of their encounters with the bears, too long to be repeated here. Nor was his patriotism more diminished than his cheerfulness; and on learning that one of the party had been at the siege of Cadiz, his enthusiasm broke forth in the celebrated Spanish patriotic song of 'Espana de la guerra,' &c. Having served them with what he termed the *vialico*, consisting of a plentiful supply of cold picole beans, bread and eggs, he led the party to their sleeping apartment, amidst promises of horses for the morrow, and patriotic songs of his country, adapted to the well known air of Malbrook."

This worthy old gentleman, distressed at a view of the dangers he supposed his new friends incurred from being heretics, actually contrived to keep them a day or two at the convent, for the purpose of converting them, and was really mortified and worried at his bad success. He dismissed them with great reluctance; and when they returned, on their way back to San Francisco, he made the attempt a second time. The following amusing anecdote is related of the worthy padre's simplicity.

"A youthful Indian couple who had conceived an affection for each other, eloped one day, that they might enjoy each other's society without reserve in the wild and romantic scenery of the forest. Soldiers were immediately sent in pursuit, when, after a week's search, the fugitives were brought back; upon which, padre Arroyo, to punish their misbehaviour, incarcerated them together, and kept them thus confined until he thought they had expiated their crime."

As the interior of California is not much known to us, we shall make a few extracts from that part of the work which details the journey of the officers above alluded to. They set forth under the escort of a Californian dragoon, the description of whose costume and equipments is thus described in a very picturesque manner by our author :

"His dress consisted of a round blue cloth jacket, with red cuffs and collar; blue velvet breeches, which, being unbuttoned at the knees, gave greater display to a pair of white cotton stockings, cased more than half-way in a pair of deer-skin boots. A black hat, as broad in the brim as it was disproportionately low in the crown, kept in order, by its own weight, a profusion of dark hair, which met behind, and dangled half-way down the back in the form of a thick queue. A long musket, with a fox skin bound round the lock, was balanced upon the pommel of the saddle; and our hero was further provided for defence against the Indians with a bull's hide shield, on which, notwithstanding the revolution of the colony, were emblazoned the royal arms of Spain, and by a double-fold deer skin cuirass as a covering for his body. Thus accoutred, he bestrode a saddle, which retained him in his seat by a high pommel in front and a corresponding rise behind. His feet were armed at the heels with a tremendous pair of iron spurs, secured by a metal chain; and were thrust through an enormous pair of wooden box-shaped stirrups. Such was the person into whose charge our shipmates were placed by the governor, with a passport which commanded him not to permit any person to interfere with the party, either in its advance or on its return, and that it was to be escorted from place to place by a soldier."—p. 316.

After leaving Francisco a short distance, the party got out of the only section of country which is wooded for any considerable distance, and ascending a chain of hills about one thousand feet in height, had an extensive and magnificent view of the country, the sea being visible in the distance. The ridge of hills which afforded this fine prospect, was called Sierra de San Bruno, for the most part covered with a burnt up grass. After leaving the high ground, the travellers journeyed, with much more comfort to themselves and their horses, upon a plain called Las Salinas, most probably from the circumstance of its being occasionally overflowed by the sea.

"The number of wild geese," says Captain Beechey, "which frequent it is quite extraordinary, and indeed would hardly be credited by any one who had not seen them covering whole acres of ground, or rising in myriads with a clang that may be heard at a very considerable distance. They are said to arrive in California in November, and to remain there until March. Their flesh in general is hard and fishy, but it was reported by padre Luis Gil, of the mission of Santa Cruz, that those which have yellow feet are exceptions to this, and are excellent eating. The blackbirds are almost equally numerous, and in their distant flight resemble clouds. Among the marshes there were also a great many storks and cranes, which in San Francisco have the reputation of affording a most delicious repast."—p. 317.

They soon after reached San Matheo; and the contrast between the dwellings and the noble appearance of the country is very striking. It was a wide expanse of meadow land, with clusters of fine oak free from underwood.

"It strongly resembled a nobleman's park; herds of cattle and horses were

grazing upon the rich pasture, and numerous fallow-deer, starting at the approach of strangers, bounded off to seek protection among the hills. The resemblance, however, could be traced no further. Instead of a noble mansion, in character with so fine a country, the party arrived at a miserable mud dwelling, before the door of which a number of half-naked Indians were basking in the sun. Several dead geese, deprived of their entrails, were fixed upon pegs around a large pole, for the purpose of decoying the living game into snares, which were placed for them in favourable situations. Heaps of bones, also, of various animals, were lying about the place, and sadly disgraced the park-like scenery around."—p. 318.

We could not help remarking, in reading the above passage, and in fact all that our author has said about this fine country, how different a scene would be presented were that extensive region under the government of our republic! The Indians would either become gradually amalgamated with the whites, or if such be their destiny, ere long disappear before the advancing march of civilization. The stroke of the hardy yeoman's axe would resound through the forest—deserts would, in a short time, be turned into cultivated fields—the waving grain would decorate the plains—and instead of fortified "missions," and convents, and armed dragoons, we should behold the humble but comfortable dwellings of our sturdy farmers, and themselves peaceably pursuing their ordinary and quiet occupations.

After leaving this spot, they arrived at another where they would certainly have rested themselves, had not the name of the place, Las Pulgas, (fleas,) frightened them away. These, by the by, are very numerous throughout the country, occasioned probably by the great filth of the inhabitants. Indeed nothing seems to be more remarkable throughout the region we are describing, than the difference between the appearance of the inhabitants and their noble country. It was animated with herds of cattle, horses, and sheep grazing, and the shrubbery which was met with, afforded a retreat to numerous coveys of Californian partridges, which are most excellent food, and so tame as to scarcely start when a stone was hurled at them.

Santa Clara, distant about forty miles from San Francisco, is situated in an extensive plain, and contains a church, the dwelling house of the priests, and five rows of buildings for the accommodation of fourteen hundred Indians. The herds of cattle amount to ten thousand in number, and the horses to about three hundred. In the plain around, troops of jackals prowl in the most daring manner, and make it resound with their melancholy howlings. Olives and grapes are abundant; and the padres are enabled to make an abundance of good wine.

A beautiful avenue of trees, nearly three miles long, leads from this mission to the pueblo of San Jose, the largest settlement of the kind in Upper California. It contains five hundred inhabitants, retired soldiers and their families, who style themselves *Gente de Razon*, to be distinguished from the Indians,

whom these enlightened people hold in great contempt. The houses are of mud, miserably made.

While journeying along, after they had left this place, their guide suddenly left them to chase a wild mountain cat—the skin of the animal is very valuable. He did not succeed in catching it. But two were afterwards shot and their skins preserved, for the purpose of being brought to England: though, unfortunately, a man who had charge of them stole them, and disposed of these and other specimens to his own advantage.

At the mission of San Juan, the party visited about thirty huts of the Indians of the tribe of Toolerayos, who had been newly converted.

“Their tents were about thirty-five feet in circumference, constructed with pliable poles fixed in the ground, and drawn together at the top, to the height of twelve or fifteen feet. They are then interwoven with small twigs, and covered with bulrushes, having an aperture at the side to admit the inhabitants, and another at the top to let out the smoke. The exterior appearance of these wretched wigwams greatly resembles a bee-hive. In each dwelling were nine or ten Indians of both sexes, and of all ages, nearly in a state of nudity, huddled around a fire kindled in the centre of the apartment, a prey to vermin, and presenting a picture of misery and wretchedness seldom beheld in even the most savage state of society. They seemed to have lost all the dignity of their nature, and even the blackbirds had ceased to regard them as human beings, and were feeding in flocks among the wigwams.”—p. 322.

This was said to be the state in which the Indians generally lived; and it appeared that these poor people had voluntarily come for the purpose of being converted. A remarkable contrast, it is proper to remark, was presented in beholding those who had been a considerable time at the mission. It was a holiday, and they seemed both contented and in fine spirits with the amusement of which they were partaking.

The Captain and his officers soon got tired of his detention in California; and their ennui was increased by a circumstance that must have sorely disappointed the whole of them. The partiality of Englishmen for fights of all kinds is proverbial; cock-fighting and dog-fighting delight them—how enchanting, then, a combat between a bull and a bear! Such an event was to take place at San Francisco, and the Captain's heart beat high with anticipation. It reminded him of “home, sweet home,” though distant thousands of miles. To the bitter mortification of the whole crew, the fight was postponed to some future period, until some bear, more unlucky than that selected for the Captain's entertainment, should permit himself to be caught: the one in question was too cunning and too fierce for the party sent after him.

In no good humour, then, they left California; and sailed for the Sandwich Islands. They anchored in the harbour of Honoruru the capital of the Island of Owyhee. These isles are superior to the Society Isles in civilization. A sketch of their history is given by our author. One of their kings, Tamehameha, is placed

in a parallel, (we doubt its correctness,) with Alfred and Peter the Great. He was, however, not an ordinary man; and was assisted by the counsels of his prime minister, Krymakoo, familiarly called Billy Pitt, who seems to have been really a man of talents. They laboured hard to civilize their countrymen. When the king died, so beloved was he, that many of his subjects committed suicide—others knocked out their front teeth, and some were even sacrificed by the priests in the morais. This was in 1819. The next year, some missionaries arrived. Krymakoo became a convert to the Christian religion, and most of the chiefs followed his example. The discipline of the missionaries, here, as in the Society Isles, was very rigid, and gave rise to quarrels and insurrections. Too much of the natives' time appears to have been taken up in attending school to the neglect of their work. These dissensions prevailed at the period of Captain Beechey's visit. It is known that Rio Rio, the brother of the king of the Island during our author's stay, and his queen, paid a visit to England, and died there. They were accompanied by several of the chiefs; many of whom had imbibed a taste for European customs. The captain gave them a dinner, which he describes as follows:

"Amidst this conflicting interest of parties, we were gratified to observe the cordiality between the chiefs and the English and American residents, neither of whom took part in these state quarrels. To strengthen this feeling, a public dinner was given by the officers of the Blossom and myself to the king and all the royal family, the consuls, the chiefs, and the principal merchants resident in the place. On this occasion, the king was received with the honours due to his rank. He was dressed in full uniform, and altogether made a very elegant appearance. His behaviour at table was marked with the greatest propriety, and though he seemed fully aware of the superiority of Europeans, he appeared at the same time conscious that the attentions he received were no more than a just tribute to his rank. Boki, the regent, Koanou, the colonel of the troops, and Manuia, the captain of the port, were dressed in the Windsor uniform; and Kahumana, and the two female chiefs next in rank, were arrayed in silk dresses, and had expended a profusion of lavender water upon their cambric handkerchiefs. Many loyal and patriotic toasts succeeded the dinner, some of which were proposed by Boki, in compliment to the king of England and the President of the United States, between both of whom, and his royal protégé, he expressed a hope that the warmest friendship would always subsist. The chiefs drank to the health of several persons who had shown them attention in London, and in compliment to the ladies of England, proposed as a toast "The pretty girls of the Adelphy." Throughout the day the islanders acquitted themselves very creditably, and their conduct showed a close observance of European manners." p. 355.

The description of the entertainment is quite in "anniversary" style; and, we think the sentiment of the savages about the fair sex, quite as good as those with which our land is inundated, on the same subject, on the fourth of July.

While there, in February 1827, Krymakoo died—his character is well sketched by our author—he enjoyed an immense influence with his countrymen, and used it invariably for their

own good ; to his exertions, the missionaries are in a great measure, under Providence, indebted for the good that has been effected in the Island of Owyhee. In the instance of a serious tumult, in which his own house had by mistake been burned by the crew of an American vessel, and when the natives in great crowds hurried to avenge the loss their favourite had sustained, by his persuasions, and by his candour and moderation, the riot was quelled, and the crew of the vessel saved most probably from massacre.

We cannot take our leave of these islands, in the account of which so much is said by all writers about kings, queens, princesses, regents, nobility, &c., without expressing an opinion of the ridicule cast upon royalty, when associated with such possessors of the title—eaters of raw fish—drinkers of rum, in both sexes—and more especially in the softer sex—those who were so much delighted with any thing pretty, that they immediately laid their hands upon it, and appropriated it to themselves. Our author's account of the females of these islands is amusing—barbarism, in their case, emphatically walks hand in hand with civilization—so far at least, as that is embraced in wearing fine clothes ; for instance, p. 361, our author says:—

“In every uncivilized country, which has as much foreign intercourse as Woahoo, incongruities must be of frequent occurrence ; thus we were daily in the habit of seeing ladies disencumber themselves of their silks, slippers, and parasols, and swim off in fine style to different vessels, carrying their bundles on their heads, and resuming their finery when they got on board. Nor was it less amusing to observe them jump overboard soon after daylight, and continue sporting and swimming about the vessels in the harbour like so many Nereids ; practices to which they adhere with as much fondness as ever. Many, however, now think it necessary to put on a bathing gown when they take this recreation.”

Captain Beechey visited Loo Choo ; a name familiar to many, from the famous account of it sent forth by the no less famous Captain Basil Hall, that most voracious of journalists. It is well known that our distinguished countryman Mr. Duponceau, corrected the traveller in one of his numerous blunders concerning the language of the inhabitants of Loo Choo. Our author, in a very short paragraph, and in a very cavalier way, undertakes to point out several mistakes in Mr. Duponceau's observations. We do not pretend to pass any opinion upon this subject : but we would rather adopt the views of the enlightened scholar and distinguished gentleman and linguist, to whom we have referred, than that of the two captains in the royal navy, neither of whom is celebrated as a scholar, though we do not call either of them remarkably deficient. We are perfectly safe, therefore, in leaving the controversy, if it should be thought proper to revive it, in such able hands as those of Mr. Duponceau.

We shall not detain our readers with any details of this island. It may suffice to remark that our author shows the inaccuracy of

two commonly entertained opinions; viz. that the inhabitants use no money, and have no weapons of war. It appears that their money is the common *cash* of the Chinese—and that like all other nations they carry arms.

Their religion may be judged of from the following dialogue which took place between the captain and a native of Loo Choo.

"God created and constantly governs all things?" "Englishman's god—yes."
 "When God created the great progenitor of all men, he was perfectly holy and perfectly happy?" "No."—"The first ancestor of the human race sinned against God, and all his descendants are naturally depraved, inclined to evil and averse from good?" "Good."—"If men's hearts be not renewed, and their sins atoned for, they must after death suffer everlasting misery in hell?" "Priest say so: *An-yah* not think so." Do the three sects believe in metempsychosis?"

This was not understood; we should have scarcely supposed that a sensible man would have used a Greek word in conversation with a Loo Chooan. In fact, we doubt whether several others of the questions were comprehended. "Do they believe that all things are appointed by heaven?" "Yes"—"Are there any Athiests in Loo Choo?"—"Many."

The debased condition of the priesthood in China is a surprising but undoubted fact. The priests of their religion are taken from the lowest classes of the vilest wretches among them. It is the same in Loo Choo. Their unfortunate condition is truly pitiable—they are universally scorned and insulted. Captain Beechey remarks, that he never beheld a more unintellectual and care-worn class of men. And yet they are consulted as oracles by all classes. To what strange inconsistencies is man subject, unless directed and enlightened by divine aid!

In one point, the Loo Chooans are fit models for all—we mean in politeness. In this respect they are superior even to the French. It was not confined to any class or rank—but all, high and low, rich and poor, exhibited it.

In accordance with his instructions, Captain Beechey made a second voyage to Behring's Strait, but was not more successful than in the first. Captain Franklin and his party were not found. It has been already stated, how nearly they approached each other—being distant only one hundred and forty-six miles—and, of course, but a very small part of the North-West coast of the American continent has been unexplored. This design is, in our author's opinion, practicable—and some fortunate navigator, with favourable coincidences of weather, may possibly, at some period or other, succeed; but, we may ask, *cui bono*? we mean in a practical point of view. The north-west passage can never become a medium of commerce. If so many well appointed expeditions have failed, "with such appliances and means to boot," how can it be hoped, that ordinary vessels, with ordinary accommodations, can overcome the many difficulties of the undertaking? It must be admitted, that much good has been done

to the cause of science from the attempts—important discoveries in navigation, botany, natural history, &c., have been made. Of these, our author performed his full part, and merits for them a large share of praise.

The work of Captain Beechey will not be read with any very great interest by those to whom the voyages of Cook, La Peyrouse, Vancouver and Parry are familiar. It is, in many respects, another edition of those works, without the freshness which made them so enchanting to their readers. And yet, the details of scenes like those through which these navigators have passed, do not, though more than once repeated, become tiresome. Our author, too, is happy at description, and, by his mode of narration lends additional interest to what he relates. We were pleased, too, to find in an English book, in which reference is occasionally made to Americans, and to the United States, no sneers or sarcasms, in which so many of his countrymen delight to indulge, whenever an opportunity is afforded by the mention of America.

Of the literary merits of the work, we may say, that, on the whole, the book is well put together, and sufficiently well written. There are occasional specimens of good writing—we have quoted a few. But against a vicious phraseology, of which our author seems very fond, we must enter our protest. He is constantly saying—"immediately" such and such things were done—"directly" this occurred, so and so followed. Now this is ungrammatical, and in very bad taste. It may be thought that we are too censorious, and that we should not expect the most correct style of writing from a British naval officer, not a professed author, and we therefore pass it by.

ART. V.—*Domestic Manners of the Americans*. By MRS. TROLLOPE. London: Whittaker, Treacher, & Co. New-York, reprinted: 1839.

[It is not our purpose to review this book with any desire to expose or correct a single misrepresentation. We have no wish, and, certainly, see no particular necessity, to set Mrs. Trollope right in any of her misstatements. Her mistakes are numerous; but rather, we are disposed to think, the fault of her education—which appears to have been somewhat French and flippant, and by no means calculated for a comprehensive survey of her kind or kin—and not the result of any inclination on the part of the lady.] She is particularly careful, indeed, at frequent intervals of her book, to induce us to attribute her errors—though she

does not believe that she has made any—to the simple and single defect of vision, mental or physical; and is assiduously urgent, in discarding from her speech—in the hearing of her auditors, at least—all of those prejudices and preferences, either of birth or education, which she appears to be conscious have sometimes the effect of giving colour to all objects of human speculation, whether abroad or at home. With these reservations, clearly made, and as clearly recognised and understood, we will venture to look into the volume, which, if it has not, to employ the language of the writer in reference to the reception among us of Basil Hall's book on the same subject, been productive of a "moral earthquake," has, nevertheless, to the infinite amusement of the well-informed in our country, occasioned some annoyance to many of that thin-skinned gentry, the journalists. [If it be the subject of any gratification, as doubtless it will, to know that she has fully succeeded in stirring up the bile of certain among them, Mrs. Trollope may felicitate herself thereupon, with all the pride and triumph of an Englishwoman.] It is, indeed, the chief objection to the reprint before us, that it has been thought proper, by the American publishers, to preface it with an exordium, conceived in a peevish and fretful spirit, and altogether written in a puerile taste. The irony is not always perceptible, and is calculated immediately to provoke the sneer and sarcasm, which it would seem to have been the devout desire of the writer to avert.

The travels of Mrs. Trollope have been neither very various nor very wide. Indeed she has merely skirted a small frontier of our country, in its least cultivated and settled regions; and, if we except a few weeks passed in some few of the eastern and middle regions, can scarcely be said to have been in it at all. She entered the Mississippi at New-Orleans—made a pause of some seventy hours in that city—sympathized with a little negro, who, though a slave, appeared to be most unreasonably contented and happy—became acquainted with a milliner, and, through her, with a venerable gentleman of the New-Harmony faith, who dealt freely in maxims, "wise saws and modern instances;" and thus prepared and provided with this amount and specimen of New-Orleans society, took her departure. To a lady of her tact and talent, this glimpse of three days was enough, undoubtedly, to enable her to know all that was to be known, and to speak confidently and freely upon the characters, manners, and conditions of the place; and, accordingly, with the aid of a steam-boat journeyer, who happily fell in with her on her departure from Orleans, she details to us something of those distinctions which make the various classes of its society. She speaks with sovereign contempt of the creole aristocracy, who, it seems, have the audacity to give "grand dinners and dine to-

gether," and commiserates the fate of the "beautiful and amiable quadroons," who are not admitted to a glimpse of this ultra elysium; but, on the contrary, are silly enough to be satisfied, and even pleased, with their own—such as it is. There is not quite a chapter devoted to this city—the narrative, in most cases, being lamentably diversified with speculative digression, and passing cursorily, with the lady's mood, into the consideration of various other topics. Here, we are told, for the first time, that the companion of the author, from Europe, was the notorious Frances Wright, of whose mind and manners Mrs. Trollope speaks in terms of unqualified eulogy and praise, and upon the immoral tendencies of whose habits and opinions, she dwells with singular brevity, and in terms of the faintest and most guarded censure. It does not happen well for the latter, that Miss Wright was a companion, either so intimate or so well-esteemed. There is a vulgar old English adage in our mind, which, however, as both of these ladies appear to regard moralities with some dislike, we forbear more particularly to refer to; though, we doubt not, in this country as well as in Europe—ill-informed as may be the one, and well-informed the other—the application of it, to the case in point, will most readily be made. Of Miss Wright's objects, at this period, we have the following account. It had been well for the cause of popular virtue, and, perhaps, for the individual herself, had she continued to the last, the same amiable enthusiast she appears at the beginning.

"Instead of becoming a public orator in every town throughout America, she was about, as she said, to seclude herself for life in the deepest forest of the western world, that her time, her fortune, and her talents might be exclusively devoted to aid the cause of the suffering Africans. Her first object was to show that nature had made no difference between blacks and whites, excepting in complexion; and this she expected to prove by giving an education perfectly equal to a class of black and white children. Could this fact be once fully established, she conceived that the negro cause would stand on firmer ground than it had yet done, and the degraded rank which they have ever held among civilized nations would be proved to be a gross injustice. This question of the mental equality or inequality between us and the negro race, is one of great interest, and has never yet been fairly tried; and I expected for my children and myself both pleasure and information from visiting her establishment, and watching the success of her experiment."—pp. 33-4.

The history of Miss Wright, while in this country, is already in the possession of our readers; and this wild scheme, sanctioned as it is by an unfeigned if not a proper philanthropy, is well known to have shared the fortune of all her innovations upon the order of established things. Of course, such an experiment could not fairly be made in this country. To put it on a fair footing, it would have been essential, as a first step, that the teacher should have chosen a section of the world, utterly ignorant of the distinctions which all civilized society has made between members

of the human family, so divided and set apart, even from the hands of nature. A sense of relative superiority and inferiority would be for ever active in both classes, aware of the line of demarcation as drawn by the living world around and about them. Upon this subject much has already been said, and even at this moment, the altitude of public opinion in Great Britain, leaves us without a doubt, that, ere many days, she will proceed in experimenting upon the subject, in a manner not only startling but decisive. The topic in our country can scarcely be held sufficiently legitimate to permit further remark from us, but there is none that we can now call to notice so truly important, or so highly interesting in the consideration of our national destinies—none, around which so many doubts and so much diversity of opinion will be found to gather.

Mrs. Trollope, from New-Orleans, proceeds to Memphis, on board a steam boat, which, though large and convenient, has, it appears, separate cabins for the ladies and gentlemen—an arrangement which the English lady does not seem altogether to approve. It has too much formality about it, and although, were the cabins in common, some one of either sex might be incommoded, yet this evil, in the plenitude of her refinement, she considers more than counterbalanced by the starched and stiffened air of the popular manners, consequent to this arrangement. The gentlemen, too, it appears, insist somewhat tenaciously upon the exclusive possession of their division; and the tone in which this feature of the local custom is dwelt upon by the writer, would lead us to the unavoidable inference, that Mrs. Trollope had become on board a perfect Mrs. Pry—had peeped and peered in all sections—

“Look’d in the baths and God knows where beside;”

and, most probably, exposed herself to some few hints of the aforesaid exclusiveness. She appears evidently to have been a very inquisitive body, and her book is much swollen by a petty and peevish complaining of repelling coldness here, and uncourteous indifference there, in cases where, without undergoing the usual, and, in America, the necessary forms of introduction, she has instituted a rigorous inquiry into concerns and customs, commonly held private and domestic. It is on this occasion, and on board this boat, that she first remarks, with a degree of severity, in strict proportion with its justice, upon the too current, if not fashionable, and vile habit of chewing tobacco, and voiding its offensive juices all around; utterly indifferent to situation and to decency. On this subject, she well merits a hearing; and if her rebuke have any effect in diminishing the number of those cursed and cursing with this noxious indulgence, we shall gladly forgive her all the other offences of her volume. Her sarcasms on this subject run all through the book, and are properly conceived

and well written.. We quote a single paragraph at the conclusion of the second chapter.

"I hardly know any annoyance so deeply repugnant to English feelings as the incessant, remorseless spitting of Americans. I feel that I owe my readers an apology for the repeated use of this, and several other odious words; but I cannot avoid them, without suffering the fidelity of description to escape me. It is possible that in this phrase 'Americans,' I may be too general. The United States form a continent of almost distinct nations, and I must now and always, be understood to speak only of that portion of them which I have seen. In conversing with Americans, I have constantly found that if I alluded to any thing which they thought I considered as uncouth, they would assure me it was local and not national; the accidental peculiarity of a very small part, and by no means a specimen of the whole," &c.—pp. 34-5.

It would appear from this, that Mrs. Trollope had suffered some occasional misgivings, and been warned, that she was not exactly among the American people, though in America—that portion of the people, at least, from which the nation is to derive its character, and by which, alone, it would be legitimately represented. It is to be regretted however, that she so frequently overlooks and forgets the reservation, here made, and holds up as the make and model of a great people—great, even in achievement, not less than in number—the drunken boatman of a frontier river, or the ditcher of some interior canal, who, in many, if not most cases, is a faithful transcript from her own exclusively temperate and sedate regions of Wapping and the Strand.

We shall not pursue, step by step, the route taken by Mrs. Trollope. Her course is easily indicated, and the merest glance at the map, will satisfy any one, even unacquainted with the geography of the United States, how very small is the portion of that country, comparatively speaking, which she has seen. It will be found that the greater part of the three years which she spent within its limits, was employed in journeyings into and about a region, which, until within the last twenty-five years, had little or no sign of civilization—was partly in possession, and under the controul of, the Aborigines; and to which, the citizens of the United States are, to this moment, almost as much strangers as Mrs. Trollope herself. Much of it has been settled by the destitute myriads of foreigners who are ingrate and foolish enough annually to fly from the fashion, the fertility and feeling of their own European dwellings—preferring plenty and ease and independence on the Ohio and Mississippi, though coupled with rudeness of speech and uncouth manners. Many of its leading features are foreign, and we have been more than once amused with the complaint of the lady, uttered in reproof of some custom decidedly European in its origin, and perhaps a transfer directly from her own country. Where this is not the case—where the *squatter* is the poor defeated adventurer of another and neighbouring state, driven out into the wilderness by

poverty, by excess or crime, and seeking that shelter in the kindred glooms and austerities of wilderness life, which his own ill-fortunes, ill-habits, or ill-deeds, had probably denied or forfeited him in that from which he flies—the race thus formed is one, *sui generis*, for which the United States are under as few pledges or responsibilities as civilization itself. These alone, it is true, have not made up the entire of this forest population. There is yet another—a smaller, but a better and nobler class, who present enough that is redeeming in the moral character of our western regions. They are the men, who have taken the axe upon the shoulder, and with a spirit of adventure, we are proud to say, almost entirely American, have gone, singing cheerily, into the gloomy and druidical forests, undeterred by the deep silence—by the wilds and the wilder savages that fill them—unrepining at the fortune that calls for these privations and demands these perils—striking their resolute shafts deep in wilderness and mountain, and tearing from the bosom of the earth the countless spoils of manly and honourable industry—giving, in this occupation, a pledge—the surest that a people can ever make to the nation which honours, and the government which protects them—of an energy and ability and patriotism resolute to keep the faith and follow the fortunes of their fathers, and which, in turn, their children “will not willingly let die.” This class forms a portion of that people among whom it was the fortune of Mrs. Trollope to travel. It is to this class, in a spirit of rebuke and ridicule, which finds its true and sufficient commentary in the present condition of her own country and its population, that this refined lady so violently objects. She can see nothing in the bold daring—the firm courage—the strong nerve—the cheerful industry—the perseverance and tenacity of this people, triumphing as they are over the almost inaccessible bulwarks of nature. No nation ever came to its birthright through a more perilous time of trial, than did the United States; and when she shall be reproached with what is left undone, in the perfecting of her institutions, the amending of her morals or her manners, her sons will have made a reply, more than sufficient, if estimated comparatively with the deeds of any other nation, in pointing to what she has done in the teeth of poverty, and the oppressions and privations of two protracted wars with a nation whom we are still pleased in our humility to style by the endearing appellation of parent—but whose “boon and birthgift was the stepdame’s curse:”—a nation who first drove us from her arms, then sought us out, with the unrelenting ferocity of the wolf, even in the wilderness to which she had exiled us. It is not enough, in the view of Mrs. Trollope, that under a fate such as ours, we have been enabled to do so much. It is not enough that we have built the cottage; we have not yet taught

the vine to gad and gather around it. The fine arts have not yet hung their trophies within and about its walls of clay—music stirs not the deep valleys in the silence of midnight—the gay masquer, the giddy trifter, the voluptuous dancing girl, mingle not yet in the dwelling of the bee and the bear hunter; all the gaiety and the glitter are yet to come; and, in the estimation of the “Englisher woman,” when to these deficiencies are added bad roads, unhandsome and crazy vehicles, and poor steamboat society, all the achievements, all the labours, all the triumphs of youthful America, go absolutely for nothing.

From Memphis, our traveller proceeds to Cincinnati, touching at various points of location, on or about the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. On this route she gives us some woful accounts of the miserable condition of those who inhabit it—many particulars of her narrative most certainly having their foundation in truth. The only mistake which she can be said to have made, is in so hastily seizing upon the fortunes of some single individual or family—some exile, doubtless for good and sufficient reason, and making that the standard and specimen of the American people. As well might the American traveller, with like temper and truth, from the stews of London produce and set up the model, and draw the character of that nation, in which Mrs. Trollope never appears to have heard of boxing and bruising and beer drinking—of mobs and individual ruffians—of a penal code more sanguinary than that of Draco; and in a population of a million and a half, the existence of a class, as the London statistical writers allege, five thousand in number, who would cut one’s throat for a shilling. She has never heard of squalid misery—of outrageous crime—of brutal licentiousness—of ill manners, in this utopian and blessed region. It is no wonder therefore that she should be startled in the wildernesses of the new world, with exhibitions of boorishness and brutality among the men, and of a silly air of mock modesty among the women. She endeavours to make a pathetic picture of a Mississippi wood cutter—a creature met with but seldom, and not recognised, and scarcely known as representing any distinct class in the country. The text is illustrated by a rude plate, representing the log dwelling and its wretched inmates. The description, taken only as that of a singular and isolated case, is doubtless correct in all leading particulars. In any estimate of the resources of the nation, it is surely unnecessary to say, that such a class forms no subject of consideration.

At Cincinnati, Mrs. Trollope spent nearly two, out of the three years passed in our country. In all this period she never saw a beggar; and this fact, which, of itself, speaks volumes for the nation of which it is recorded, not only fails to elicit from this very impartial narrator, the applause for our policy and peo-

ple, which, by any unjaundiced spirit would most certainly have been expressed, but actually furnishes her with an occasion to sneer at our deficiencies in other respects—in the arts, the sciences, learning, literature and amusements—which deficiencies, with a strange philosophy, she avers to arise from this distaste to beggary—a feeling in turn, solely attributable to the “*auri sacra fames*”—the vile and besetting sin, in this lady’s estimation of Americanism. Their industry becomes a reproach, and an argument against them; and that very condition of things, so far as individual prosperity is affected, for which the British democracy is now struggling, is ascribed to this same democracy, as far less grateful and necessary than the absolute poverty and destitution, crime and misery, which in their own, and, in every country, must be the certain result of the many labouring and living only for the ease, the refinements and the luxuries of the few. This, indeed, is the true and only comparison which should be made—the condition and character, the present and future prospects of the British labouring classes, and the American people at large—who are, all of them, workingmen in a greater or less degree. In America we are not quite old enough to have seen much, if any, aristocracy; unless we except that which belongs to the possessor of a commission in the militia. As this class, however, is of so extensive a character—every man, according to our author, being a major or colonel or general—it follows that there can be but little of exclusiveness in distinctions thus liberally distributed. We see but little luxury—our refinements are not much beyond a love of decorum and cleanliness: we know nothing of the artifices and ultra-graces of a long standing conventional arrangement, among old families possessed of enormous wealth: we have no glorious pictures—no cultivated scenes—no marble dwellings—no entire communities devoted to the creation of new luxuries, by which to provoke into activity the palled and palsied appetite. But, on the other hand, we see no shelterless misery—no squalid want and degradation—no riotous and reckless masses of starving fathers and mothers, and fatherless children crying out for bread to their rulers, and in the blindness and wantonness of their desperation, tearing away the pillars of peace, and order, and religion. Jonathan has his faults, it is true, and they are bad enough to need amendment. He chews his tobacco and drinks his whiskey—though not more liberally we believe, than his British brother—still, however, in quantities far beyond the boundary of propriety or prudence. He thinks highly of his country—perhaps too highly. He is vain and boastful of the freedom he possesses—believes or affects to believe, his sky as fine as the Italian—his mountains as high, his rivers as broad, long and deep, his fields as fine and fertile, and his fruits and crops as abundant as any in the world; and in all

this, rustic Jonathan is not unwilling to be put to the proof. His halls of legislation are, to his mind, unrivalled for eloquence and good government; the strains of his poets are perhaps quite as sweet as his desires would have them; and the village artist, whose chef-d'œuvre is the tavern sign board, he has not the slightest doubt, would put Italy and England to the blush. In this, his vanity may have something the start of good judgment and a proper courtesy; but surely the patriotism of the illusion should furnish a redeeming something in the eyes of Mrs. Trollope.

Nor is Jonathan so far wrong, as his neighbours, with a most unkindly spirit, would have him appear. The natural world, in which he lives, and for which, perhaps, he takes quite as much credit to himself, as a respect to the great original will permit, defies, and fully justifies any comparison with the features of the old world which it presumes to rival; and so long as Jonathan may refer to his patriots—his Washingtons—for the American Revolution brought forth many worthy of the name—his warriors, (for have they not contended, and successfully, even with those of Great Britain)—his authors, as well on government as on ethics, as well in speculative and abstract philosophies, as in imaginative and occasional wanderings—for has not Great Britain adopted and recorded them among her classics, and does she not honour them daily by reference and applause)—her Painters, her Wests, her Alstons, her Leslies, her Newtons, (for are they not the élite, and at the very head of British art) so long as this long and brilliant catalogue is spread before him, may he not claim a portion of the honours—may he not reach his hand to the prize—may he not stand up in the great arena of competition and glory, among the patriots of Europe, and her heroes and statesmen, her authors and her artists, and with conscious pride and honest enthusiasm exclaim, “anch’ Io son pittore.”? These are the triumphs of his people. There is something yet wanting, perhaps. For himself, he has not yet learnt to enjoy a fine picture, or a delicious poem. The necessity of going forth at sunrise, and labouring till sunset, day by day, for his bread, keeps him ignorant of those refinements which belong not to his situation. He has some idea that there are such refinements, and he may possibly crave them at times; but the necessity of providing for his children and himself is before him; he seizes his axe, and in the hollow echoes which it calls up in the woods, he finds company that makes him forget or willingly forego the thousand and one nameless enjoyments of ease and affluence. When Mrs. Trollope shall describe that working class in Great Britain—whether in the manufactories of England or the tythe parishes of Ireland—in which the arts, sciences, and literature—the muses and the graces—have taken up their abodes; refining

vulgar asperities, rounding the rough features of the boor, and softening the savage manners of the hodman, we shall be more willing then, to account for the deficiencies, and seek an apology for the roughnesses of Jonathan. When it shall be shown to us, that from one end of Great Britain to the other, there is a less ignorant, more honest, more enlightened body of artisans and labourers than in the territory of the United States, compassing our most remote extremes and dependencies, it will be quite time enough to inquire into the condition of our people, and to make a like provision for *their minds*, with that which the British government is now called upon to make for the *bodies* of its grieving and groaning population. We have not the slightest doubt, and certainly entertain no fear, that, in a comparison, man for man, and woman for woman, America, the child of a most unnatural and vindictive parent, will be found fully to acquit herself with credit and éclat, of all the high, social, and political duties. She has government, but the tributary and not the tyrant of society. Not a few of Mrs. Trollope's leading and standing topics of complaint, in relation to the United States, are comprised in the following passage:

"The simple manner of living in western America, was more distasteful to me from its levelling effects on the manners of the people, than from the personal privations that it rendered necessary; and yet, till I was without them, I was in no degree aware of the many pleasurable sensations derived from the little elegancies and refinements enjoyed by the middle classes in Europe. There were many circumstances, too trifling even for my gossiping pages, which pressed themselves daily and hourly upon us, and which forced us to remember painfully that we were not at home. It requires an abler pen than mine to trace the connexion which I am persuaded exists between these deficiencies and the minds and manners of the people. All animal wants are supplied profusely at Cincinnati, and at a very easy rate; but alas! these go but a little way in the history of a day's enjoyment. The total and universal want of manners, both in males and females, is so remarkable, that I was constantly endeavouring to account for it. It certainly does not proceed from want of intellect. I have listened to much dull and heavy conversation in America, but rarely to any that I could strictly call silly, (if I except the everywhere privileged class of very young ladies.) They appear to me to have clear heads and active intellects; *are more ignorant upon subjects that are only of conventional value*, than on such as are of intrinsic importance; but there is no charm, no grace in their conversation. I very seldom, during my whole stay in the country, heard a sentence elegantly turned, and correctly pronounced from the lips of an American. There is always something either in the expression or the accent that jars the feelings and shocks the taste."

This is sweeping enough, in all conscience; it requires but little effort, however, to understand it. Much of the complaint comes under the description contained in the querulous and familiar verse—

"I do not like you Doctor Fell,
The reason why, I cannot tell,
But—I do not like you Doctor Fell ;"

and, of course, requires no remark. The substance of all is,

that the traveller finds herself, not only in a new country, but among strangers—in a strange place, where all but herself are busied, not so much in making money as in making bread. It was with the view of putting her son in a like way, that Mrs. Trollope went to Cincinnati—that place having been recommended to her, *especially as a new community*, where adventure and industry might do well. The obvious inference, with her, should have been, that there were few other than needy and busy people to be found in the place; and she should have known, therefore, how unreasonable it was to look for the refinements of luxurious leisure. She, a mere visiter, was the only idle one among them—disposed, no doubt, as a matter of pastime, to exact the attention to her twaddle, of those persons who had ten thousand other things to do. They paused at her beck, heard what she had to say, and hurried on to their vocations. They had no time for chat, and most probably had little taste for that of a garrulous woman, going about “taking notes.” Perhaps, as they were the merest men of business, without the advantages of learned education, they could contribute nothing but the results of their own experience and their “mother wit,” in the way of conversation. This, no doubt, when the hours of business were over, they were not unwilling to do. But nobody, at all familiar with the country, knowing the nature of its settlement, would think of going in this direction, simply with the view to highly polished society; and the reproach is laughable, when Mrs. Trollope tells us, that she could not possibly meet with any idle intelligent people. The people were all pioneers—mere pioneers—and have not challenged that admiration of themselves and theirs which she so wrongheadedly lays to their account. She exclaims, with no little of a lofty complaisance, peculiarly English—“Jonathan must remember, that if he will challenge competition with the old world, the old world will now and then look out to see how he supports his pretensions.” But Jonathan does no such thing—he offers no such challenge—he makes no such pretensions. Mrs. Trollope, on the contrary, seeks the poor fellow out, in his hovel on the banks of the Ohio—talks to him of the miserable servitude of his condition, compelled, as he is, to labour from dawn to dark, for the vile grain and gruel of existence—wonders at the content which he exhibits, with such a fate—endeavours to provoke his envy at the luxuries and the glory and honour he has lost in not being or not having been born an Englishman—talks largely about the polish of court society, as if the mass of her people, any more than ours, see or know any thing about it—of the happy condition of those progenitors, their pride of place and numerous pleasures, from whom he has so lamentably degenerated—assures him that his log-house is not fit for the pigs, that his wife talks

in the most horrible and discordant *patois*; and, if his daughters happen, most unluckily, at that moment to make their appearance, lectures them upon the hoydenish manners, the unpractised gait, the awkward and irksome simplicity and rude speech of themselves and countrywomen. And when Jonathan, in the bitterness of his heart, turns about and retorts with a comparative picture of the blessings of his own, and the miseries of the mother country—of the tyranny of the few, and the pauperism, the prostration and pollution of the many—why then the wretch grows brutal and ill-mannered and cublike, and is said to have thrown down the gauntlet to that kind parent who has done so much for him—in driving him into a wilderness where he does so much for himself, in hunting him with arms and savages, and, failing in this way utterly to tear him from the strong root which he has taken, in denying him his honest trophies, and envying him the substance which his own vigorous manhood and independence have won from wild and rugged nature on the waters of the Ohio and in the bosom of Illinois. Well may Jonathan distrust—happy, indeed, if he come not, in time, to hate this people, whom he vainly seeks, but without any reason or necessity, to sooth and conciliate! Long may he continue to regard the perils and privations of his own wilds and waters, as a boon and a blessing, compared with the lock-and-collar refinements—the servitude, the strife and struggle for existence in the refreshing and polite circles of a British loom, an Irish bog, and a parish poor house, so necessary a concomitant of both.

We take from this volume another passage which illustrates another feature of Mrs. Trollope's disposition to quarrel with the rustics among whom she loiters, for the strangely perverse taste which enables them to be content with their institutions and mode of life. She regards it as perfectly horrible that a wood-cutter of the Mississippi and a ditcher of the Ohio, should feel none of the cravings of a London appetite.

"We visited one farm, which interested us particularly, from its wild and lonely situation, and from the entire dependance of the inhabitants upon their own resources. It was a partial clearing in the very heart of the forest. The house was built on the side of a hill, so steep that a high ladder was necessary to enter the front door, while the back one opened against the hillside; at the foot of this sudden eminence ran a clear stream whose bed had been deepened into a little reservoir, just opposite the house. A noble field of Indian corn stretched away into the forest on one side, and a few half cleared acres, with a shed or two upon them, occupied the other; giving accommodation to cows, horses, pigs, and chickens innumerable. Immediately before the house was a small potato garden, with a few peach and apple trees. The house was built of logs, and consisted of two rooms, besides a little *shanty* or *lean-to*, that was used as a kitchen. Both rooms were comfortably furnished with good beds, drawers, &c. The farmer's wife, and a young woman who looked like her sister, were spinning, and three little children were playing about. The woman told me that they spun and wove all the cotton and woollen garments of the family, and knit all the stockings; her husband, though not a shoemaker by trade, made all

the shoes. She manufactured all the soap and candles they used, and prepared her sugar from the sugar trees on their farm. All she wanted with money, she said, was to buy coffee and tea and whiskey, and she could 'get enough any day by sending a batch of butter and chickens to market.' They used no wheat, nor sold any of their corn, which, though it appeared a very large quantity, was not more than they required to make their bread and cakes of various kinds, and to feed all their live stock during the winter."—pp. 58-9.

One would say that this was a pretty fair specimen of plenty, ease, and the "all in all, content." But it would not be Mrs. Trollope unless there was some serpent in this elysium, some blight among the buds—some strange alloy carrying with it a sober warning that "all is not gold that glistens." Hear what she says on this point.

"These people were indeed independent, Robinson Crusoe hardly more so—and they eat and drank abundantly; but yet it seemed to me that there was something awful and almost unnatural in their loneliness. No village bell ever summoned them to prayer, where they might meet the friendly greeting of their fellow men. When they die, no spot sacred by ancient reverence will receive their bones. Religion will not breathe her sweet and solemn farewell upon the grave; the husband or the father will dig the pit that is to hold them, beneath the nearest tree; he will himself deposit them beneath it, and the wind that whispers through the boughs will be their only requiem. But, then, they pay neither tythes nor taxes, are never expected to pull off a hat or make a courtesy, and will live and die without hearing or uttering the dreadful words, 'God save the king.'"

Mrs. Trollope is evidently no great deal of a philosopher, or she would permit the taste of mankind to regulate itself, as it invariably will. The lamentation and sympathy here are evidently uncalled for. Where the human mind is content with its fortunes, the taste is evidently accommodated, and must certainly have been consulted; and it certainly exhibits less of Christian charity than is altogether becoming in so well-accomplished a lady, to seek to provoke a feeling of disquietude in that condition, which seemingly is in want of nothing. Mrs. Trollope should have known better. We are not, however, disposed to think with less of admiration than herself, of the joyous and grateful associations which she has crowded into this little paragraph.

It is not because we love and regard them less, that they are less frequent to be found in our, than in the mother country. When it shall be the case with us, that mountain, forest, and river possess and send forth their thousands and tens of thousands swarming in our vast space, as in the small realm from which they originally sprung—when our wilds shall be thick with human habitations, and bud and bloom with the fruits of human industry—when the axe of the pioneer shall cease to resound in our woods, disturbing the echoes which have slept for centuries;—and when the desolate and destitute pauper from a foreign shore, shall have become prosperous on the banks of the Wabash, the Arkansas, and the Mississippi, we doubt not that the

village will spring up upon the hillside—that its bell will call to Sabbath service—and all the taste, and all the materials of foreign luxury, whether of the fashion, the fancy, or the heart, in the utmost width and fullest sense of European perfection, will be found to command the good opinion and applause of some future Mrs. Trollope. Nor, we may venture to say, will our improvement be limited to the merely external decorations of society and fashion. Some vital charities, we think, will have taken up abode among a people, for whose ease, affluence, and content, nature and human government have done so much. Religion, too, will exert her offices, and bring to the quiet and contemplative mind, its numberless and beautiful associations.

The sarcasm with which the above paragraph concludes, is ungracious and unbecoming. The tenor of it is false and ridiculous. The American people scarcely give themselves a moment's thought of king or prince, but would not have any objection that "God would save" either. They regard the relationship between the monarch and his subjects, as derogatory in the highest degree to the latter, and calculated to create a condition of things hollow, corrupt, and artificial; but have no more enmity to his name or person, than they have fear or affection for his power.

Upon the subject of "Religious Revivals," and their ill effects upon society, manners, and morals, in the United States, Mrs. Trollope, unhappily, has too much occasion for sneer and censure. Her description of what may be styled the *maladie du pays*—for it is literally and unfortunately such—is scarcely exaggerated. The extent to which it has prevailed and still prevails among the ignorant, the fanatic, and distempered—the readiness with which the unconscious, the young and timid, fall victims to wild and exaggerated sentiments—startling delusions—gloomy and desolating terrors—the chimeras of a deeply roused imagination, and the great growth of fanaticism, which, in substituting cant and clamour and ostentatious prayer, for the quieter and more gentle rites and offices of a pure and proper religion, tend necessarily to overthrow the latter—are all too evidently before our eyes, not to awaken serious alarm among the intelligent and truly pious, for the safety of that scheme of civil and religious tolerance, which has been thought, and with propriety, one of the most grateful features in our government and constitution. The only security, indeed, for our social and civil welfare—apart from the reliance to be entertained upon the daily increasing intelligence of the people—is to be found in the great variety and number of religious sects which inundate our country; neutralizing, necessarily, the influences and efforts of one another, and preventing that degree and kind of concert and co-

operation, necessary to the full success and predominance of either.

Mrs. Trollope, with much truth and justice, attributes the undue, and sometimes improper influence of the clergy over the American women, to the attentions which they receive from this class. We have italicised a few of her opinions on this particular, in the selected passages, by which her meaning and ours may be the more easily understood. In speaking of the Cincinnati theatre, she tell us, that "ladies are seldom seen there," and by far the larger portion deem it an offence to religion to witness dramatic representations." "It is," says she, "*in the churches and chapels that the ladies are to be seen in full costume*—no evening in the week but brings throngs of the young and beautiful to the chapels and meeting houses, *all dressed with care, and, sometimes, with great pretension; it is there that all display is made—all fashionable distinction sought.*" "The proportion of gentlemen," she proceeds, "attending these meetings, is very small; but often, as might be expected, a sprinkling of smart young clerks, makes the display intelligible and natural." Of the truth of this, and its application, with some qualifications, to almost every section of the Union, there is not the most distant question. Mrs. Trollope might have gone further. She might have traced to the influence of sectarianism, the absence of all popular amusements in America—those excepted which are brutal, and which we have borrowed from her own country, where a like influence, though, perhaps, to a more limited extent, has been productive of similar results. As she has properly remarked, the working people must have some relaxation. They must have amusements of one kind or other; and, being denied those which are innocent, they necessarily seek those which are vicious and of easy attainment. The rigid exactions of the clergy, who set their faces studiously against every thing which savours of pleasantry and play, have driven thousands from the enjoyment of less dangerous luxuries, to the gambling table and the tavern; and until we shall provide for our youth of both sexes places of common resort, where innocent recreations, free from any grave and gloomy influences, shall satisfy the demand which nature herself appears to make for such indulgencies, we shall continue to see thousands of the one, falling victims to the merest cant and the most drivelling fanaticism; and even a greater proportion of the other class, prostrating the noblest faculties of mind and body, alike to the excesses of the brothel and the bottle. Until we confine religion to its offices of unpretending charity and quiet and persuasive tuition—until we restrain it in its more ostentatious and intolerant exhibitions; and, with a sense sufficiently enlightened, learn to hold in becoming scorn and contempt, the vulgar and tyrann-

nical superstition which makes all amusement synonymous with crime, the evil will go on increasing, until all the choice and generous charities—all the pure offices of society, all its arts, all its polish and politeness, will be made to fraternize with those characteristics of a slavish zeal, which, in all times and nations, have made ultraism in matters of religion, the most malignant and bitter despotism that ever afflicted or degraded man, and misrepresented and defamed his Creator.

The following brief reference to our literature, will amuse many readers. There is some reason in the idea, that the magazine character of our newspapers, and the very general diffusion through them, of a false standard, as well in taste as in doctrine, has been the greatest enemy to its value and increase. It may be doubted, however, whether this evil be not, in great part, counterbalanced by the large circulation among the people, through the same media, of a general, though, perhaps, a superficial knowledge of things. The anecdote touching the shoe-maker poet, is doubtless a caricature. The lady thought perhaps of Bloomfield.

"In truth there are many reasons which render a very general diffusion of literature impossible in America. I can scarcely class the universal reading of newspapers as an exception to this remark; if I could, my statement would be exactly the reverse, and I should say America beat the world in letters. The fact is, that throughout all ranks of society, from the successful merchant, which is the highest, to the domestic serving man, which is the lowest, they are all too actively employed to read, except at such broken moments as may suffice for a peep at a newspaper. It is for this reason, I presume, that every *American* newspaper is more or less a magazine, wherein the merchant may scan, while he holds out his hand for an invoice, 'Stanzas by Mrs. Hemans,' or a garbled extract from 'Moore's Life of Byron;' the lawyer may study his brief faithfully, and yet contrive to pick up the valuable dictum of some American critic, that 'Bulwer's novels are decidedly superior to Sir Walter Scott's;' nay, even the auctioneer may find time, as he bustles to his tub or his tribune, to support his pretensions to polite learning, by glancing his quick eye over the columns, and reading 'that Miss Mitford's descriptions are indescribable.' If you buy a yard of ribband, the shopkeeper lays down his newspaper, perhaps two or three, to measure it. I have seen a brewer's drayman perched on the shaft of his dray and reading one newspaper, while another was tucked under his arm; and I once went into the cottage of a country shoemaker of the name of Harris, where I saw a newspaper half full of 'original' poetry directed to Madison F. Harris. To be sure of the fact, I asked the man if his name were Madison. 'Yes, madam, Madison Franklin Harris is my name.' The last and the lyre divided his time, I fear too equally, for he looked pale and poor."—pp. 88-9.

The adroit manner, in which the lady, while stating what seems to be good or praiseworthy in our country or its institutions, contrives to mingle with it some alloy, or make the whole tell against us, is worthy of attention. While we would not always consider her obnoxious to the charge of the *suggestio falsi*, that of the *suppressio veri* may not so readily pass with impunity—an offence attributable not so much, we should say in charity, to the desire of misrepresentation, as to an unqualified

ignorance of the subject. This deficiency seems to bring no misgivings to her mind; indeed, the desperate desire to prate on all topics, so peculiar to her, has not suffered her to perceive or regard it; and will scarcely permit her American reader to set down to the right score, or justify her on any. The following passages should surely bring us large accessions of emigrants, since the evils of our country, as detailed in the text, are those, not of its resources or its institutions, but rather of the simple or stiffnecked people who cannot comprehend, and do not know how to appreciate its advantages.

* Mechanics, if good workmen, are certain of employment, and good wages, rather higher than with us; the average wages of a labourer, throughout the Union, is ten dollars a month, with lodging, boarding, washing, and mending; if he lives as his own expense he has a dollar a day. It appears to me that the necessaries of life, that is to say, meat, bread, butter, tea, and coffee, (not to mention whiskey,) are within the reach of every sober, industrious, and healthy man who chooses to have them; and yet I think that an English peasant, with the same qualifications, would, in coming to the United States, change for the worse."—pp. 104-5.

And again:—the only mistake in this passage is that of the *general* for the *exception*; the assertion that the following is a singular and not the universal case—the *oasis* shining forth in the sands and solitudes of barrenness and desolation:—

"There was one man whose progress in wealth I watched with much interest and pleasure. When I first became his neighbour, himself, his wife, and four children were living in one room, with plenty of beefsteaks and onions for breakfast, dinner, and supper, but with very few other comforts. He was one of the finest men I ever saw; full of natural intelligence and activity of mind and body, but he could neither read nor write. He drank but little whiskey, and but rarely chewed tobacco, and was therefore more free from that plague spot of spitting which rendered male colloquy so difficult to endure. He worked for us frequently, and often used to walk into the drawing room and seat himself on the sofa and tell me all his plans. He made an engagement with the proprietor of the wooded hill before mentioned, by which half the wood he could fell was to be his own. His unwearied industry made this a profitable bargain, and from the proceeds he purchased the materials for building a comfortable frame or wooden house; he did the work almost entirely himself. He then got a job for cutting rails, and as he could cut twice as many in a day as any other man in the neighbourhood, he made a good thing of it. He then let half of his pretty house, which was admirably constructed, with an ample portico that kept it always cool. His next step was contracting for the building of a wooden bridge, and when I left the Mohawk, he had fitted up his half of the building as an hotel and grocery store; and I have no doubt that every sun that sets sees him a richer man than when it rose. He hopes to make his son a lawyer, and I have little doubt that he will live to see him sit in congress; when his time arrives, the wood-cutter's son will rank with any other member of congress, not of courtesy, but of right, and the idea that his origin is a disadvantage will never occur to the imagination of the most exalted of his fellow citizens."—pp. 108-9.

Of course this condition of things, which is one, certainly, not only of unexampled prosperity, but within the reach and attainment of any and every person, has its qualifications in the jaundiced vision of the London lady. The affluence brings with it vicious excesses; the equality, coarse familiarity, etc., etc. We

forbear multiplying quotations of this description, numerous as they might be, exhibiting the great advantages held out to the industrious and honest, by the young and flourishing states.

We shall merely advert to a long notice of the acted drama, and condition of theatricals at Cincinnati—the fine arts, and misnamed delicacy of demeanour and thought, which puts all good manners and modesty to the blush. The whole is a broad English caricature, grounded possibly in truth, but forfeiting, in the variety of its decorations, all distinctive claim to that character. The chapter is illustrated by a lithograph, exhibiting the interior of a box and part of the pit of the Cincinnati theatre. Five persons occupy the former—two of the gentler sex, and three—so called—gentlemen. The pedestals of one of these latter, are protruded, parallel with his head, over and in front of the box—exhibiting a crouching outline, not unlike that of a frog when about to make his leap. His two male companions are seated upon it, one of them, with his jacket off and placed under him, with his back to the *house* and his face to the ladies of his own box; the other holding an oblique position, which enables him to behold the performance and the fair at the same moment. It may not be out of place to add, that the artist has made the prominent—that is to say the unjacketted—gentleman, purely English in his frame of body—as unlike the American figure as it could possibly have been drawn. It would be quite amusing were it to appear, that, in this description of American manners, a regular abstract of John Bull had sat for the picture. The whole affair, however, we take to be the broadest fun and fancy; though we are far from thinking it impossible to find a theatrical, or, indeed, any kind of exhibition in either nation, into which some personages do not sometimes penetrate, neither prepared by fortune, birth, or education, to appreciate the performances or do credit to the company. If by this picture we are to understand that the family of Jonathan is one *sui generis*, and there is no member, indigent, vulgar, or brutal, in that of John Bull, why then, the humours of Mrs. Trollope are certainly legitimate; but if this is not the case, if some Britons are now and then to be found ill-graced, ill-dressed, ill-mannered, grog-drinking, and tobacco-chewing—John himself will be somewhat at a loss to comprehend their peculiar point and application.

The fact is—and hence the difference—the poor man in America is prosperous enough, occasionally, to indulge in some things rather beyond the common necessities of life; while the English labourer, in the land which he so much loves, has but little from his daily toil beyond his daily bread. Jonathan can occasionally take his wife and sons and daughters to the play house, while John Bull, unless he break in upon his main comforts, or deny himself some of his usual cravings, must be content to leave all

such spectacles to the elder brothers of his feudal family. The false delicacy among our females, of which Mrs. Trollope speaks in the same passage, is properly a subject of reprehension and rebuke. A few years of increased prosperity and increasing population, will, however, have remedied in great part the evil. The reason of it may readily be found in the seclusion and solitude which distinguishes and must for a long time distinguish the greater portion of western America, where the absence of society—its collisions, and the scrutiny into thoughts and practices alike, which it necessarily provokes, has left certain features of primitive life.

We had marked for selection a chapter on the subject of a methodist camp meeting, written with some felicity, and, we fear, too much truth. Our limits warn us, however, of the propriety of its suppression. The reader of Mrs. Trollope will do well to linger upon this chapter, and inquire in how much the national manners—not to speak of national morals, are liable to perversion and prostration by such practices in general. We have already remarked upon the absence of popular amusements in our country, and the unhappy, and we may add, the unavoidable consequences to public virtue and the nation at large. On this head, in the course of a chapter devoted to a notice of the city of Baltimore, we find the following passage.

“The theatre was closed when we were in Baltimore, but we were told that it was very far from being a popular or fashionable amusement. We were, indeed, told this every where throughout the country, and the information was generally accompanied with the observation, that the opposition of the clergy was the cause of it. But I suspect that this is not the principal cause, especially among the men, who, if they were so implicit in their obedience to the clergy, would certainly be more constant in their attendance at the churches; nor would they, moreover, deem the theatre more righteous because an English actor or a French dancer performed there; yet on such occasions the theatres overflow. The cause, I think, is in the character of the people. *I never saw a people so totally divested of gaiety*; there is no trace of this feeling *from one end of the Union to the other* (rather sweeping, we should say, though nearly correct for one who has been only at one end of it.) *They have no fêtes, no fairs, no merry makings, no music in the streets, no punch, no puppet shows.* If they see a comedy or a farce, they may laugh at it, but they can do very well without it, &c., &c. A distinguished publisher at Philadelphia told me that no comic publication had ever yet been found to answer in America.” pp. 170-1.

A due regard to the establishment of a regular system of popular sports, would drive intemperance out of the land, and render perfectly unnecessary those badges (however valuable and necessary now) of national shame and dishonour, the Temperance Societies.

Washington pleased our traveller. Upon that part of our constitution, which will not permit our government agents abroad, to receive, or rather to retain, presents, of whatever value, from any foreign potentate, Mrs. Trollope remarks that “it would be a better way to select for office such men as could not be se-

duced by a sword or snuff box." Perhaps so—but it may be that the American congress looked deeper than the dread of corruption in the adoption of this law; and yet, recognising this as their sole reason, Mr. Horace Walpole should be authority for its propriety—in the estimation of an English lady, at least.

Mrs. Trollope has spoken some truth at the end of the following passage:—

"I can by no means attempt to describe all the apartments of this magnificent building, (the Capitol,) but the magnificent rotunda in the centre must not be left unnoticed. It is indeed a noble hall, a hundred feet in diameter, and of an imposing loftiness, lighted by an ample dome. Almost any picture (excepting the Centaurs) would look paltry in this room, from the immense height of the walls; but the subjects of the four pictures which are placed there, are of such high historic interest, that they should certainly have a place somewhere as national records. One represents the signing of the Declaration of Independence; another, the Resignation of the Presidency by the great Washington; another, the celebrated Victory of General Gates at Saratoga; and the fourth—I do not well remember, but I think it was some other martial scene commemorating a victory; I rather think that of Yorktown.

"One other subject in the capitol must be mentioned, though it occurs in so obscure a part of the building that one or two members to whom I mentioned it, were not aware of its existence. The lower part of the edifice, a story below the rotunda, &c., has a variety of committee rooms, courts, and other places of business. In a hall leading to some of these rooms, the ceiling is supported by pillars, the capitals of which struck me as peculiarly beautiful. They are composed of the ears and leaves of the Indian corn, beautifully arranged, and forming as graceful an outline as the acanthus itself. *This was the only instance I saw in which America has ventured to attempt a national originality; the success is perfect.* A sense of fitness always enhances the effect of beauty. I will not attempt a long essay on the subject; but, *if America, in her vastness, her immense natural resources, and her remote grandeur, would be less imitative, she would be infinitely more picturesque and interesting.*"—pp. 185-6.

The notes on Slavery are full of errors, and scarcely deserve a mention. The details are many of them false—the lady knows nothing of the subject, as it obtains, and is regulated in the United States; and her speculations upon it are only the commonplace of the philanthropists, such as we have been accustomed to hear in all ages. But that the topic is an irksome and ungracious one, in many sections of our country, we should be pleased to give it a place, were it only to afford our readers a fair specimen of the numerous and gross absurdities into which a superficial and flippant writer is so likely to fall, in the discussion of institutions which lie so far below the surface as ours—which may not be *seen*, and can only be judged of and known by those who *feel* them.

The facility is truly ludicrous, with which Mrs. Trollope, when pleased with an unknown object, discovers it to be any thing but American. She appears to have been fortunate in her visits to Washington Square, Philadelphia, in finding unoccupied benches. The general complaint is, at this period, that they are not provided in sufficient numbers to satisfy the demand for them. At the Chesnut street theatre, she saw one man "deliberately take off his coat that he might enjoy the refreshing cool-

ness of shirt sleeves." Here, too, as in all other places, the men wore their hats and spat incessantly.

A great deal, in relation to Philadelphia, its manners, customs, refinement, and pretension, is said by the writer; but as the greater portion of this has found its way into the journals of the country, and contains, amidst some truth and point, much that is false and foolish, we forbear to quote it. For the rest, we have no apprehensions that it will either mislead or materially provoke. She compliments the manners of the Philadelphians—their freedom from affectation—their simplicity of dress; but inveighs against the coldness and dryness of the gentlemen—the absence of warmth, heart, and enthusiasm, on all points, national independence and emancipation excepted.

We will not be thought to speak slightly of their merits, when we confess ourselves to have been struck, in many parts of this volume, with those frequent references which the writer has made, and often so correctly, to the condition of her own sex in the United States. Much of this stuff is undoubtedly without foundation, as it relates to the habits among the better classes of our country; and many of the particulars dwelt upon by Mrs. Trollope, only prove the very equivocal character of that society, into which she seems most generally to have fallen. Much, however, is stubbornly true, and might and should, with all due alertness, be remedied and amended by those whom it most immediately concerns. We shall be more than obliged to her, if her remarks shall have the effect of making our well-bred females take their proper place in society, and assert their due sway and influence.

Of sleighing, she says:—

"The sleighs are delightful, and constructed at so little expense, that I wonder we have not all got them in England, lying by, in waiting for the snow, which often remains with us long enough to permit their use. Sleighing is much more generally enjoyed by night than by day, for what reason I could never discover, unless it be, that no gentlemen are to be found disengaged from business in the mornings. Nothing certainly can be more delightful than the gliding smoothly and rapidly along, deep sunk in soft furs, the moon shining with almost mid-day splendour, the air of crystal brightness, and the snow sparkling on every side, as if it were sprinkled with diamonds. And then the noiseless movement of the horses, so mysterious and unwonted, and the gentle tinkling of the bells you meet and carry, all help at once to sooth and excite the spirits; in short, I had not the least objection to sleighing at night; I only wished to sleigh by day also."—p. 244.

We must now finish with Mrs. Trollope's book. Our object has been, rather to let our own people see a little of what has been said about them, whether well or ill-founded, just or unjust, and not to offer any vain qualifications of the one, or defences or denials of the other. In the performance of this duty, however, we have not hesitated to remark, here and there, cursorily and without study, upon various particulars, more with a feeling of nation-

ality, or, we should say, Americanism, than from a sense of any necessity, or the influence of any great desire, to correct Mrs. Trollope, or to console our readers for the poor opinions entertained of them by that wise and venerable lady. Her notices are evidently written in a mood rather unfavourable to the consideration of the peculiarities of any people whomsoever. She regards all things with a querulous and unquiet spirit, and a jaundiced and wandering eye. Her chief topics of complaint, in the review of Americans and American customs, other than those of which we have spoken, and the truth of which, in a spirit of equity rather than of law, (for it would be difficult, under the general issue, for the lady to prove much of her narration,) we have freely admitted, are apt among all reasonable and not ill-tempered people, to provoke a smile. They are mostly evils of the tea-table and the toilet—subjects, we grant, of infinite importance among the young and budding of her sex, but, we should think, not exactly such as should very greatly provoke the anger, or occasion the severe censure of an ancient and intelligent personage of Mrs. Trollope's dimensions. Few of our defects are material ones—none, according to her account, irremediable—yet, they are sufficient, it would seem, to subject their proprietors to the seven-fold curse—the “doom of sores”—“*a capite ad calcem*.” She admits the country to be “fair to the eye, and most richly teeming with the gifts of plenty”—she has “never seen a beggar” within its limits—she beholds all prosperous who desire to be so—many wise, intelligent, agreeable—mostly virtuous—all willing to please—and yet, what with the lack of the arts in every mud-hovel in every wilderness, (a growth, by the way, entirely of the closet and hot-house,) the deficiency of *mannerists* from London or Paris—the absence of snug coterie and literary lady, in all quarters in which it may please our traveller to place her abode—she has seen nothing to “soften the distate which the aggregate of her recollections has left upon her mind.”

It is impossible for us to say what were Mrs. Trollope's anticipations when she came to our country. What did she expect to see—what could have been her ideas of a young people, whose history has only been peculiar, and calculated to provoke attention, from the extreme severity and hardship of their early fortunes? It is more than probable, that knowing little or nothing of the history of the United States, she looked for every thing—not merely the things to which in her own land she had been familiar, but those for which her fancy had sighed; and *omne ignotum pro magnifico*—she looked for the *spolia opima* of the two worlds of fiction and reality—the one for herself, and the other, in Cincinnati, for her son; and, from all accounts, found neither; besides, as she says, “spending a great deal of money.”

On the subject of her anticipations, however, she keeps us woefully in the dark—her standards of contrast and comparison are, indeed, for ever before our eyes. She compares the miserable township on the Ohio and Mississippi—its streets scarcely marked out, and the trees certainly not yet removed from them, with London and Paris, &c. ; and puts in opposition, the manners and customs of a poor and scattered peasantry on our frontier—not to the working classes—the peasants and manufacturers of her own country at large, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, but with what the lady has been accustomed, herself, to encounter in the exclusive circles of her metropolitan world. If, in her seclusion at Cincinnati, she suffers a tedious evening, she exclaims, “ah! how different in London!” and this standard is forever present to her imagination. *Cincinnati* has no fine palaces—no glorious walks—no singular and fascinating luxuries of fashion or frivolity—no lofty steeples, such as make London a boast and by word, no pillar, which

“Mounting to the skies,
Like a tall bully lifts its head and lies”—

no places like Almack's, of easy lounge, unblushing lust and fearless larceny—nothing, indeed, of that happy condition of refinement, which is never in danger of that *mauvaise honte*, in her eye such an unhappy feature of the Americans—which is seldom shocked at short petticoat and studiously exhibited bust, which does not shrink, (so that he be polite) from contact and commerce with the confirmed and declared debauchee. We are quite willing to believe, and do not hesitate to admit, that, in our country, delicacy sometimes puts on, among our females, a too stiff and starched formality of demeanour; the only evil consequence of which, apart from what it subtracts from the grace of society, is the unhappy effect which it perhaps has, in sometimes impelling the other sex, to seek elsewhere, and in places of more questionable propriety, for that freedom of speech and habit, which makes so much of the attractiveness of women. We also believe that our men labour under too many of those deficiencies of manner—some of which our author has particularly dwelt upon—without which society must always lack some of its charms; but, it would be drawing too largely, by far, upon our spirit of liberality and concession, to require us to admit, that, in the main, we are not thereby greatly the gainers in a true and precious morality, and in a solid and manly independence of character, which, though sometimes too rugged and familiar in its guise, is nevertheless far more apt to be virtuous and patriotic. Our women may lack the voluptuous grace, but they are also free from the vicious worthlessness of the courtesan; our men may indulge in the use of a nauseous and unnecessary weed, but they are never idle, are never beggars, and we seldom hear of

an American highwayman. It is surely unnecessary, until we know what in reason can be required of us, as a nation, to undertake either to account for, or defend our deficiencies. What, let us ask, should be required of us? What should the Englishman—he who at no very remote period emerged from barbarism himself, (if, indeed—which is very doubtful, looking at the condition of his affairs at present—he has yet done so) what should he require of us? The badges of his savage state are not yet entirely from his limbs—he still wears the chain and collar of ignorance and destitution—he still groans under a despotism and sway, which he has not yet discovered to be illegitimate, or which, though having the power, he wants the courage to remove—he still clings to his ancient feudal usages, as tenaciously as their consequences will cling to him and to his children, even to the third generation—he still adheres to laws and authorities having their birth in a period of barbarian insecurity and lawlessness; and prefers them, seemingly, with all their inaptitude to his present necessities and condition, because he will not venture upon the deep, strong waters—though with the successful example of our pilgrim fathers in his eyes—of a toilsome but glorious experiment. What should he expect from America? he who still lingers in apathy, unwilling to go back, unable to remain where he is, and trembling to go forward! It is of him we should ask, what are the expectations entertained of infant America? What should be her progress—what her triumphs over, and what her relationships to, the countries around her, and the nations from which she sprung? We are not ashamed, and certainly not unwilling to answer to *him*, the inquiry into what we have done, and what we have become. The book of Mrs. Trollope, full as it is of malignant exaggeration, adroit sarcasm, and paltry inuendo, will, of itself, triumphantly for America, reply to the question if put by *him*. It is only necessary to say what *he* is, and to indicate what *we* are. It is enough to describe him struggling without avail for those privileges of life and freedom, given him at his birth, but wrested from his possession and enjoyment by the very nation to which he gives up his energies, and for which he has spilt, and continues to spill, his blood like water, on the deeps and on the deserts—many a league from the narrow boundary which takes his labour without gratitude, and appropriates his spoil and his glory without honour or reward. He cries out for his birthright; and cunning and custom, and an artificial inequality of condition, deny him his prayer; and we see him raving with desperate hopelessness, like a famished lion in his native forest, from which the more adroit hunter has carried off all the prey. Let Mrs. Trollope draw for *him* the picture, and present to his eyes the comparison between the Briton and the American. She will describe—she does de-

scribe for the latter, a numerous and a contented people—increasing in power, in population and prosperity—happy in the institutions, which, if they show no pampered and isolated classes, afford equal protection to the liberties of all, and strangle not their industry, and obstruct not their enterprise. She depicts them—resolute in overcoming obstacles—energetic and fearless in the pursuit of their own happiness amidst dangers and difficulties—ambitious of glory and applause—emulous of other nations; and though they may have but just begun the march, advancing on their way with a keen diligence, which promises neither to fail nor falter until they shall have attained the high eminence of perfect equality with all of them.

ART. VI.—*A General View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, chiefly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.* By the Right Honourable Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH, LL.D., F. R. S., M. P. Carey & Lea: Philadelphia: 1832.

NOTHING inspires more confidence in human nature, than to trace the steps, at first faltering and impeded, but eventually vigorous and successful, by which truth emerges to light. Ignorance and doubt like thick darkness hang over it; selfishness and prejudice place obstacles in its path,—it penetrates, surmounts all. The history of those truths of which the world are now in peaceable possession, but which have been secured through struggles more or less disheartening, is most instructive. It warns us not to despair of humanity. It justifies the assurance that all within the sphere of its capacity it has a right to possess, and will in the end obtain. And who shall mark the limits of its capacity? "Philosophy, (says one of the lights of this age) is but of yesterday,"—and it would be rash to expect even a vision of its unmeasured future. As well might we attempt to calculate the myriads of new stars which improvements of the optical art may reveal to eyes destined to pierce the depths of heaven, when ours have been closed for ages.

The object of the author of the work before us, has been "to develop the fundamental principles of ethical theory in that historical order in which meditation and discussion brought them successively into a clearer light,"—including an examination of the writers who have aided the progress of moral philosophy; particularly those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and of the English school. The imperfections of their systems have gathered as rust over their intrinsic merit, and they are

gradually becoming dispossessed of the high place they held when first brought forth. While we of the present generation are walking in the increasing brightness of philosophy, we are too apt to forget the merits of those great men, who each in his turn did something for the cause, and without whose labours we should be far behind the station we have now reached. In tracing the history of ethical science, our author has not merely rendered to each his due in awarding the share he had in its progress, but he has stopped, with no unwilling hand, and with the happiest skill, to retouch their forgotten merits, and to bring out in a just light their genius and discoveries. Ascribing their mistakes to the true causes, the bias of the times, the imperfection of language, the infancy of science, he has set forth with all his power their talents and their virtues, which, so far from being borrowed from their age, enabled them to keep in advance of it, and having commanded the admiration of their contemporaries, entitle them to our veneration and gratitude. This work, in addition to its value as an outline of the whole subject, and without impairing the unity of the sketch, affords a gallery of masterly portraits, whose fine features and happiest expression are preserved by the pencil of genius, which adds to the truth of the representation its own unborrowed charm.

The felicity of discrimination, for which this work is distinguished, is in ethical subjects, something more than mere intellectual power, and betokens a co-operation of the understanding and the heart. So intimately are the feelings blended with the purely intellectual states, in all the processes of thought—so just, or so deceitful, may be the aspects to which they direct attention—that sound judgment on moral matters cannot be expected from a mind in which their influence is not pure and amiable. Candour, not less than acuteness, is required to make the upright and able judge;—and surely the capacity of loving and admiring the beautiful and the good (a capacity which not mere intellectual ability, however great, can ever impart) is an essential pre-requisite to the office of describing and appreciating them. As the experience and enjoyment of all those affections and delights which flow from the heart, are the only legitimate sources from which the moralist can draw the facts of ethical science, so are they the best qualifications for writing its history. These qualifications are apparent in this work. Those parts which treat of the value of the kind affections, the importance of purity, and the inward satisfaction of virtue, induce the belief that what is so ably and feelingly described, must be the familiar inmate and bosom friend of him who has thus described it. The subject is one of wide interest, and though purely philosophical and abstract, is involved in no mysticism, but is treated with a clearness, condensation, and beauty, which render it instructive and

interesting to every cultivated mind. The remarkable transparency and vigour of the style, proves it to be the spontaneous manifestation of clear and nervous thought; every sentence, every word *tells*; has a definite aim and effects it; leaves you with something tangible, a perception of the exact state of the case, of what has been done and who has done it; why they did no more, what remains for others to do, and what probability there is of its being effected.

We shall attempt (taking Sir James Mackintosh as our guide) to follow the progress of ethical philosophy, with all possible brevity, resting a moment on the great names of those who mark its eras, and whose labours have brought to it the most important accessions.

Partial views, and the imperfection of language, are among the most serious impediments to the advancement of science; a retrospect of the steps of its progress is one remedy, by presenting us with the different aspects which successive minds have caught, and by exhibiting that varied use of all the terms which can be pressed into the service of philosophy, from which only an accurate and copious nomenclature can be obtained. The imperfection of language is peculiarly felt by the moral philosopher; it meets our author on the threshold of his work, and is well described and illustrated in the Introduction. "The Natural Philosopher and Mathematician, have, in some degree, the privilege of framing their own terms of art, though that liberty is daily narrowed by the happy diffusion of knowledge, which daily mixes their language with the general vocabulary of educated men." This privilege has never been conceded to the moral philosopher; but while the nicest discrimination of language is required, he is obliged to employ terms and treat of matters common to all men. "The necessity of being intelligible, which the diffusion of knowledge imposes on the philosopher, is," says our author, "the only effectual check to the extravagancies to which metaphysical speculations too frequently tend," and however it may increase his labours, ought not to be regretted;—while it enlarges the sphere of his influence, it limits the range of his inquiries to the boundaries of human knowledge, and enlightens him as to the nature of his discoveries; for it will be perceived that what cannot be rendered intelligible to every well educated mind, must be radically false or obscure. The Christian religion, to use the words of Sir James, "has brought down the most awful and the most beautiful forms of moral truth, to the humblest station in human society," and that diffusion of intelligence which its ameliorating influence has, more than any other cause, contributed to effect, is fast bringing the truths of philosophy forth from the closets of the initiated, to the examination and the free use of all men. Thus, liberty and knowledge

cannot long remain separated, and virtue and pure religion are their natural pioneers, and their only effectual guards.

As an illustration of the imperfection of language, we may state a fact noticed by the author, that the whole class of mental phenomena of which ethical science treats, is as yet without any fixed generic name. The difference between the feeling or "emotive" part of our nature, and the purely intellectual, has been generally overlooked.

Neither has another distinction (essentially preliminary) between moral emotions themselves and their objects, been observed; though nothing satisfactory in the science can be expected, unless it be kept in view. There is no subject on which mankind are so uniformly agreed, as the worth and obligation of virtue; yet what is the distinguishing character of virtue, and what the origin of its authority, are still matters of dispute. These inquiries form the subject of a theory of morals; it is evident they relate to two perfectly distinct subjects, "the nature of the distinction between right and wrong," and "the nature of those feelings with which right and wrong are contemplated by human beings." Though radically distinct, they have frequently been confounded, and to this confusion may be ascribed much that is contradictory and erroneous in ethical philosophy. An account of the various answers attempted to be made to these inquiries, properly forms the history of ethics.

As the principal object of this work, is the state of ethical philosophy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a very slight notice only of ancient ethics is given, for the purpose of showing in what stage of its development the subject presented itself to the philosophers of modern times.

It appears that the purely philosophical questions which belong to ethics, were little agitated by the ancients. They were content to acknowledge the beauty and the authority of virtue, without doubting, or inquiring into its birthright.

Epicurus was the first to announce in a philosophic form, the important truth, "that man cannot be happy without a virtuous frame of mind." The inference drawn from this truth, that, because happiness is the uniform result of virtue, therefore it is its motive and origin, was unwarranted, and has laid the foundation of some of the oldest errors in ethical philosophy. On the selfish system, the question, "what is happiness," involves the whole of ethics. The earliest theories in morals arose from the inquiry what is the greatest good. According to the Epicureans, pleasure, rationally pursued, is the end and motive of duty. The Stoics held happiness to consist in virtue alone, and to be independent of external circumstances. We cannot but admire a system, which, although it fall short of explaining the whole of the moral nature, has selected the noblest part. Neither these, nor the Pe-

ripetities, (who took a middle course,) touched the question, "what is the source of the moral faculty," but rather confined their views to the relations of virtue and happiness. The paradoxes into which a theory so incomplete inevitably betrayed the Stoics, instead of suggesting the possibility of defect, only led them to defend it with unfounded assertions and verbal evasions. "It is," says our author, "remarkable that men so acute, did not perceive and acknowledge, that if pain were not an evil, cruelty would not be a vice; and that if patience were of power to render torture indifferent, virtue must expire in the moment of victory."

That dark but not uninstrusive period, called the Middle Age, connects ancient with modern history. Our author shows that this period has a far more important place in the progress of humanity than has generally been assigned it. The germs of modern civilization, freedom, and invention, may all be found here. The controversies of the schoolmen kept alive the energies of mind by exercising them in the only way which would have been permitted in that age of ecclesiastical domination, and thus, these men, who have been viewed with regret rather than gratitude, as condemned to waste their powers in vain disquisitions, were, in fact, performing no mean service, in developing and maturing the energy which has produced the wonders of our own age. It cannot be doubted that great minds are dealt out by nature with an equal hand, and we are loth to admit with an eloquent writer, (Cousin,) that there is a fatality in their appearance, other than the natural and uniform influence of novel circumstances and trying times, operating only as a touchstone to reveal what might otherwise remain latent. These call forth their powers and determine their path. This is their destiny, the only fatality to which they are subjected,—their motives, their decisions, their constancy,—is moral power, not blind fate, and as such is free and responsible.

It is a curious fact in the history of mind, that the philosophy of the sages of Greece was transmitted to us first through the Mahometans, who have so little availed themselves of its fructifying influences. The causes of that start which it gave to the great men of the middle age, as well as of that peculiar form, the scholastic, which philosophy then assumed, are not undistinguishable. One of these was the character of their religion, which, with all its corruptions, held up to the faith of man the most sublime and ennobling ideas the mind can contemplate. Another, was their spirit of speculation, generated in the freedom of a barbarous origin, and nourished by the leisure and seclusion of a cloister, which denied all other food for the mind, and left the heart almost cheerless. A single spark from the fire of antiquity, though weakened and obscured by its circuitous route, was sufficient to

rouse that spirit which has never since slept, and which has already carried forward humanity to a point beyond any recorded of our race.

"Those who measure only by palpable results, have very consistently regarded the metaphysical and theological controversies of the schools as a mere waste of intellectual power. But the contemplation of the athletic vigour and versatile skill manifested by the European understanding, at the moment when it emerged from this tedious and rugged discipline, leads, if not to approbation, yet to more qualified censure. What might have been the result of a different combination of circumstances, is an inquiry, which, on a large scale, is beyond human power. We may, however, venture to say, that no abstract science, unconnected with religion, was likely to be respected in a barbarous age; and we may be allowed to doubt, whether any knowledge, dependent directly on experience, and applicable to immediate practice, would have so trained the European mind, as to qualify it for that series of inventions, and discoveries, and institutions, which begin with the sixteenth century, and of which no end can now be foreseen, but the extinction of the race of man."—p. 47.

Thus it appears, that this long period received an influence from the ancient philosophy and brought a tribute to the modern, a just estimation of which is requisite to an understanding of the present state of ethical science.

"Though the middle age be chiefly memorable as that in which the foundations of a new order of society, uniting the stability of the Oriental system, without its inflexibility, to the activity of the Hellenic civilization, without its disorder and inconstancy, yet it is not unworthy of notice, on account of the subterranean current which flows through it, from the speculations of ancient, to those of modern times. That dark stream must be uncovered before the history of the European understanding can be thoroughly comprehended. It was lawful for the emancipators of reason, in their first struggles, to carry on mortal war against the schoolmen. The necessity has long ceased; they are no longer dangerous; and it is now felt by philosophers, that it is time to explore and estimate that vast portion of the history of philosophy from which we have scornfully turned our eyes."—p. 36.

Almost all the metaphysical speculations of modern times, some of which are believed to be of later origin, were agitated by the schoolmen; but although their ethical system, as far as it regards the practical parts of morality, can hardly be improved, they also have left untouched those questions of ethical theory which were neglected by the ancients. They do not appear to have discriminated between the nature of moral sentiments and the criterion of moral acts—to have considered to what faculty of our mind moral approbation is referable, or whether this faculty is implanted or acquired. These disquisitions belong to a later period, and are the distinguishing characteristics of the ethics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The situation of the schoolmen was particularly unfavourable to the cultivation of ethical philosophy, shut out as they were, by their vows of celibacy and their monastic life, from all those domestic ties and social feelings which are the main sources of ethical knowledge.

"Neither let it be thought that to have been destitute of letters, was to them no more than a want of ornament and a curtailment of gratification. Every poem, every history, every oration, every picture, every statue is an experiment

on human feeling, the grand object of investigation by the moralist. Every work of genius in every department of ingenious art and polite literature, in proportion to the extent and duration of its sway over the spirits of men, is a repository of ethical facts, of which the moral philosopher cannot be deprived by his own insensibility or by the iniquity of the times, without being robbed of the most precious instruments and invaluable materials of his science. Moreover, letters, which are closer to human feeling than science can ever be, have another influence on the sentiments with which the sciences are viewed, on the activity with which they are pursued, on the safety with which they are preserved, and even on the mode and spirit with which they are cultivated; they are the channels by which ethical science has a constant intercourse with general feeling.

"As the arts called useful maintain the popular honour of physical knowledge, so polite letters allure the world into the neighbourhood of the sciences of mind and of morals. Whenever the agreeable vehicles of literature do not convey their doctrines to the public, they are liable to be interrupted by the dispersion of a handful of recluse doctors, and the overthrow of their barren and unlamented seminaries."—p. 42.

Meantime humanity was on the advance. Limits, altogether arbitrary, but which it was deemed sacrilege to pass, were indeed set to free inquiry; but signs of the coming emancipation were occasionally sent forth, from their courts and councils, till, at last, Luther "struck a blow against all human authority, and unconsciously disclosed to mankind that they were entitled, or rather, bound, to utter their own opinions." Other causes, well known, now conspired to bring philosophy out from under the cowl, and array it in the garb of common and practical life. The unparalleled discoveries and inventions of this period, roused humanity like a giant from his slumber, with full consciousness of his strength. The struggle for independence began; it was fearful—it has not yet ended; but concerning its end we have no longer any misgivings.

The encouraging signs of the times are noticed by our author. They appear in a less theological choice of subjects and mode of treating them: the very titles of their works evince a respect for humanity, and a recognition of its rights. Treatises of "law and justice," of "the rights of war and peace," and even of "the power of kings," appeared in the sixteenth century. Soto, confessor of Charles V., and the author of a treatise on justice, has the honour of being the first writer who condemned the slave trade.

"It is affirmed," says he, (Soto,) 'that the unhappy Ethiopians are by fraud or force carried away and sold as slaves. If this is true, neither those who have taken them, nor those who purchase them, nor those who hold them in bondage, can ever have a quiet conscience till they emancipate them, even if no compensation should be obtained.' As the work which contains this memorable condemnation of man-stealing and slavery, was the substance of lectures many years delivered at Salamanca, philosophy and religion appear, by the hand of their faithful minister, to have thus smitten the monsters in their earliest infancy. It is hard for any man of the present age to conceive the praise which is due to the excellent monks, who courageously asserted the rights of those whom they never saw, against the prejudices of their order, the supposed interest of their religion, the ambition of their government, the avarice and pride of their countrymen, and the prevalent opinions of their time."—p. 50.

From Grotius may be gained "the most clear and authentic statement of the general principles in morals which prevailed in Christendom after the close of the schools, and before the writings of Hobbes had given rise to those ethical controversies which more particularly belong to modern times."

Natural law, according to Grotius, has its foundation in right reason. Actions which are the subjects of the exertions of reason, are, in themselves, lawful or unlawful. He admitted the originality and immutability of moral distinctions, and referred the perception of this distinction to reason.

Hobbes, who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century, gave a new character to the philosophy of his age. He was, says our author, "one of the late learners and late writers." "It was about his sixtieth year that he began to publish those philosophical writings which contain his peculiar opinions; which set the understanding of Europe into general motion, and stirred up controversies among metaphysicians and moralists not yet determined."

Among the various causes to which he owed his influence, Sir James notices his genius for system, his dogmatism, and his admirable style.

His ethical opinions grew out of his political: having witnessed the fearful consequences, in his own time, of the abuse of religion and liberty, "he formed the bold attempt of rooting out these mighty principles." His first and greatest error in ethics, and that from which all the others flowed, is, his not distinguishing thought from feeling, and thus extending the laws of one over the other, to which they are inapplicable. He also mistook the nature of desire, which, though its gratification is followed by happiness, has reference, in the action it prompts, not to this happiness, but to its own immediate object, without the previous attainment of which this happiness could not even be conceived.

Hobbes not only struck out the affections, but the moral sentiments, from human nature, and comprehended all the springs of action in the perception of pleasure, pain, and the exercise of reason in determining us to secure the one and avoid the other. Although he cannot but acknowledge the necessity of morals to society, yet he exhibits them in the coarsest form, and founds their authority on the perception of personal advantage.

"From his philosophical writings, it would be impossible to conclude that there are in man a set of emotions, desires, and aversions, of which the sole and final objects are the voluntary actions and habitual dispositions of himself and of all other voluntary agents; which are properly called *moral sentiments*; and which, though they vary more in degree, and depend more on cultivation than some other parts of human nature, are as seldom as most of them found to be entirely wanting." p. 67.

One of the beneficial results of the startling doctrines of Hobbes, backed as they were by the matchless powers of their teacher,

was to rouse the attention of thinking minds on the subject. The answers to Hobbes' work, says our author, form a library. Some of his opponents, in their attempts to ennoble virtue, traced it to reason, and by new, though partial views, opened the way for a further approximation to a complete theory of the moral sentiments.

Cumberland has succeeded in showing the inconsistency and untenable character of Hobbes' principles, but is scarcely less exclusive in his own theory than Hobbes himself. According to Cumberland, the law of benevolence, written on our hearts by the finger of God, carries with it its own authority and its own sanction, in the happiness which follows its obedience. He had a glimpse of the reality of disinterestedness, but like many before and after him, confounded the qualities of virtuous action with the sentiments they excite.

Cudworth also explained the moral part of our nature, by the laws of the understanding. In his rejection of the assumption of Hobbes, that right and wrong are unreal, because they are not perceived by the senses, the sole origin of knowledge, Cudworth advances the proposition, that the understanding is the source of ideas not referable to the senses, among which are the ideas of right and wrong.

Clarke also, roused by the dangerous doctrines of Spinoza and Hobbes, endeavoured to place moral distinctions on a solid foundation. He makes virtue to consist in a conformity to the original relations of things which are immutable: reason in perceiving this relation, imposes moral obligations, which are as demonstrable as mathematical truth. But, says our author, the distinctions between right and wrong cannot depend on relations as such, but on a particular class of relations, necessarily involving an intelligent and voluntary agent. Thus this system, like every other which omits what, for want of a better term, must be called the emotions or feelings, exhibits "an extraordinary vacuity," and leaves untouched the very root of the matter.

The Earl of Shaftesbury, the contemporary of Clarke, in his ethical writings, particularly his *Enquiry concerning Virtue*, (on which Sir James bestows great praise,) threw out some important hints concerning the originality and disinterestedness of the moral principles, which are the first indications of a moral sense.

* His demonstration of the utility of virtue to the individual, far surpasses all attempts of the same nature; being founded, not on a calculation of outward advantages or inconveniences, alike uncertain, precarious, and degrading, but on the unshaken foundation of the delight, which is the very essence of social affection and virtuous sentiment; on the dreadful agony inflicted by all malevolent passions, upon every soul that harbours the hellish inmates; on the all important truth that to love is to be happy, and to hate is to be miserable—that affection is its own reward, and ill-will its own punishment, or, as it has been more simply, and more affectingly, as well as with more sacred authority, taught, that to

give is more blessed than to receive, and that to love one another is the sum of all human virtue." p. 94.

Sir James notices the controversy between Fenelon and Bossuet concerning the possibility of a purely disinterested love to God, as an incident deserving a place in the history of ethics. We cannot forbear extracting his description of these two distinguished minds.

"Never were two great men more unlike. Fenelon, in his writings, exhibits more of the qualities which predispose to religious feelings, than any other equally conspicuous person; a mind so pure as steadily to contemplate supreme excellence; a heart capable of being touched and affected by the contemplation; a gentle and modest spirit, not elated by the privilege, but seeing its own want of worth as it came nearer to such brightness, and disposed to treat with compassionate forbearance, those errors in others, of which it felt a humbling consciousness. Bossuet was rather a great minister in the ecclesiastical commonwealth; employing knowledge, eloquence, argument, the energy of his character, the influence and even the authority of his station, to vanquish opponents, to extirpate revolters, and, sometimes with a patrician firmness, to withstand the dictatorial encroachment of the Roman pontiff on the spiritual aristocracy of France." p. 96.

The ancient prejudice that such an abstraction as happiness could be the object of love and the motive to moral conduct, obscured that vision of the reality of the disinterested affections, which revealed itself to the great mind of Leibnitz, even more clearly than it had been seen by Shaftesbury. Ethical philosophy was evidently preparing to take a new step, and to pass from the region of abstraction to that of feeling. Malebranche made virtue to consist in the love of order: Edwards in the love of being; both still clinging to abstractions, but "confessing by the use of the word *love*, that not only perception and reason, but emotion and sentiment, are among the fundamental principles of morals." The history of the seventeenth century closes with Buffier, whose moral theory coincides with the selfish systems which found virtue on the rational pursuit of our own happiness—adding another distinguished name to the list of those who have mistaken tendency for motive, in moral sentiments.

Self was hitherto regarded as the first principle of action, and was in some form or other, made the foundation of every moral theory. The attempt of some writers to ennoble the view, by referring morals to reason, did not essentially alter this foundation, since it was in a process derived from considerations to our *own* advantage, that they laid the foundation of all virtue. A few others, who had struck on the true vein, appear to have remained unconscious of its intrinsic value, and their indications can only be regarded as signs of a more comprehensive and just theory.

With Butler commences a new era in ethics. He stood on the vantage ground disclosed by Shaftesbury—yet that he was able to comprehend with such clearness nearly the whole field

of morals, is owing not less to the superiority of his intellectual vision, than to his favourable situation. He was the first to discover that mankind have various principles of action, some leading to private good, others to the good of the community; each aiming at its appropriate gratification. Self love is the desire of one's own happiness, whereas these desires seek some outward thing. Thus he marks the just distinction, hitherto overlooked, between the end of desire and that of happiness, which is the result of its gratification, and a generalized view of which, is the foundation of self love. To these he added the supremacy of conscience, whose authority he regarded as original and supreme, whose office it is to survey and judge both affections and actions—the inner and outward man. His theory contains nothing false, though it has fallen somewhat short of the truth. A step further, says Mackintosh, would have led him to perceive that self love is altogether a secondary formation, the result of the joint operation of reason and habit on the primary desires, and as truly a derived principle as any of the social affections or acquired passions. While he fully sets forth the rightful supremacy of conscience, to which every heart can testify, he ventures not on the unsettled ground of its origin. Another important point left undetermined by him, is the question, what is the distinguishing quality common to all virtuous actions—that moral essence, which it has so long defied the efforts of ethical alchemy to seize.

The theory of Butler is principally derived from his sermons, which are among the most able compositions in the language.

"In these sermons he has taught truths more capable of being exactly distinguished from the doctrines of his predecessors, more satisfactorily established by him, more comprehensively applied to particulars, more rationally connected with each other, and therefore more worthy of the name of discovery, than any with which we are acquainted; if we ought not, with some hesitation, to except the first steps of the Grecian philosophers, towards a theory of morals." p. 115.

That they are not more known and read, is ascribed by Sir James to their style—"no thinker so great," says he, "was ever so bad a writer." To this we cannot altogether assent. It may be owing to our associating his powerful and original thoughts with the language in which they are conveyed, that his style appears to us to be, though a plain, not an unworthy garb, and not to exhibit that want of strength and distinctness ascribed to it by our author. The *Analogy*, a work of superior strength, scarcely falls within the province of ethics.

Hutcheson, whose writings appeared about the same time with Butler's, coincides with him in two important particulars; that disinterested affections and a distinct moral faculty, are essential parts of human nature. He first discerned the true nature and foundation of the secondary desires. The term "moral sense," first introduced by Hutcheson, is now in general use. He expresses by it a capacity to perceive moral ideas, which, accord-

ing to him, is an implanted principle. With him, the object of moral approbation is benevolence, and he also has not escaped the error of confounding the theory of moral sentiments with the criterion of moral actions. To Hutcheson the author ascribes that proneness to multiply ultimate principles, which characterizes the Scottish school. *Berkely*, "a great metaphysician, was but little of a moralist, and it requires the attraction of his name to excuse his introduction here." "His works are beyond dispute the finest models of philosophical style since Cicero." The object of *Hume* was to prove, not merely that nothing was known, but that nothing could be known. As he left the theory of morals on the same foundations with other principles of our nature, his scepticism need not alarm us, especially as no writer has described more happily, or enforced with more ability, the beauty and the value of virtue. As soon as scepticism becomes universal it is harmless. There are few propositions which a skilful sophist may not envelop in doubt, but when he draws the mist over the whole circle of feelings and beliefs, consciousness breaks in and dispels the temporary oblivion. It can hardly be said that any new step was taken in ethical philosophy by Hume, but he gave assurance and distinctness to views previously obtained. "That general utility constitutes a ground of moral distinctions is a part of his theory which can never be impugned;" he is less clear and happy in his account of moral approbation, which he derives from sympathy, or an interest in the well-being of others implanted by nature. He treats vice with too much indulgence, and confounds that admiration which intellectual superiority calls forth, with the approbation accorded only to virtue. His *Enquiry concerning Virtue*, which was regarded by himself as his best work, is ranked by Sir James among the best ethical treatises in our language.

A new element, (or lest this expression be thought to involve the theory of derivation to which we are not quite prepared to assent), an unobserved feature in the character of moral sentiments, was developed by *Adam Smith*. He is the first writer who has drawn attention to the curious phenomena of sympathy; but although he has noticed the influence which sympathy has on our moral sentiments, he has not detected the transmuting process by which this is effected, and he has pressed this principle into too wide a service; overlooking the imperative character of the moral faculty which would not be traced to sympathy, he renders all morality dependent on the feelings of others, and leaves no criterion for the estimation of moral actions. About the same time with the publication of the "*Theory of Moral Sentiments*," Price made an attempt to revive "the intellectual theory of moral obligation," but did not advance one step in the solution of its vital question, the "authority of conscience over

the will." The name which ought to rank next to Butler in the value of his ethical labours, is that of Hartley. To him belongs the merit of first applying the well known principle of association to morals, though he himself has the fairness to ascribe the suggestion to other sources. This application of the principle constitutes his difference from, and his superiority to Condillac. Many causes have contributed to conceal the value of this part of Hartley's system, among which, his physiological theory is not the least. Like other philosophers, he has overlooked, or failed explicitly to announce the distinction between perception and emotion. This confusion has misled him into the use of the phrase "association of ideas," whereas the moral sentiments result not from an association of ideas merely, but of ideas and emotions. Conscience, according to Hartley, results from an association of those affections, desires, and emotions, which have for their ultimate object the dispositions and actions of voluntary agents. From these "a new product appears, which becomes perfectly distinct from the elements which composed it." This, in the opinion of our author, is the nearest approach yet made to a true and complete account of the moral sentiments. The only thing wanted is the recognition of that perfect unity, essential to the moral faculty, and which, as we shall hereafter see, is, according to the theory of Mackintosh himself, a necessary result of the perfect fusion of all the elements which enter into the formation of conscience.

Benevolence and sympathy are also explained by Hartley on the principle of association. The pleasure we receive from kind acts is associated with the author, and becomes, in time, transferred to him. The emotions of our own breast are, by the same process, conveyed to others; the sense of justice is accounted for in the same way, and remorse is the transfer to ourselves of those sentiments of anger and hate which are excited by injury from others. The affections of veneration and love inspired by our fellow men, are, by the same law of association, transferred to that Supreme Maker, who, our reason tells us, must exist, and be the author of the universe. This explanation is not altogether satisfactory to us; association modifies, generalizes, and enhances these other principles of the mind; it transfers the desires and affections to new objects, but does not itself account for their origin and distinguishing characters.

Tucker borrowed the principle of association from Hartley, not improving, and in some cases impairing its clearness. *Tucker* is an easy, diffuse, and philosophical writer; in his illustrations he is superior to Hartley, but he fails in general principles. He did not recognise the independent and new character which secondary desires assume when once formed; neither did he clearly perceive that self love is one of them. He also was betrayed

into the fault of confounding the tendency with the motive of virtue.

The good which the writings of Paley have done, both to the cause of religion and morality, though it may soften the feelings with which we view his philosophic errors, renders it more important to point them out clearly, than if they proceeded from a less respectable source. His good sense, nice observation, and happy illustration on practical subjects, leave us in surprise that he failed to discern the general laws which embrace the particular cases so well described by him. His ethical theory is not only narrow but false, excluding, if truly followed out, all the virtues except those which relate to the well-being of self. A contemplation of our own benefit is, according to this theory, the motive and the criterion of virtuous acts; benevolence and even magnanimity are thus confounded with self love, and remorse cannot be distinguished from misfortune. How few will agree with him, among those who have reflected on the emotions of conscience, either when they have done good or when they have done evil!

Sir James introduces with reluctance into his work the name of a living writer, but he says the slightest sketch of ethical controversy in England would be incomplete without the name of Bentham. He dissents from his theory, and blames the exclusive nature of his system, no less than his intemperate zeal in its inculcation. He admits that the stamp of genius is on his works, and that his error consists rather in carrying right principles too far, than in enforcing bad ones. He has done more than any other writer to rouse the spirit of juridical reform. The principle of utility, too obvious not to have been long ago recognised, and, as the history of ethics proves, more liable to be carried to excess than to be overlooked, is "preached by Mr. Bentham with all the zeal of a discoverer," while the fault of confounding emotions with their objects, leads him into contradictory and inconsequential reasoning. His school falls into the error common to the utilitarian system, of dwelling on the external advantages of virtue, to the exclusion of its internal rewards, which are of surpassing excellence. Had these philosophers more frequently penetrated to her sacred presence-chamber in the interior of the soul, they could not have remained unbelievers in her divine and all-commanding nature. By yielding to the "very vulgar prejudice which treats the unseen as insignificant," the later moralists who have adopted the principle of utility, have substituted a weaker motive than naturally prompts us to virtue, and thus not only lowered the standard, but abated the zeal of its pursuit.

All the moralists of Scotland have maintained the disinterestedness of the social affections, and the supreme authority of the moral sentiments—Brown only is excepted by Sir James, and,

as we think, unjustly. According to Brown, the moral faculty is simple, not compounded, and consists solely in an original capacity for moral emotions. Virtue is the agent acting in certain circumstances, and cannot have an existence separate from such agents; virtue and vice, therefore, when used to express general ideas, are mere abstractions, and express a class of actions which agree in being the cause of moral emotions. This is not denying the immutability or reality of moral distinctions, though Brown owns that their universality must be limited to the minds which feel the emotions; this is an universality coequal with mind, consequently with the Deity himself. He admits the supremacy of conscience, which he powerfully and beautifully describes, and the disinterestedness of virtue.* He does not distinguish clearly between those affections and desires which are irreflective, and that consciousness of accountability which is the most distinguishing element, if not the very essence of conscience. He allows but a small share to reason in the formation of the moral sentiments; so far, says he, from being the principle from which we derive our moral sentiments, reason, in all its judgments about virtue, presupposes these sentiments.

No writer has had the good fortune to pour the light of philosophy on a larger proportion of his cotemporaries, than *Dugald Stewart*. The beauty of his style, the elevation and benevolence of his sentiments, have allured many to the higher walks of philosophy, who, but for such inducements, might never have sought them.

“Perhaps few men ever lived, who poured into the breasts of youth a more fervid, and yet reasonable love of liberty, of truth, and of virtue. How many are still alive, in different countries, and in every rank to which education reaches, who, if they accurately examined their own minds and lives, would not ascribe much of whatever goodness or happiness they possess, to the early impressions of his gentle and persuasive eloquence! He lived to see his disciples distinguished among the lights and ornaments of the council and of the senate. He had the consolation to be sure that no words of his promoted the growth of an impure taste, of an exclusive prejudice, of a malevolent passion. Without derogation from his writings, it may be said that his disciples were among his best works. He, indeed, who may be justly said to have cultivated an extent of mind, which would otherwise have lain barren, and to have contributed to raise virtuous dispositions where the natural growth might have been useless or noxious, is not less a benefactor of mankind, and may indirectly be a larger contributor to knowledge, than the author of great works, or even the discoverer of important truths. The system of conveying scientific instruction to a large audience by lectures, from which the English universities have in a great measure departed, renders his qualities as a lecturer, a most important part of his merit in a Scottish university, which still adheres to the general method of European education. Probably no modern ever exceeded him in that species of eloquence which springs from sensibility to literary beauty and moral excellence; which neither obscures science by prodigal ornament, nor disturbs the serenity of patient attention; but though it rather calms and soothes the feelings, yet exalts the genius, and insensibly inspires a reasonable enthusiasm for whatever is good and fair.”—p. 213.

* See Lectures 74, 75, and 81.

If his genius rarely rose to the elevation of abstract speculation, this could not be ascribed to any want of power, since it has, when required, sustained him there with the ease of one not transgressing his native element—it was because he preferred a region fraught with more practical results. The supreme authority of conscience, the immutability of moral distinctions, and the disinterestedness of virtue, are truths which he recognises, and which have gained much from his writings. The perception of the immutability of moral distinctions is by this philosopher referred to reason, and is, according to him, accompanied with a conviction as immediate and undivided as that by which we perceive mathematical truth. Reason, with him, includes our whole rational nature, and is the source of all elementary ideas, except such as are derived from the senses. The compound nature of the moral faculty was observed by Stewart, though he has not pursued this idea to its full development;—which Mackintosh has done, in the work before us. “Our moral perceptions and emotions,” he says, “are, in fact, the result of different principles combined together.” He also perceived that the moral phenomena never appeared unless volition were present; but he does not appear to realize fully the importance of this circumstance. He was more bent on establishing the immutability of moral distinctions and the supreme authority of conscience, as a governing power of the mind, than in tracing with metaphysical exactness its origin and early development.

All these philosophers, whom we have noticed, have contributed to the progress of ethical science, either by the unfolding of new truths, or by imparting additional clearness and efficacy to such as were already known. Butler and Hartley have, perhaps, done more than any other writers; the first in disclosing the disinterestedness of virtue, the rightful supremacy of conscience, and the independent nature of the desires and affections; the second in tracing the secondary formation of self love, benevolence, and many of the passions and desires, and in applying the principle of association to the explanation of the moral faculty. With the views of these two able and original minds, our author coincides, almost entirely, as far as they go; he takes up the thread where they left it, and carries it on to a nearer approximation to completion. According to the system of Hartley, gratitude, pity, resentment, shame, &c., are original affections of the mind: association connects them indissolubly with the will, on which they are constantly operating, and which is an universal principle; they then become moral sentiment; therefore association is the cause or principle to which moral sentiments are to be referred. In Mackintosh’s opinion, Hartley has stopped short of the truth, and has overlooked the unity or “oneness” of the moral faculty. Association, he says, is not a mere transfer

of the affections and desires to the will, but a fusion of the whole, from which results a new product, viz. conscience—the thing required. In this compound the constituent elements are no longer discoverable, and it becomes “a substantive principle of human nature”—“unity in the result being perfectly compatible with its origin in composition.” The universality and the authority which belong to conscience are to be ascribed to the will, which is one element of the compound.

“The truth seems to be, that the moral sentiments in their mature state, are a class of feelings; which have no other object but the mental dispositions, leading to voluntary action, and the voluntary actions which flow from these dispositions.” According to this theory, conscience is a principle of secondary formation; but of universal agency and efficiency, and as much a constituent part of our nature as the original desires, or the powers of reason, will, and habit, which all, through the influence of association, co-operate in its formation. Provision is made for the uniformity of the result, in the laws and conditions of every human mind. Mackintosh has clearly shown, that the question of the disinterestedness and supreme authority of the moral sentiments is not necessarily connected with that of a derived or implanted origin, and he contends that all who adopt his theory are entitled to assume both these essential characteristics of conscience. That the law of association is one of wide influence, and operates in the formation of secondary desires and principles, has been clearly shown by Hartley and others; but we cannot agree with our author, that these cases present processes and results essentially like those by which he explains the formation of conscience; the secondary desires are, as we apprehend, simple transfers made by association, and not new products. They often exceed in strength the primary, from which they spring, and even root them out entirely; but when a desire of the advantages which wealth or power command is transferred to these means, so indissolubly that we relinquish for their sake the very objects on whose account they were first sought, here is no *new* emotion or principle, but merely a transfer of an emotion already experienced, to an object which has not before excited it: it is the object, not the sentiment which is new. And in the acquired perceptions of sight, there is not, strictly speaking, a new product—nothing which may not be analyzed into perceptions of the senses of sight and feeling, and a judgment or process of reason. These become, by repetition, so rapid in their succession as to seem one idea, or rather we lose the consciousness of the perception, and retain only that of the judgment. That this is so, may be proved by those delusions which are sometimes caused by imperfect vision, and which cannot be recalled at pleasure. When we discover that we have mistaken in the twilight the

stump of a tree for a man, although the senses render the same ideas which they did before we were aware of the mistake, yet we cannot recover the perception, because the judgment or inference is separated from these sensations. This union, though rarely dissolved, and appearing as one, in consequence of the rapidity of the succession, is not incapable of dissolution, and cannot therefore be regarded as a new product. We are aware, that even if it be admitted, that these effects of association are not new products, essentially unlike their compound parts, yet this, of itself, furnishes no proof that conscience may not be so, and generated precisely in the way described by our author; we would only say, that, as it appears to us, he is mistaken with regard to the exact character of these combinations, and that they do not afford him even the support of analogy.

That volition is an all-important element in moral sentiments, is too obvious not to have been observed by almost every ethical writer of ancient and modern times. Aristotle defines virtue to be "right practical habits, voluntary in their origin;" and the philosophers of the English school have all seen, more or less clearly, that virtue was a quality which could be ascribed only to free agents. No one has placed this truth on firmer ground, than the author of the work before us. "A deliberation of conscience, (he says) precedes every voluntary act, as much when it is defeated as when it prevails;" and again, "moral approbation is limited to voluntary acts." This is undoubted, and the reason of this is the very point to be determined. For a full exposition of the author's views on the subject, we refer the reader to his remarks on Butler, p. 110, and also to the general remarks at the end of the book. "Conscience is the product of the *association* of desires and affections, whose direct objects are the sentiments which influence the dispositions and actions of voluntary agents." "The peculiar character of the moral sentiments," he also says, "is their exclusive reference to states of will." The phrase moral sentiments, is generally used as synonymous with conscience, and this has caused some indistinctness. Conscience is the simple feeling of accountability, the voice within, which we cannot choose but hear; moral sentiment expresses not only this feeling but the emotions and judgments which address themselves to, and are indissolubly associated with conscience. A consideration of the important part which volition bears in all moral phenomena, has led us to the conclusion, that conscience is not a principle derived from association, and not even a new product whose component elements are assimilated by association;—but that conscience (which is a feeling of accountability) is involved in the possession of free agency, and its essential concomitant; that volition is not merely one element in the compound, but that it includes it in its essence. We are conscious of accountability

—a word which is ultimate—for the good we have it in our power to do, and for the consequences of our actions, not to others merely, but to ourselves; and this feeling cannot be resolved into any thing else; for in every analysis, we do not merely arrive at something new, (for this we admit would be the case on our author's theory) but, we never touch *conscience* till we have reached volition; and when we have done this, we are in possession of that perfect feeling of responsibility, which gives the peculiar character of this principle, and which escapes again the moment we deprive it of volition. The will, therefore, that is, the power of free agency, is the only one to which we can refer this distinguishing trait of humanity, and this, not in consequence of its combination with other elements, but of its own underived nature. It is a rational free agency; for although the moral faculty cannot be resolved into reason, inasmuch as it consists in a state of mind very different from reason, a state of emotion; yet it can only be conceived as belonging to a being endowed with a capacity of reflecting, comparing, analyzing, and judging; since the dictates of conscience, though they are not these operations of reason, presuppose, and are guided by them. The development of the moral feelings, is contemporary with reason and volition, —then is heard that commanding voice, conscience, pronouncing that solemn word *ought*, expressive of an emotion so wholly unlike any other in the heart of man, that it is never mistaken for a moment. It is at first feeble, commencing at a period, (as our author has shown) too early to be traced with any distinctness which might assist us in discovering its origin; but as our views and associations enlarge, we perceive a wider field for its exercise, and recognise our duty to embrace it as far as lies in our power. Like every other principle of our nature, it is susceptible of high cultivation and various modifications, yet it retains its distinctive character throughout.

The distinction between the nature of moral sentiments themselves, and of their objects, is carefully maintained by Mackintosh, though overlooked by almost every other ethical writer, and he has shown that these objects always include voluntary action. Some dispositions, and the actions flowing from them, are more lovely than others, and are pursued for their own sake; but it is the consciousness of the power to choose or reject, and that awful conviction of responsibility for the use of it, which calls forth the sentiments of approbation and disapprobation. Beneficial tendency, the uniform attendant on virtuous actions, is soon discerned by reason, and becomes a consideration which addresses itself to conscience. The worthiness of certain affections and sentiments, and the unworthiness of others, together with the actions which express them, belongs only to voluntary agents. These qualities address themselves to our sense of accountability

and duty. Their distinctions are original, and cannot be resolved into a perception of utility, or any other end foreign to themselves.

Although we cannot ascribe to association any power beyond that of a simple transfer of sentiments to new objects, or a combination of separate ideas, which by repetition are made to appear like one, yet we are not unmindful of the important part it performs in its own sphere, with regard to our moral sentiments; not generating, indeed, that peculiar feeling, which is ever to us like a present Deity, enthroned within, dispensing its terrors and its smiles with an invisible but irresistible power, but combining into an apparent union those affections and judgments which address themselves to this faculty. The indissolubleness of this union accounts for that common fault, noticed by our author, of confounding the moral principle with its objects, and that confusion of abstractions and emotions which has led to contradictory assumption and incomplete views in moral philosophy.

The influence of association is not unfrequently unfavourable to morals—it connects with views of benefit and duty, actions and sentiments foreign or even opposed to them, and thus sanctions what is base and unjust. Here, then, comes in the beneficial aid of reason; it analyzes these unfortunate combinations, points out the causes and extent of abuse, and enlightens conscience, which, though it may mistake as to what is duty, never flinches in its command to follow what it regards as such, however painful or difficult. Were it not for reason, this mighty power, capable of such god-like efforts, might be perverted to the worst purposes, and instead of the glory, become the scourge of men. How beautiful is the mutual aid and dependence of the various principles of human nature—how fatal the mistake to divorce reason from conscience, benevolence from self love, duty from happiness, or to attempt to substitute one for the other, since it is only through the just measure and fair co-operation of them all, that perfection can be reached!

The difference between ourselves and the author, may not be thought important. By both, volition is regarded as the uniform and distinguishing feature of the moral faculty, but to us it appears that this difference amounts to that of a derived or an implanted principle,—a question which, as the author has shown, is purely philosophical, and does not affect the authority of conscience or the practical rules founded on its sanctions.

Sir James concludes his *View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy*, with a very slight mention of the state of the science in Germany. This topic, he says, requires a work by itself, and he thinks that it had better be omitted entirely, than not treated with the fulness it deserves. It is certainly a serious omission, and we could have wished that the same masterly hand which

has traced the opinions and discoveries of the English school, had given us as able and faithful a sketch of the German.

But this hope can no longer be entertained. Since the foregoing remarks were written, Sir James Mackintosh has paid the debt of nature, and the world has lost one of its brightest ornaments and most eloquent instructors. We could not do justice to his beautiful work; neither can we to his noble career and character. The signal merits of the man and his productions will, no doubt, be properly exhibited in Great Britain.

ART. VII.—*The British Revolution of 1688.* Par Mons. MAZURE. Paris.

THE history of the downfall of kings, and destruction of monarchies, forms the triumph of republics. The waste of empires and degradation of their rulers, are events, however, belonging as much to the philosophy of mind, as to the science of government, and interest as deeply him who reflects on the motives of human conduct, as one who is the creature or director of its impulses. They are not the necessary consequence of the debility of age, nor entirely the effect of a bad system—but ensue from the increase of knowledge among the mass of men, and display the progressive improvement of human intellect. They form eras and starting points for the future advancement of political science, and guide the statesman to those causes of interference with the right government of a nation, that lie involved among its movements, but yet tend to its subversion. They are not the feeble emanations of unformed opinions or fluctuating power—but great results—arising from causes whose action is unceasing. All forms of government, like the human body, contain within themselves the principles of life and decay—they have too their youth and their age—but their destruction appears often to advance more rapidly than their improvement, till the spirit of the times renews existence, and regenerates their energies. This, no government can withstand. It is a creative or a destroying faculty—the expression of a determined will, concentrated on new objects, and intent on new views. But it is rather the result of circumstances than the growth of time, for ages pass away, and leave nations stationary and weighed down by bad rule.

The administration of the affairs of a nation, appears the last thing to which its attention is turned. A feeling of attachment, in all old countries, and respect for their institutions, adds to their stability, though it may not beyond a certain degree en-

hance their utility. The people lose in their interests, that which is gained by order and tranquillity. But in free countries, where disorder is as essential for their existence, as it is a proof of their freedom, no institution can be considered as not liable to destruction, nor is permanency requisite for the preservation of those privileges liberty ensures. The finest instrument that any nation has possessed for the regulation and security of every right, is the British constitution. Yet it is the child of revolutions. Successive eruptions of popular fury and party spirit have, in endangering its very being, cleared it of blemish; nor has it been found to lose in efficiency, that which it has gained in its approach to purity and perfection. It has ever been capable of modification to the times, and however the new modelling may have appeared to resemble innovation, still its strength has been undiminished. Such a charter places a people beyond the reach of injury. Every invasion reacts to their advantage—and even civil war, though it spread destruction, leaves no wound it cannot heal. It receives the shocks of daring ambition, and bears unimpaired the more dangerous, because the more subtle and less observed attacks of party.

But a nation possessing no such register of rights, is borne down by the fury of contested power. Revolution is the commencement of a struggle against various feelings and multiplied excitements—against despotism, usurpation, and faction—and a single convulsion puts in motion a mass of elements that find no level till the dominion of arbitrary authority unites them to be again dissevered. Wanting an outline of clearly defined rights, an acknowledged evidence of vested privileges, it has nothing to which it can turn, for a restoration to its former condition, or as a support to prevailing opinions; and a country so situated, will go through successive stages of revolution and anarchy, till the character of the age is stamped on that of its people. But the character of the age is a thing of slow maturing. It cannot be adopted at pleasure, but must reach the whole body of a people, before those institutions can be reared, which it indicates. Thrones may be overturned, and nations convulsed in its progress, still it increases in power, till it becomes embodied among the destinies of a people. It is the operation of a principle that may have been concealed, though not inactive; restless, though unobserved; and the greatest difficulty with which the guardians of a nation's welfare have to contend, is to keep pace with its movements. For it often appears to slumber and retreat before the obstacles it encounters, and then to burst out with irresistible force. But the tide of human affairs is as ceaseless in its motion as that of the ocean, and its cause as unseen. Though the surface is smooth, there are distant mutterings, which to the watchful portend agitation. The political atmosphere acts as variously as the natural—

and when loaded with corruption, prostrates the energies; but a reaction follows, that breaks down and often annihilates old establishments, and man erects upon the ruins an edifice more suited to his present condition. This is not the result of capricious feeling, nor the decay of a prejudice, nor one of the quick transitions men sometimes display from tranquillity to turbulence, from apparent content to the heat and distraction of misrule and anarchy, but the operation of the principle which leads men to a knowledge of their situation, and how far it bears upon their interests.

The violent but transitory commotion of human passions, may give an impulse tending to produce an important event. But a revolution thus commencing in heat of feeling, anticipates the time in which good consequences would follow. It is not founded on the character of the nation, nor is it the expression of their will or determination to establish their freedom, but it can only be conceived as the irritation of a party, eager either to extend their own power, or at the instigation of patriotism to diffuse a love of liberty and destroy its oppression. The civil wars of England were the result of a factious spirit. The republican party had long existed, and under the disguise of religion, deceived the people as to their designs. They were supposed to want little more than the reform of abuses, relief from the influence of a corrupt court, and repose from the attacks and encroachments of a proud and wealthy establishment. But their chief object was the destruction of the monarchy. The spirit of the age set towards the rigid and simpler doctrines of presbyterianism, and the severer feelings and opinions of republicanism. The court party derided the one as hypocrisy, and regarded the other as treason. And a civil war was already commenced, when the king and aristocracy arrayed themselves in hostility to the commons and people, opposing principles and prejudices.

No king of England can support himself without his people. The aristocracy are a distinct class, and looked on with jealousy. Their power is oppressive to the nation, and hazardous to the monarch. They have no attachments but to their rank and its privileges, and to the throne so far as it upholds these. But all the affections of the lower orders are fixed upon the king, and whenever they unite, their cause must triumph. If he bends to party views, regardless of the interests of the nation, he then becomes the instrument of party designs and his own ruin; or if he leagues with the aristocracy, he places himself and the nation at the mercy of an oligarchy. There is then no security for the head of a limited monarchy, but in sharing his power with the people, and defending the government from those principles of corruption, which on one side expose it to the rule of the privileged classes, on the other, to the violence and excesses of democracy.

If Charles the First had met the republican spirit with a tone of conciliation, it would not have cost him his throne; or, if he had sufficiently understood the institutions of the country, to know that such a spirit is a part of their existence, he would not have risked a war with his subjects to add strength to the monarchy. This feeling, which overthrew him, was used by Cromwell to elevate the country and himself; and the arbitrary authority with which he governed, was lost in the lustre of the glory that overspread England. James the Second, who attempted to resist a sentiment that had sacrificed his father, and to which his brother had yielded, afforded an example of the futility of engaging in a contest with the feelings and interests of a nation, and trying to thwart public will. But a revolution in a free state differs, in nature and result, from one that breaks down the control of a despotism. The people and their leaders have a definite object, and are satisfied with gaining it. Both dread lest the fundamental laws of the realm may so far lose their power, by excess of disorder, as to admit the arbitrary authority of a single individual to usurp all their rights; and that their weakness, after the struggle, will tempt ambition to its personal aggrandizement. The pressure of a sceptre is often less fatal to the liberties of a nation, than the elevation and sway of a man whom popular feeling has raised; and Cromwell, though bred beneath all the advantages of free institutions, manifested the disposition of a tyrant; yet he was obliged to give way to the reaction of constitutional liberty, to engage the attention of the nation by flattering their pride, and withdraw scrutiny from his conduct by feeding their self love.

A people who attempt their own regeneration, by casting down the barriers of a despotism, unloosen all the bonds of society. It is generally premature, and leads rather to the desolation of a country than to its freedom. With an impetuosity nothing can restrain, they rush to extremes, till every order of the state is sacrificed; and then from amidst this anarchy attempt the erection of another structure. But it is as difficult to adopt a new form, as to restore the influence of habits once undermined. The manners of a people are its constitution; and whatever may be the design in new-modelling them, revolution is the first step to their decay. The French revolution was not the effect of defied principles nor endangered liberties, nor the hasty growth of immature plans and restless feeling; but a consequence of the determination which had been maturing beneath the soil of public opinion, to overthrow the existing system. Such is the probable intention of all who commence civil convulsions; but they find that the people are not at all times the best guardians of public safety, and that they soon become the instruments of factions, when once let loose upon institutions to which time has produced

attachment, and become the test of their utility and the sanction of their value. Time is as essential to consolidate as to destroy; and when the base is shaken, on which old opinions rest, a nation returns to its elements, and various scenes must pass before the drama closes. To assert that a violent irruption upon an established movement in affairs, is more to be dreaded than *any* condition, is not to advocate that nations should stand still, but that circumstances should meet the occasion. The American revolution was not a popular commotion, with the vague hope of gaining liberty; but arose from the desire to be free from oppression, and be rid of a burden. We bore no enmity to the home of our ancestors. Our envy was not excited by the pomp of luxury, and no hierarchy or aristocracy, in the imposing array of power, rendered more hideous the glare of poverty; nor did royalty mix its degrading condescensions with our simplicity—but all our aspirations were as pure as the object was valuable. But it is not so with other countries. The lower orders are not by intelligence, nor by an acknowledged right, made to form a part of the body politic. The church and aristocracy are the governing interests, and preserve no community of feeling with the people. Such institutions once enfeebled or demeaned, become the object of attack and contempt; since they exist but through a moral influence, which being once destroyed, they fall by their own weight. They are the two supporters of thrones and despotism, but are fast giving way. A contest has been going on in the world between arbitrary government and political liberty, for half a century; a conflict of opinions that has produced an unsettled state of feeling, a love of change, and an uncertainty in the duration of all forms of government, which may and perhaps will continue, till all is gained the one side can get, and all is yielded the other side has to offer. No condition of feeling has ever before resembled it since the Reformation, though here the desire of religious liberty was the sentiment that drew attention to political; and the two blend together so strongly and perfectly, that which ever forms the prevailing interest of the moment, bears the other with it. Religion, however, admits of a variety of opinions, each of which has its ardent and unflinching adherents—each of which is to the world of secondary importance, and to man, in his moral relations, of inferior moment. It is not so in our love or admiration of governments. The indifferent spectator may conceive happiness to be as great under one as the other, and, in a philosophical survey of the affairs of life, fancy them to be as well managed under the dominion of a king as under the sovereignty of the people. But this narrow view does not include men's rights. Their doctrine has been but lately asserted or understood. Yet it is the power which is swaying the earth, steadily extending itself, and

when opposed casting down every antagonist. It openly declares, that the love of power and the love of liberty cannot exist together, that they cannot move together to the same ends, or by any possibility produce the same results; and these two natural but conflicting principles are now revolutionizing every ancient institution. The French revolution, mistaken as was the idea that allied it with the American, was the effect of an improved feeling, with regard to the liberties of a nation; but it left more to regret in the ruins it made, than to admire in the advantages it brought. Yet the people had felt their strength, and there followed a deep-rooted sentiment, that when roused it was irresistible. This, though strange and novel, was accompanied by another feeling, more important to the French as an individual nation, and deeply interesting to all mankind—that the people have rights, and that to be free was the chief, though the most difficult of attainment. But from the heat of revolution to the dominion of arms, is a natural transition; and military authority, for a time forced aside this still immature opinion, though the weight of this worst of despotisms was hardly able to keep down its expression, and was indebted to victory for the sway it held, and the control with which it governed and influenced that which was ready at any moment to oppose it. Beneath the glare of glory a despotism is confirmed, and in its intoxication a nation forgets her interests. But the duration of military rule, or of that of him to whom it is obedient, depends on its strength or popularity, and rest is essential for the completion of every design—the elevation and establishment of power. As a despot is the keystone of his empire, the continuance of his reign depends upon his conduct and personal character, which is often unfit for assuming civil affairs, and allaying the distractions which arise among the animosities of parties. These both produce and continue the agitation of civil disorders, and when the state is emerging from its difficulties to repose, then commences the assertion of their separate and various claims. In this feverish and over-excited condition of men's minds, intervals of tranquillity are often those of ruin. There is no constant or well defined intention with any party, but each marshals its strength to gain its own ends. No one is willing to lose the opportunity of establishing itself, or to renounce, for the general good, their individual objects. Patriotism is perverted by revenge, and upon the removal of the strong hand which has heretofore kept down the violence of contending factions and repressed their designs, there is no longer any national freedom or expression of the public will. The body of the people desire peace, both from external war and internal distraction, but it is for the interest of every enemy to continue the one, as it is that of every ambitious partisan to promote the other. The

despotism from which they have relieved themselves, in concentrating in itself all influence and importance, is found to have extended its corrupt power further than to the direction of affairs, and entered the hearts of men, making them regard liberty as a boon and acquisition, their submission as degradation; but unfitting them for the duties of freemen, and rendering their reception a matter to be forwarded by time alone. The revolutionary policy is to commence the preservation of a state by its total destruction, to make a clear field for the strife, but no receptacle for the injured. But a nation that sees its religion and its laws, its old habits and customs, contemned and violated, and feels free from the moral power of ancient institutions, does not, in this recoil from age to youth, become more disposed or more able to adopt the half finished forms, so readily devised and so urgently recommended. It resembles one of the instances of momentary strength, in which senility borrows the vigour of youth, and returns to that portion of life, to renew the freer action, the glow and animation of vitality, which then gives the charm of existence, and soon after retreats once again to the near neighbourhood of death.

The only hope a people have of securing peace, after all that they looked upon with respect and regard has been swept away, is to recall former attachments and restore ancient forms. They may be freer, since the times require it, their external aspect remain as it has been, while the internal movements, the general administration, and all the machinery of government may be changed. For a nation that has struggled till it has almost seen its own destruction, finds, like him with whom memory is displacing time, that the warmth of the affections lies among the recollections, it may be the ruins, of the past. No country has adopted a form that did not resemble the one it had cast off. The Romans expelled their kings, and cast themselves into the hands of an aristocracy. This, to preserve its power, inspired the people with a love of freedom, which led to the hatred of royalty, and to contentions between plebeians and patricians, that ended in a republic. In modern times, Charles the First and Louis XVI. have been beheaded to satisfy the antipathy to monarchies. Both were succeeded by despotisms, to which the people submitted, in the one instance because there was the semblance of a republic, in the other because they had not yet learnt their rights. Both restored the monarchy, and the battlements of ancient structures appeared once again to be rising upon the liberties of nations. But the nineteenth century is destined to see all men with equal rights, and to fix for ever the bounds of tyranny and usurpation. Liberty responds to intelligence, and the affairs of nations are establishing themselves on the basis, in which the advance of knowledge becomes the increase of their power, and

the balance formed by these, both the title and the means of their strength and preservation.

The revolution of 1688, is nearly the most important of modern times, not only in immediate result, but in its distant effect. It involved principles and established them, which had before created calamitous disorders, but which were without the strength derived from maturity of opinion—clear, well defined design, and apposite circumstances. It gave a distinct view to the British nation of its rights, marked the bounds of their privileges and the limits of the prerogative, so that neither king nor people could encroach upon the mutual concessions each had made, without a direct attack upon the constitution. Every preceding reign had acted upon a presumed, not a fixed power. The deeds of Henry the Eighth were open tyranny, yet the people offered no resistance. Those of Mary were not only contradictory to the spirit of the constitution, but calculated to excite the fury of any people, not altogether paralyzed by servitude—yet they were tolerated. The passions of men were arrayed hostilely, and the excitement of religious animosity, the violence of personal hatred, the madness of revenge, cast out the consideration of civil rights. The overthrow of the Catholic religion, left its partisans deeply anxious to react upon their enemies—but the personal influence of Henry preserved tranquillity. At his death the elevation of a Catholic to the throne, and the revival of that religion, offered an opportunity for vengeance; and the parliament having restored the laws against heretics, the queen appeared resolved to yield to her inclinations, and persecute them to the utmost. When Elizabeth came to the throne, she found all parties under the harassing exhaustion of the late contest of passion, and ready to allow the elation of a hard won triumph to subside; and whether it were magnanimity, the love of country, or that of glory, which deterred her from retaliation, may be uncertain, but there appears no instance of the desire of this, unless it exist in ordering the execution of Mary Stuart, which, Mazure supposes to have been counselled by her ministers as an affair of state, to show that no further league could take place between the two religions. But Elizabeth, with all her love for England and its people, had but little regard to their civil liberty. National glory surmounted an admiration for a constitution, and the energies of her character, the abilities of her statesmen, and the British feeling that directed them—the brilliancy and success of her undertakings, took from the people the notice due to their claims. James the First neither acknowledged nor comprehended popular privileges, and the name of sedition was given to all agitation that arose from the defiance of them; but in the reign of Charles the First commenced the struggle between royal prerogative, the parliament, and the nation. The old feudal doc-

trine of entire submission on the part of the subject, and absolute authority on that of the king, still held some control, and were, with Charles, fixed convictions. He was mistaken both in his own character and that of his subjects, and had not heeded their disposition to loosen regal authority, and either break or bend the sceptre. The republican spirit that introduced Cromwell to the power, if not to the throne of a king, had been long extending itself through the minds of the nation—and attacks upon the crown were due rather to this feeling, than to any unusual restraint upon the subject. But the reign of Charles the Second is the opening scene of the occurrences which induced the revolution. It is one of the most singular in English history, both from the character of the man, and the nature of its transactions. But there is no greater difficulty than to know the real character of sovereigns, and discover to what extent they govern or are governed. Actions generally lead to the recesses of principles, and men can only be judged by the world, and really understood, from them; but kings are the toys of courts, cabinets, and circumstances, and their real nature seldom appears on the surface of their conduct. The people of England were deceived in Charles. They supposed he would readily become a passive agent, not a self-willed actor. How great was the contrast between the day of his elevation to the throne, and the time when he felt himself sufficiently secure to commence tampering with his country's honour! How misplaced the affections and generosity of the people of England, who had hoped to repose from the distraction of revolution, by restoring the legitimate successor of their last king, to produce an amalgamation of parties, the subsidence of their restless spirit, and to continue the glory acquired under Cromwell, by being once more governed by one who possessed an acknowledged claim to the crown! To restore Charles might have appeared, as it probably was, the only way to secure these advantages, yet it showed but little knowledge of man, to expect them, and too great a reliance on the noted treachery of princes. The promises made at Breda, were such as could be easily extorted from an exiled and ruined man. They yielded nothing but such things as would of course be demanded, if not spontaneously offered—such things too as the best principled mind could almost excuse in the forfeiture. Could it be supposed that any human being, possessed, not of the most refined or delicate sensibility, but of the mere ordinary instinctive feelings of our nature, would be able, once holding power, to grant a cheerful forgiveness, a clear unqualified pardon, to those who had cast him from his throne, made him an outcast, and placed a curse upon his name? It was to expect too much. The father's bloody death was deep in the son's mind. It acted as a stimulus to much of his conduct, and perhaps remained during life, as the secret

cause of many of his actions, and source of enduring hatred to the people he was called to rule. This is at least a natural presumption, confirmed by the persevering vengeance with which he pursued the regicides, extending it even to their graves. The remains of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were disinterred, suspended on a gibbet, and then buried beneath it. Six of the judges of Charles the First were executed. Vane suffered and Lambert died in neglect and destitution, though neither were strictly regicides. That which Charles thus commenced in the spirit of revenge, was afterwards carried through at the instigation of systematic cupidity. A prodigal by nature, a lover of pleasure, indolent and inactive, unless roused to the transaction of business by affairs that disturbed his repose—his life was passed in uneasy and fitful transitions from ease and tranquillity to intense and energetic exertion. History hardly records another instance of such vehement and active emotion mingled with a zest for the enervating gratifications of luxurious enjoyment—such a compound of Sardanapalus and Cæsar. It was easy with him to leave the struggles of the council chamber, or the opposition of the House of Commons, for the society of a mistress, the inebriating flattery of courtiers, or for an interview with some pander to his passions—and it appeared of little moment with him, whether he conspired against the liberties and laws of his country, or intrigued for his own amusement. The same good humour, self confidence, shrewdness, and knowledge of the world—the same contempt for opinion or its result, the same unprincipled disregard for his own or the nation's honour, and inattention to the means that secured his ends, were carried into every thing he attempted or was advised to attempt.

Such was the man, who was to succeed to the power and authority of one of the most remarkable individuals who ever lived. He forms an extraordinary instance of the effect of circumstances on character, and how little reliance is to be reposed on the general dogmas of morals, when the natural inclination, the bias of the particular disposition, is not considered. The harsh and severe lessons of adversity, acting on a mind powerful, ingenuous, and ambitious, would have created a concentrated, relentless energy of purpose—in his situation resistless and overpowering; but with Charles it produced indifference, a dozing apathy that slumbered over all affairs of business, till the startling sound of his commons' voice, or the cries of an outraged people, awakened him to the near approach of ruin. His foreign education unfitted him for the admiration of civil liberty—perhaps its comprehension, or respect for its institutions—and created rather a jealousy of the popular will. With one possessing less penetration into the designs and motives of human conduct—if the throne had been occupied by an impetuous, self-willed king, instead of one, who,

as he himself expresses it, had no desire to go again on his travels—a civil war, and with such a neighbour as Louis XIV., perhaps the separation of the empire, would have ensued. But the British king was not enamoured of such extremes. Though no coward, he had seen enough of adventure, and suffered enough of trial, to admit the counsels of reflection, and the influence of a better judgment to sway the love of absolute dominion. It was this that formed the inherent vice of the Stuart family, and at last tore from them their rank and condition. They saw the results of their conduct, yet pursued it; they were determined obstinately to work out their destiny, and appear placed on their “bad eminence,” the more conspicuously to display the triumph of free principles. They wanted, what in a human being is an irretrievable misfortune—a heart. Their being was an absorbing love of self, and a constant struggle between the dictates of this, and the warnings of less grateful sentiments.

Without the cold, gloomy malignity of Tiberius, or the tyrannical propensities of Harry the Eighth, they possessed a deep, designing dissimulation, an impenetrable and depraved want of feeling, which regarded with indifference the shedding of blood; and to sign a death-warrant, or make a witticism, were with Charles the Second matters of equal moment. More innocent men were executed in the reign of that family, than during any reign or among any people who had laws and loved their exercise. Their sufferings were public exhibitions of royal perfidy and unmanly ingratitude, an outrageous disregard of justice—an impious neglect of humanity, and disrespect of the gift of life.

What was the accusation against Stafford, or Sydney, or Vane, or the elder Argyle? All might have been saved from the clamours of faction, by the interposition of royal mercy; but the dictates of generosity or other refined sentiment, seldom conquer the leaden weight of indolence. It is a corrupt disease of the intellect, that destroys the clearness of its perceptions, and gives a dull glare to every impression: even those that intuitively gleam among the sometimes rich soil of an indolent mind, are but splendid tints, which fade as easily and as quickly as they rise.

Charles had however one quality that should be recommended to all statesmen, more expressly to those who are called to govern a free people—the art of acquiring popularity and preserving it. Every action, the acknowledged baseness of his political and personal character, the public display of vice, the immoral tendency of his conduct, the defiance of decency and the conventional forms of society instituted as much for the control of crowned heads as the domestic fireside, were forgotten in an attachment to his person; and the death of the man who had degraded England, the power and pride of her haughty people, the first to

being little more than the exchequer of corruption, the latter to the sentiment of self disgust, was mourned as a national calamity. Mankind love those who appear to depend on them. They are flattered at the idea, that they are supposed to possess and are disposed to yield to generous emotions. He who presumes on independence of feeling and elevated principles as giving him a claim to respect, judges correctly; yet these make no appeal to the affections. Their implied reserve throws a man into the same relation with the world, as a ship from a fleet when cast upon the rocks in a storm—there is neither sympathy nor power of assistance—she may relieve herself or go to pieces—no congratulation is offered at her escape, or surprise created at her wreck.

But men who desire popularity as the basis of success, and prefer, in the heat of a violent ambition, personal honour to their country's, find the low arts of a demagogue essential, and their fortunes controlled by the frail security of popular favour. Every tyrant, whether a multitude or an individual, has its Sejanus or its Catiline, and no character is more common or more easily adopted, than the one which inclines to subvert, not to erect. The lion has its jackall, the whale its humble companion, and he who is weak in physical force or moral energy, must rely on the support of others, and use as instruments whatever they grant to him. In democracies, personal popularity is the sole requisite for power; in republics, the last degree of importance was once granted to virtue; in mixed forms, they should be united, though the last is ever the most valuable and the most enduring. But it is a rare commodity, and apt to be neglected. It is never the tyrant or the assassin, the vulgar demagogue, or unconscientious partisan—it can neither pander to power nor play the hypocrite to gain it.

In reviewing the career of Charles, it will be found that he kept his throne by committing no violence upon the feelings of his people which they were not willing to attribute to the bad counsel of a minister, and which he did not manage to make appear in this light.—Though it were his own obstinacy that instigated such conduct, and seldom, if ever, the gratuitous advice of any one, still the people did not credit this; and in demanding the punishment of the offender, the king escaped, while the minister was sacrificed. There are several examples of this want of magnanimity, though he was overmatched and nearly implicated by Shaftesbury—an individual as much in love with himself as the king, and as little ambitious of emulating a martyrdom. This history of the man is essential for understanding after events, and his reign is interesting for many reasons, but especially as being the last in which the personal character of the sovereign interfered with or influenced the affairs of the

British nation, and as the commencement of a clear comprehension of the powers delegated by the constitution to the different parts of the government. The House of Commons exerted themselves to secure their own liberty and that of the subject, while the crown attempted to preserve all that it already possessed, and acquire as much more. James came to the throne, labouring under the suspicion of aiming to overturn the Protestant religion, and of course could expect no great cordiality on the part of his subjects. But the British people are generous, and knew that he had endured persecution for his creed, and gone through every trial which the laudable ambition of succeeding his brother could experience. He had suffered all this, apparently with an honest reliance on the strength of his faith, and a confidence in the correctness of his religious scruples. No inducement—the violence of parties, the virulence of enemies, the persuasions of friends, the urgent and constant intreaties of his brother—was able to change his views of that which he considered the truth. His conscience was roused to support his courage, and with these two sentiments he was both willing and able to endure disappointment in the possession of so great and splendid a thing as the throne of Great Britain. Such self-denial, such unwavering stability of purpose, was well calculated to gain at least respect, if not attachment from the people of England. It showed them that even if he were opposed to their principles, he was still willing to confide in their sense of justice, and rest his whole claim on that one feeling. Such confidence tended to produce the effect designed, and when he ascended the throne, the expressions of satisfaction and adherence, even of regard, poured in from all parts. They were given without hesitation, with the fearless warmth of mutual good-will and friendship. The rest of Europe looked on in amazement at such an exhibition of loyalty and patriotism, and at such a result of constitutional liberty, with a nation who appreciate and comprehend it. Perhaps the king himself wondered at this change of feeling, and might have been deceived with the hope that the minds of the people were at length prepared to witness, without emotion or interest, the attacks he was already planning on their most cherished privileges. But he mistook generosity for a change in opinion, the display of affection for adulation, betraying himself with the false notion, that these could not exist without involving the intention to submit to all and whatever he should introduce. Having been long accustomed to the silent, moody determinations of his own spirit, he conceived that any relaxation on the part of others, in principles to which they were devoted, and had adopted with as much reflection and supported with as much fierceness as he had his own, proved a desire to yield to or court his favour. He appeared to presume, as is generally the case

with men habituated to the struggles and opposition of enmity, that to cease from the contest, is to lose the feeling of rivalry, or the desire of victory; of course to put aside all expectation and forego every attempt to procure success. The mistake was a natural one in his circumstances. He had felt the pride of a martyr, while the subject of calumny, of villanous and low intrigue. His life had been spent amidst the violence of war, the opposition of open and confessed enemies, and in studying self-defence against covert treachery, concealed art, and false candour. The character thus formed could but be firm; it was, however, at the same time, stern and remorseless. His knowledge of human nature presented but a single view of human dispositions. The gentler virtues were unknown to him, and the idea he had formed of man was created and fixed by circumstances, and incapable of being shaken by their after change and fluctuations. An individual so bigotted and unaccommodating, was not fitted for the throne of England at that time. A politician or king should, at all times, but more particularly in those of dangerous excitement, know how to place himself in an easy and graceful attitude before the irruptions of popular fury, and not endanger every thing by attempting a futile resistance, thus to hasten a ruin, which must be irretrievable from the ever unpardonable crime of thwarting public opinion. The people never forgive. They are conscious of weakness, unless when acting in overpowering majorities;—the weakness of intellectual inferiority and of an inferior condition; feeling, too, assured, that if not led by able guides, and made to combine in opinion as well as in mass, they can effect nothing. It is such sentiments that render revolutions destructive to liberty; for the lower orders are in a state, what militia are in war, ill disciplined and ungovernable, yielding more easily to inconsiderate impetuosity than regardful of consequences.

James had, however, to contend with no such irresistible flood as has been seen in modern times. The country was anxious for repose, to be freed from foreign incumbrances, and return once more to the merry and contented days of the past. They were willing to welcome him as the medium of happiness, and to rely on him, as neither in his own person nor through a faction, inclined to encourage or provoke dangerous designs against their religion or their liberties. All this was promised in his first speech from the throne, and a general feeling of harmony ensued throughout the realm. The rebellions of Monmouth and Argyle were suppressed, subsidies granted, and the parliament appeared unanimous in gratifying their monarch's wishes. But those two insurrections occasioned the first marks of discontent—"the necessary acts of justice after such an insurrection, by the mismanagement of such as were employed in the execution of them, or the false insinuations of such as were sorry it had miscarried,

was the first argument of souring men's minds against the king, and laid the first foundation of those discontents which cost him so dear afterwards; for though to reward virtue and punish vice, be the essential duties of a prince, yet it is almost impossible to fill either of those obligations, without disgusting the one infinitely more than satisfying the other, or even those who draw their security and advantage from it." This reflection, from James's Memoirs, is a forcible and fine one, and unhappily not to be denied. No man is able to measure the precise amount of his services, or estimate their real value; both our vanity and our interests may be hurt by giving them their exact worth, while to rate them high pleases the one, however disadvantageous it may be to the other.

The unnecessary, though justifiable, execution of Monmouth, was another source of dissatisfaction, as he was the most popular man in England. The people had witnessed his death in silence, because they might have conceived it just; but they had steeped their handkerchiefs in his blood, and preserved them to keep alive his memory and demand retribution. Another cause, not then suspected, rendered his death the most unfortunate act James could have committed. It cleared the way for the Prince of Orange, who, by the most artful series of manœuvres, had urged Monmouth to the invasion, to destroy him or James. The duke was doubly duped by the prince and Shaftesbury; the one inciting his ambition, the other promising assistance. But there were other considerations, not then unfolded, which reacted on James, as if to fulfil his destiny and produce the crisis of his fortunes. He appears to have been ignorant of the character of his subjects, or determined to take advantage of their patience and toleration, and work out, while in this humour, the vengeance he had treasured for some such moment. The barbarities perpetrated by Jefferies in the western counties, raised a general outcry of horror, and his name still lives in history as among the most inhuman of his species. Nevertheless James made this man chancellor; thus defying every moral sentiment, and plainly disclosing that the finer feelings had not been cultivated among the hardier and harsher elements of his nature. Did he suppose, that by such conduct he could annihilate or dismay the party then partially, though imperfectly, organized? One consisting not of a few broken and desperate nobles or gentry, but whose principles extended through the whole British nation, in union with a love for their country and religion; yet such seems to have been his hope, and in saying this, it is almost bringing against him an accusation of insanity, certainly of being ill advised and most traitorously counselled. The first speech after his accession was filled with the strongest expressions of respect for the established religion and laws of the realm, and the determination to uphold

them. In the second he declares, "I have a true English heart, as jealous of the honour of the nation as you can be; and please myself with the hopes, that (by God's blessing and your assistance) I may carry the reputation of it yet higher in the world than ever it has been in the time of any of my ancestors." Whether this was intended to smooth the way for his purposes, or conceal treachery already then concerted, or was the expression of his real feelings, is now hardly a question. It was the language of crafty dissimulation, covering designs that went to the overthrow of the constitution—to the convulsions and anarchy of civil war. Indeed, in looking at the character of this man, and his acts at the commencement of his reign, it is difficult to give a reason how the good sense and penetration of the people of Great Britain could have been so obscured by the infatuated love of royalty, or carried away, according to Hume, by the current setting in favour of the court. It was natural for them to rely on their sovereign's promises, and to conceive that for his own interests, he would not be so mad as to attempt inroads on what every parliament, and with it the whole nation, had shown, with the most unshrinking firmness, that they would never yield. Yet, in a few days after his accession to the throne, he displayed the disposition to act without parliamentary authority, by ordering certain portions of the revenue to be paid as heretofore, though these had been granted to the late king only during his life, and at his death were of course to fall under the control of the House of Commons. Hume does not pretend to justify this, though in James's Memoirs it is stated that an address was given in by the members of the Middle Temple, thanking him for this arbitrary proceeding, while the parliament paid no attention to the circumstance. However this may be, there must have been some shrewd observers, who could not augur favourably from an illegal act. The next instance of obstinate and self-willed folly, was, and must have been so considered by a large proportion of the well and ill disposed, a heinous offence and insult to the laws, institutions, and feelings of the nation. The doors of the chapel royal were thrown open, and the king attended mass, without an attempt or apparent desire to elude observation, and accompanied by the imposing array of Catholic emblems and regal insignia. Such was one of the first deeds of rashness and wilful audacity with this ill-fated monarch; and henceforth we are to look for no concession to public opinion, no conciliation of the irritable condition of public sentiment. Some might attribute this conduct to a detestation of hypocrisy, to a love of candour, and regard it as a highly estimable virtue, to adhere to his faith with the same rigour now he possessed power, as when under the depression of adversity. His faith was interwoven with his conscience, and however

policy might dictate, that it should not interfere with the affairs of the kingdom, yet he might conceive it degrading before God, to yield a point on personal or political grounds, which would endanger his future happiness, though not to do it was to provoke his ruin in this world.

To suppose a Stuart actuated by such high minded sentiments, is to suppose all bigots to feel the devotedness of martyrs. He suffered for his religion, not from principle but pride—not because he felt a satisfaction at being persecuted for its sake, but because it was a keen gratification to enjoy self adoration—this being one of the chief sources of delight with obstinate men, inasmuch as it increases the faculty of endurance in proportion to the vigour of the attack. Obstinacy is conquered by flattering its inflexibility, and subdued by an apparent submission to its will; but the British people love themselves or their freedom too well, to pay a superfluous admiration to tyranny or its projects, and James found the impatience of his subjects to be in the ratio of the measure of his exactions. No condition of the mind can be more vicious or dangerous than that induced by obstinacy. It limits the range and expansion of our views, restricts the exercise of our faculties, and has ruined the fortunes of as many individuals, and cast down as many thrones, as indecision or impetuosity. But in the present instance, the disposition with James, to force the Catholic religion on his subjects, because he was perversely stubborn in his adhesion to its doctrines, and strongly convinced of the salutary tendency of its tenets, was not only a feeble policy, but the infraction of a contract. He had come to the throne, not to avow or enforce certain religious dogmas, differing from those existing in the state, but with the understanding that these were now a part of the law of the land, and could not be touched without breaking in on the institutions he was called to support, and which he had most distinctly declared it was the wish of his heart to uphold. To what are we to attribute these direct assertions, founded on a knowledge of the compact between him and his subjects, and a course of action as directly opposed to this intelligence and those assertions? They can be attributed to nothing but a reckless determination to stand or fall by his creed, at any hazard to himself or kingdom. Even the Pope advised him to dismiss from his mind the unquestionably impracticable measure of introducing *Catholic* England into the bosom of the Catholic Church. It was sufficiently dangerous to be seated on a throne, beneath which his enemies, on other than religious scruples, had carried a mine, ready at a moment of heedlessness on his part, to scatter him and his race to the elements; but to fire the train with his own hand, was an extraordinary example of self destruction, with every warning given and every danger clearly traced. He

might have continued his reign, as did his brother, by respecting that which he had no right to offend; by confining his creed to himself, its rigorous demands to the satisfaction of his own conscience, and the hopes it gave of future salvation to his own soul, and permitting his subjects to secure in their own way the advantages of divine benevolence, more particularly as he was gifted with none of the sanctity of character belonging to a divine legate. It was then, too, well understood, that a king was no longer an ecclesiastical dictator, or head of the church; but an individual endowed with civil authority, and having only a certain degree of power for certain purposes, with the other departments of the government; all of which had been explained, been avowed in precept and demonstrated by example, and set forth to the world by the execution of Charles the First. At the moment his head was severed from his body, it was to declare that the power of the people is a sovereign power, answerable to no other tribunal than the one of their own creation.

Yet in defiance of this, Cromwell nearly established a despotism; Charles the Second dissembled his wish for the same thing; and the unwise, the indocile James, consummated his own destruction and the people's freedom, by attempting to erect the structure of an arbitrary dominion.

Besides endeavouring to innovate upon the established church, James succeeded, after considerable resistance and clamour, in raising a well disciplined and effective body of fourteen thousand men. This was another step towards popular detestation, which was carried to its height by the recommendation of the employment of Papists in offices of all descriptions.

Having gone through, with no fatal consequences, one stage of hypocrisy and one of folly, we now come to the time when he has to contend with the difficult task of enacting the two opposite characters required for those dramas; and there can be no hesitation in saying, that he will oftener be found wearing the many coloured garb appropriate to the one, than in the more precise array of sly tranquillity and cunning artifice, with the grasping ambition of a dissembler.

The revolts of Argyle and Monmouth had been crushed. The king mistook this success for an addition of power, and proposed to the parliament, who had witnessed his good fortune, and who had conceded to him the revenues granted to his brother, a bill containing the most obnoxious clauses. It was for the guarantee of the king's person, enumerating every act that could constitute treason. Each article of the bill terminated in the following manner:—"If any of these conspiracies, contrivances, imaginations, inventions, plots or intentions, are manifested, expressed or declared, by printing, writing, preaching, or by mischievous

and deliberate discourse, this individual or those individuals shall be declared traitors."

By this, under such dispensers of justice as Jefferies, every word escaping in the heat of conversation or intoxication, could become a death-warrant. But there followed a still severer clause—

"All persons who shall be legally convicted of having mischievously and designedly, by means of the press or pulpit, or by any other means, expressed or published, uttered or spoken any words, maxims or any thing else, tending to excite the people, or inspire them with hatred or ill will, whether against the person of his majesty, or the established government, shall be and are from this moment rendered incapable of obtaining any advancement, of possessing or exercising any place or ecclesiastical function, civil or military, as well as employment in church or state." To carry into effect such restrictions on the liberty of the subject, was not the intention of the House of Commons, as they evinced by adding—

"The spirit and letter of this act shall not be considered violated, by every person, who, by whatever means of publication, should defend and sustain, the doctrine, discipline, worship, and government of the English church, such as it is at the present day, by law established, against Catholicism, or against any other opinion of the noneconformists."

Thus granting a fair field to the members of the church of England, for attacks the most scurrilous and revengeful, on the religion and character of the king, while a nonconformer was denied the liberty of gratifying his prejudices. Another convincing proof that religion was to form the great aim of contention, and that the House of Commons were determined to enclose it within as many protecting defences as was in their power, was the trial and punishment of Oates. He had been convicted of perjury—of course the execution of Stafford and others, as connected with the popish plot, was deliberate murder, and the attainder should have been reversed. The bill brought into the House of Lords for this purpose, and passed, was rejected at the first reading by the House of Commons. Notwithstanding these demonstrations of the feeling of that house and of the country, James still rushed on with a fearless and fatal temerity.

At this time he appears openly to have expressed a disposition to rid himself of inquisitive and tenacious parliaments. With this design he determined to secure the aid of Louis. Barillon, the French minister at the court of St. James, endowed too with the usual love of intrigue and diplomatic skill of Frenchmen, had in his possession at that moment a large sum, which James most anxiously urged him to give up. Louis would not permit it, and in a letter to his minister, says: "I have sent these funds to

aid the King of England in his projects for the Catholic religion, and since he does not think that he ought, though the present moment is favourable, to demand the repeal of the penal laws and the free exercise of our religion, I do not wish to urge him at the hazard of being refused in a matter of such importance."

James wrote with his own hand to Barillon, explaining and developing all his plans; and never before did monarch avow such a systematic design of destruction to the laws and established policy of his country. Yet it may be doubted whether he did not desire rather to possess the money, than bring contempt and ruin on himself by being placed at the mercy of a stranger. There is nothing however in his character to authorize the supposition, but the matter may be rather referred to the crafty collusion of the Earl of Sunderland and the Prince of Orange, who were at that early time plotting the overthrow of the King of England. Yet that James was capable of the basest hypocrisy, is manifested at the close of the letter to Barillon, mentioned above.—"I have been educated in France. I have eaten the bread of her king; my heart is all French, and your master can neither doubt my inviolable attachment to his person, nor my devotion to his interests." Such language as this could hardly have been dictated by the same impulses, which in his speech directed the assertion that his heart was all English. But James was at this time bending over a precipice. Complicated deceit and clashing interests, had enveloped him in a web, which he had neither the penetration to discover, nor the instinctive prudence or sagacity that should have traced its origin, and led to its avoidance. He was thrown into a condition of imagined security, and confiding self complacency; by the wonderful art of his confidant and counsellor, Sunderland; and it will hereafter appear, that every measure he adopted from this moment, was at the suggestion of that man, whose ambition impelled him to elevate himself at the hazard of his country's disgrace, and his master's ruin. He entered into the king's designs on the church, and was as eager to supplant it, and introduce the Catholic. "I know not," he writes to Barillon, "whether things are seen in France as they really are here, but I defy those who look at them closely not to recognise the will and inclination of the king. I will go farther.—His majesty can, according to good sense and right reason, have no other end than the establishment of the Catholic religion. Without that, it will never be safe. It will always be exposed to the indiscreet zeal of those who heat the people against the Roman church, whilst it will never be entirely established in England. But one thing is certain, that thing can succeed only by the strictest alliance with your master. It is a project which belongs to him, and can succeed but through him. Every other person will oppose it openly, or traverse the design secretly. You well know

it is against the interests of the Prince of Orange—but he will never be in a condition to prevent it, if it is conducted by France as it should be.”

This however was only to blind Barillon to the designs of the British ministry, who were then signing a treaty with the States that became the first development of the wars and revolutions of which Europe has been the theatre.

There are sometimes in politics as well as in the common affairs of life, changes and movements made, which appear to be founded on mature deliberation ; but, as if by a designed counteraction, to show the fallibility of thought and imbecility of human will, are resolved into the most dangerous commotions, and unhappiest of enterprises. The mind can see things in the distance, and fancy them of easy attainment, have a clear conception of their utility, and conviction of their practicability.— Yet the first attempt towards their execution, is like removing a single plank from a dam—the mass of water gushes through the opening and destroys the entire work. It was thus with the designs of the able statesmen of the year 1685.—As we stand beyond the barriers of that age, affected it may be by its events, yet mixed up neither with its prejudices nor the working of its springs, we are enabled to take a sedate general view of all the affairs enacted, and in a retrospect, we are struck with the inconsiderate and ill-judged conduct of the man whom all historians denominate great. He appears however to have been great, rather from the imposing splendour of his deeds, than from the solid advantages of their results. Military fame is at all times the most dazzling glory that can be attached to a name, and ensures more real power, and brilliancy of reputation, than any other end ambition seeks. But when kings make it their stake, human vision is not piercing enough to descry imperfections in their characters or in its nature. The judgment is but an humble faculty beside an excited imagination. If it were not so, conquerors and heroes would revolve in a lower sphere, and rank along with other men, and would not be regarded as mighty in intellect, because they were victorious, nor as deserving of honour and immortality, because a selfish end was served by the waste of human life. Yet success is with the world the test of ability. The million of chances that have operated to fulfil a project, or the million that have crushed our efforts, are disregarded, while to have achieved the intention is sufficient proof that the means were well managed and the best. But it is not so. Misfortune is as often the attendant of genius and energy as its opposite, though both flag from the exhaustion of fruitless exertion, while the heavy hand of disappointment disables the exercise of will ; and he who has once been cast into the wretched condition of seeing that all that he can do or has done still leaves

him at a distance from his purpose, feels that the mind dismisses its powers as hope escapes. The next step from this is generally the consummation of an individual's ruin, for there is no more fearful condition than that in which desperation succeeds disappointment, and the understanding must be of iron, to look composedly upon the broken fragments of its toil, and see the whole edifice of its plans sink in decay and dilapidation. This is the severest trial a human being knows, and calls for more philosophy than has been granted to our inheritance of life. To endure with patience is almost divine, but it gives no relief, and rather multiplies the pangs of agony; while to complain, whether a weakness or not, is consistent with our nature, and the voice of comfort responds to the curses or the moanings of a grieved spirit. But when we play the game of fortune, and set our hopes upon its casts, reverses must be summed among our calculations, else we become its sport, not its guide; and force of character can often compel chance to turn in our favour, and either stay a calamity or lessen its weight. If our aspirations, our efforts, and our capacity were duly apportioned the one to the other, disappointment and misfortune would then fall with so just a balance, that we could meet either without being overwhelmed. But the vision of the fancy has a farther ken than that of the intellect, and soars to a greater height, enabling us to view objects, and almost feel that we can grasp them, which no power is given us to reach, while even their loss is partly compensated by the conscious greatness of the attempt. The human mind is so eager for excitement, that a great reverse nearly equals a great success, and he who leaves the field of battle, pursuing victory, or chased by ill fortune, carries nearly a similar interest. The imagination finds food in both events. Their termination, all that preceded, and the result, come up at once, precluding an accurate estimate of accidents, and how far fortune was the chief instrument, or most active agent. It is this play of the imagination that gives the soldier his honours and his name; while the statesman must seek the same from the labour of greater mental exertion, and be satisfied with less renown from his contemporaries, however enduring it may be among posterity. But it would be better if men regarded only the amount of happiness secured, and awarded their praise in proportion to this, rather than be dazzled by victory without consequences, or the empty glories of a conqueror, which serve but to illuminate the tedious details of a remote era, and excite a momentary glow over the dull page of a nation's annals.

Louis the Fourteenth had engrossed for years the attention of Europe, and by his pride and power roused the envy and embittered the malice of a host of enemies. He had fomented dissension in every quarter, trampled on the weak, and attacked the

unguarded. His ambition, accompanied by the usual contempt of justice, and disregard of the rights of other nations, was unbounded in design and unhesitating in execution; upheld as it was, too, by the energies and resources of the French people, it hardly appears extravagant for him to have aimed at, and presumed on attaining universal dominion.

Europe then, however, possessed several men who were beyond their age in political sagacity; and however debased the general condition of the people, they were willing to rush to arms at the voice of those they had learnt to respect and obey. Armies of great size could thus be easily formed, and continued in the field, till, as was generally the case, both parties became weary of the contest and sued for peace. Louis had been looked upon as the arbiter of the destinies of the continent, working all its cabinets at his pleasure, but with a haughty disdain, that concentrated their hatred, which awaited only an occasion and a leader to burst out to the overthrow of the whole structure of his power. He well knew this design, and manœuvred to preserve his sway. The entire force of his mind was required, as a powerful enemy was fast attracting the interest of rival states. The influence of the Prince of Orange was rising and making itself felt in every part, and it was at length conceived that a protector and defender was found, to consummate the general wish of staying the encroaching authority of the French monarch. William was endowed with more genius than Louis; as much ambition, but less ostentation; more art, and energies more enduring and persevering. Being too a Protestant, he could but abhor the nation that had persecuted with such fury the religion he had adopted, and it appears to have been his intention, from an early period, to attempt all that was possible against France. With this spirit he was only awaiting the flood of fortune and circumstance to set towards him, in a fuller and more certain stream, that he might then try, after having secured every suggestion that prudence dictated, what were the depths and shallows of its tide.

The preponderating weight of Louis's influence could not be kept up, unless by restricting the other powers to their present limits. Austria was at all times an enemy to be dreaded, as France has found in our own day; the people being ready to lose all in defence of the imperial family, and though apparently at one moment nearly crushed, yet at the next, appearing on the field in larger armies, made up of desperate and devoted men. This was the power which had struggled against France, almost for existence, well knowing that nothing could prevent her annihilation but an alliance with some other nation—capable, thus united, of maintaining a balance in despite of Louis. Spain was exhausted and driven from the field, so that there remained none but the Protestant nations on whom to rely, they being the na-

tural enemies of France from religious prejudice, and the desire of retaining and establishing their religion. Austria was mistress in 1630 of Spain, Portugal, and the wealth of America—the Low Countries, kingdom of Naples, Milan, Bohemia, Hungary, and Germany; “and if,” says Voltaire, “so many states had been united under one chief of that house, Europe would have been enslaved.” This force had been diminished by rivalry among the smaller states, and by the occupation of the throne of Spain by a Bourbon. Austria, England, and the German Empire, with Holland, were thus the only nations remaining that were capable of resisting the genius and fortune of the French king. Richelieu had overwhelmed the first both by policy and arms. England, under Cromwell, assisted France through the offer of Dunkirk, while the Empire was divided by religious quarrels, and Holland was regarded with contempt from her inferiority in land forces. The death of the protector was an additional piece of good fortune for Louis, and the restoration of Charles gave him every facility for succeeding in his plans, by this king’s base reception of a bribe under the mortifying form of a pension. So far every thing appeared to harmonize with the scheme of making all Europe but one France. But it was at length determined to invade Holland, and thus perfect the system that was so near its close. This invasion brought out the lustre of a mind, glowing with high designs and patriotic feeling. The star of the Prince of Orange arose from amidst the ruins of his country. Foreign troops occupied every town—lay entrenched among the dykes, and were fast bringing under their dominion the whole soil. It was resolved, even at the hazard of their own destruction, to preserve their freedom. The sluices were opened, and a general inundation swept away all that it met; yet liberty was preserved, and the conqueror compelled to retire before a foe that had desolated the object of his labours, and wrenched from him the last obstacle to his hopes. Fortune had turned against him. Turenne, Condé, were no more; and the only mind capable of supporting or appreciating his vast plans, was that of Louvois, who, with his master, was the sole remaining wonder of the age. So that the battle field of genius, presented only the remains of minds able to resist the progress, cope with the strength, or obscure the brilliant career, now opening, of the Prince of Orange. This condition of things reversed the scene of affairs; instead of Louis, it was now William the Stadtholder of Holland, a country but lately held in contempt, and only raised from among the filth of its dykes and dams by the liberal feelings of an extended commerce, who was to become the arbiter of the destinies of Europe. His court was filled with the representatives of most of the great nations, who now saw an opportunity by which to free themselves from the heavy weight of French tyranny and ambition,

to secure their own fate from becoming the property, their interests from being the sacrifice of a restless desire of conquest and inextinguishable love of glory. But William had other designs than the mere curtailing of French authority. He had already conceived the project of securing a throne that could give him greater independence of action, and place him in a position to aid or oppose any nation. By a marriage with the niece of Charles the Second, he strengthened his alliance with England, and as the Duke of York was without male offspring, made himself the heir apparent of the British crown. This was effected by Charles, with the hope of engaging the prince in his councils, and was assented to by James on other grounds. The prince yielded easily to the scheme, without undeceiving them as to the mistake of the supposed pliancy of his character; judging from his own observation, or the sagacious foresight of others, that changes would occur, which must alter the present political relations of people with their governments. He thus brought about an event, that at once revolutionized the entire face of Europe, renovated the decaying liberties of Great Britain, broke up the arbitrary disposition of crowns, and gave an impulse to public opinion which has not yet ceased to vibrate powerfully throughout the earth. It was the second of a chain of revolutions, which, however destructive to the temporary value of human interests, still advance the cause of free institutions. Such has been the result of one of those political convulsions, borne on by an immense force, to which human foresight can trace no bounds. They resemble the floods that nature lets loose to fulfil some necessary law, it may be to preserve, though the effect is to destroy—to create, though they appear only to ruin—and thus, amid the desolation and dismemberment of ancient forms, to prepare a soil where may flourish other opinions and freer principles.

This was the relative condition of the powers of Europe. The death of Charles broke in on the policy of Louis, not that the character of his successor rendered him less likely to enter into the views of the French king, but that the death of a king of England always reanimates the hopes and adds excitement to the feelings of antagonist parties. New interests raise new demands, and the course of conduct of a private citizen, though heir to the crown, does not guaranty a continuance of the same, when he feels the independence and sway of power. Charles was endeared to his subjects by his qualities as a man, which never demanded nor received the cold respect and distant admiration that are generally considered as attached to the dignity of a crowned head. He loved ease and pleasure, but by his good humoured indolence, his unaffected inclination towards every species of gaiety and amusement, though vicious, at times outrageous,

he enlisted in his favour, not the prejudices of the virtuous, the energy of a sound and pure morality, or the sentiments of admiration and devotion that we cast at the feet of splendid ambition, but the more cheerful and ever active feelings of the lower orders. They loved him, because he made himself appear one of themselves. James was of another disposition. He had held out sternly in an adherence to the Catholic Church, backed by the bigotry of a Jesuit. The people of England knew that no inducement would lead him to yield the point of his own salvation for the good of his subjects. They were amazed and overjoyed at his assurances of supporting the established religion, and the guarantee offered for their liberties. They heard all without a suspicion, until one act after another unfolded his schemes, turning affection and confidence to distrust and dislike.

While the minds of the British nation were thus fermenting over their grievances, with the press and the pulpit carrying dismay to their very firesides, and lashing them to fury with the thought that the kings of France and England had conspired to overthrow the Protestant Church, erect arbitrary power, and lay in a general ruin the entire structure of their civil institutions, by one of those blind fatalities, that often enclose our sphere of action, and which the calm reflection of posterity can only attribute to some of the violent and fitful shiftings of despair and irresolution, or the decrees of destiny, the French cabinet revoked the edict of Nantes. The world was aghast, the Protestants regarded it as the hour of their execution, and the weak nations shrunk with terror; but the Prince of Orange saw the hour was come to unfold the reserved strength of his great designs, and the people of England did not hesitate to sacrifice and risk all for the state, to incur even war and revolution.

Men too often decide on particular points by their immediate bearing on their individual interests. Few study or regard the great relations by which all affairs are connected; and there is no stronger proof of a difference between the capacity of two persons, than that the one brings into one view the past, present, and future, while the other temporizes, and is incapable of seeing results beyond those directly succeeding a certain cause. It is the power of rapidly combining the various parts of a subject, and carrying all their consequences into the object designed, that gives clearness of perception, vigour of thought—that entitles a man to the claim of greatness. But neither Louis nor Louvois were such men. They could only have acted from the pressure of circumstances, or the despair we feel when conscious of being invested by a chain of affairs, resembling a battery of loaded cannon, which the first movement on our part will induce the enemy to discharge. We are often placed in this extremity, when inaction, though accompanied by suspense and doubt, is the safer

policy ; while to act, is to strike the first blow for our own destruction.

Louis adopted the latter alternative. His temper was too haughty to endure the idea, that after dictating, as a conqueror, to Europe, he was to await composedly the attack of those whom he despised as inferiors. There appears no excuse for the barbarous decree, revoking the edict of Nantes, except the victory of circumstances over the foresight and caution of two men, who were attempting to control the civilized world, and amass for themselves a degree of glory, as vast as the resources which made it appear an easy attainment. They seem to have mistaken strength of prejudice for intensity of volition, and conceived the power they felt within themselves to be reflected from the weakness around them. It is no uncommon thing for men to draw false inferences of their capacity, from the regard the world gives them, or from some happy effort, which has gained applause by the seasonableness of its execution, not by the ability it displays, creating a false estimate of talent that lessens or saps future exertion.

This step of Louis relieved the king of England from much embarrassment. He now conceived, that he could more openly, with greater strength and a chance of better success, continue his practices in favour of the Catholic religion, and while Europe was silent and amazed, emulate the conduct of the French monarch. But he forgot that England was a Protestant country, and that to act on such an idea, would only increase the hostility of other nations, who already regarded him as the servant of Louis, and throw into the hands of the Prince of Orange a still greater power to be directed against him and France. The moment was inauspicious for the display of his designs. The French Protestants, carrying with them their tale of suffering, excited the rage of England. Yet in the midst and in defiance of this expression of feeling, Jefferies was made chancellor; while the wavering policy of James destroyed the confidence of his interested ally, who did not hesitate to deceive him as soon as he found that all obstacles were not at once put aside, or that James concealed any motives for delaying the great enterprise of establishing the Catholic religion. He, therefore, ordered his ministers to intimate to the most active leaders of parliament, that they had nothing to fear from France; and at the same time urged the king to fulfil his intentions, making use of the following crafty language:—"Take every occasion that shall present, dexterously to insinuate to the King of England, the interest he has in employing his authority to establish the Catholic religion, and not to let it any longer be exposed to all those penal laws, made against it in preceding reigns." This change in Louis arose from the deceitful conduct of James in attempting to

form relations with Spain and the States General, without his knowledge ; also, indirectly to blame the "severities exercised against the Calvinists, to exculpate the Jesuits, and throw the odium on Madame Maintenon and the Archbishop of Paris." He also thought that it concealed a project of leaguings with his enemies, if the parliament that was just going to meet were liberal, or of imitating the vacillating and venal policy of Charles the Second. But the King of England, who had no desire to be the slave of either his parliament or Louis, wished to make use of both in acquiring the means of founding his system of absolute power. The source of James's contradictory conduct, was the ascendancy gained over him by Father Peter, a Jesuit, who was, in fact, a creature of Sunderland's, though this was not known to Peter himself, nor even suspected by James. There were, too, from the same cause, breaches between several of the members of his cabinet, whose ambitious and artful manœuvres thwarted all the views of the king, while they apparently coincided with his plans ; and Halifax, whom James had caressed for his opposition to the Exclusion bill, in the preceding reign, was turned out for expressing an opinion against some of his intentions. At the meeting of the second parliament, James appeared to have reached the end of all his wishes ; but his own vanity and pride marred the opportunity, and lessened the energies and exertions of his friends by ruining their hopes. The Catholics, who had committed their cause to him, and who had entered with the utmost eagerness into its advancement, saw at last that the king's impetuous and self-willed folly was fast breaking up the ground of every expectation. There were many among them, to whom England, the land of their birth, and her institutions, were more endeared than the supremacy of the Church of Rome. They were willing to dare much, and hazard every thing which did not tend to civil war and the destruction of the constitution ; but when they saw the king urged by desperation to extremes, reckless of consequences and disregarding the counsels of the more prudent, though equally zealous, the Catholic party divided, and the more cautious withdrew. Their anticipations of an unhappy result were almost fulfilled by the opening words of the king's speech, in which he expressed to parliament his wish to put down the militia, and declared his intention to employ Catholics in the army. This was a virtual dispensing with the penal laws and test act, and could but excite the bitter indignation of both branches of the legislature, which was increased by the demand for a subsidy to keep up the standing army. The debates in the House of Commons were violent against the project, and it was thrown out by a great majority. The House of Lords were equally violent, and Jefferies, who undertook its defence, was silenced by the fiercest expressions of contempt and horror.

The Commons, in their address, did not agree with the king's wish, that Catholics should be allowed to serve; and James was rash enough to return a haughty reply to this mild mode of expressing their decided determination—even sending to the Tower a member of the house, who had given, unreservedly, what was the concealed feeling of the whole. The general dissatisfaction, that must have been too evident to James, left him no hope that the usual mode of allaying the excitement by a prorogation would produce a turn in his favour; and Barillon, in a letter to Louis, says, it would probably have no other effect than to increase the discontent. While in this dilemma, another of his cabinet deserted him—Sunderland, to whom all the views of James were known, entered the service of Louis for a bribe of sixty thousand pounds. Even the Pope did not recognise the actions of James, but appeared desirous of avoiding all intercourse, though he was opposed to France, and wished to unite James with him in thwarting Louis. At this critical moment, the learning of the Church of England began to be awakened to the designs of the king against its interests. Tillotson, Sherlock, Tension, in the first rank, and a host of strong but inferior spirits, attacked and worried, by every method in their power, the Catholic and court party. This is the first instance of the wonderful effect of that great engine the press, in itself a fearful weapon, but combined with the lofty and commanding energies of the pulpit, altogether irresistible. Still, religion was here, as it is generally, but a pretext, while politics were the entire source of the controversy. When opposed, their conflict may distract a kingdom, but when united they shake thrones and dis sever nations. James must now have felt his power to be fast failing. He had exhausted himself in ineffectual attempts, and was possessed of neither force of character nor resources to bear up against such foes as the pulpit and the press—"the one terrible in its hostility, armed as it is with a legal inviolability and a respect for its sacred functions, the other always the feeble auxiliary of authority, but ever inexorable as its enemy." James, or his cabinet, may indeed be excused for not knowing the whole force of this organ of liberty and passion. It had never before been roused, and now came forward to assert rights, about which there was still a dispute whether they were not justly invaded by the king. The particular privileges of the throne, law, and people, had not been so clearly discerned or defined, as to endow an encroachment on them with the dangers and criminality of an usurpation. Acts of parliament had been passed which were the laws of the land; but kings had not yet sufficiently experienced the vengeance of an outraged nation, to make them satisfied with what was acknowledged as theirs, and to pause before they attempted to gain more by encroaching on their subjects' rights. The parliamentary decrees confirming

these, had been so lately inlaid with the constitution, as to make it doubtful with some minds, whether they were not interpolations, rather than essential parts. It must have been a sentiment of this kind, that induced James to defy the religion and laws of England; to rest on his own will, guided, as afterwards appeared, by bad counsel, and assume to himself a freedom of action, founded on no experience in the chicanery of politics, or intimacy with the complex and intricate movements of a government—one, too, at that moment struggling with its own weakness and rival hostility, and but lately emerged from a contest involving its existence. There was then an elementary war going on among many of the oldest polities. The entire structure of some was falling in pieces, and changes and revolutions were overwhelming those that had stood for ages in the pride and consequence of despotic power. The problem was solving by time, what was the form of government that could endure the longest—the one held by the grasping dominion of a single person, or that cherished by freedom. A despotism may exist by the force of arms or the apathy of slavery. The genius of one man may blend glory with a nation's history, but it seldom confirms the rights or adds to the power of a people. Military rapacity and civil order cannot co-exist, and conquest oftener destroys than establishes constitutions—neither the world nor a country derive advantage, after one of those moral scourges, a conqueror, has united his own fame with the humiliation of mankind.

Another mode that James conceived at this time, or those intending his downfall, to forward the great work of establishing the Catholic religion, was to dispense directly with the test act and penal laws. The dispensing power was a dangerous matter to discuss, in a country sensitive as England then was, for it immediately brought up the question, how could the king dispense with a law that was as binding on him as his subjects? The making of laws belonged to the parliament, and if he took upon himself to dispense with a law, it was to abrogate it, and to do this was an act of arbitrary power, virtually erecting a despotism. Yet the judges of the King's Bench, before whom the king's right of exerting the dispensing power was brought, decided in his favour, with only one dissenting opinion. With this formal sanction of the great law authorities, the king could no longer hesitate as to his course, and he at once commenced filling every office with Catholics. To fulfil the design of overturning the church, it was decided to gain the consent of Scotland to put aside the test act, and at the same time to place Ireland beneath Catholic power. If this had been done, a separation of the two countries had been easy; but it was the fate of Ireland to continue a monument of iniquitous legislation.

“Ireland, a name that awakens so many recollections of oppression, injustice, and massacres, continued through ages, so strongly allied to the history of the revolution that overthrew the Stuarts, and even to the present existence of England—Ireland, that land doomed for so long a time to servitude, degradation, and misery, that land which yet presents the picture of primitive rudeness, by the side of the great, majestic, even excessive civilization of England—Ireland, whence shall part at the will of France, the thunderbolt that shall lay low its merciless sovereign, is so little known at the present day even to Europe, that it will not be useless to display this painful phenomenon of a nation oppressed, in despite of the laws of justice, and enslaved by a people that affect and proclaim unceasingly the law of civil liberty.”
—Mazure.

The forming of a camp at Hounslow, was another instance of his daring defiance of public opinion. The officers and privates were of opposite religions, and the latter were incited by pamphlets to such a state of insubordination, as to be ready at any moment to march against the king. “*Mais à l’aspect d’un autel Catholique dans son camp, cette brillante armée cessa d’être l’armée du Roi, et sous la tente chaque soldat se promettoit de ne pas subir le joug de ce qu’il nommoit le paganisme*” —Mazure. As an additional excitement to popular feeling, chapels were built, and priests and monks walked the streets in the dresses of their orders. The French refugees increased this excited feeling, by the display of their condition, and execrations against Louis. A book too, containing some severe remarks on the King of France, was ordered to be burnt by the hangman. Even Jefferies represented this as an extraordinary measure, since the work was neither written nor printed in England: to which the king replied, “*dogs defend each other, when one of their number is attacked. Kings should do as much.* Besides, I have reasons for not permitting such a libel on the King of France to be current in my kingdom.” An expression that was taken by the people as an implied satisfaction at the persecution of the Protestants, though Louis himself was displeased with his minister for demanding of James the burning of the pamphlet, and wrote to him—“*I do not wish you to take any step to cause this writing to be burnt, nor to prevent its translation into English. Books of this sort, generally lose their credit by paying but little attention to them, and are only sought for on account of the anxiety to suppress them.*” An attempt was made to collect subscriptions for the refugees, which James ordered to be stopped, wishing to please Louis by showing an eagerness to aid his views; and Bonrepaus was sent to engage some of the exiles to return to France, to restore to their native country the profits of their industry, and withdraw them from a land that they enriched, or where they

were objects of commiseration. This minister found, as he states, all the affairs of the kingdom to turn upon religion, and the king governed by the Catholics. The Pope's Nuncio was in correspondence with all the Catholics in the cabinet, though it was doubted if the Pope would sanction any attempt by the king and his party to effect their purpose, if violence were necessary or civil war a consequence. Yet affairs were in such a state, that Barillon declares: "They would attempt here, what was done in France, if there was a hope of success," and it was designed to convert the second daughter of the king, to exclude the Protestant heir to the crown. "*De ce moment, le prince d'Orange prit ses mesures pour l'avenir.*" With all these causes of difference and bad feeling, on every side, James plunged into a dispute with the church, on the subject of the bishop of London, and an ecclesiastical commission was formed for the purpose of throwing more influence over the church into the hands of the king. This commission was an instrument of tyranny almost as great as the star chamber. It had soon an opportunity to try its powers, and the sentiments of the people. A sermon delivered by a popular preacher, was denounced as a satire on the king, and the bishop of London ordered to eject him from his living, which he declined doing, unless warranted by proper authority. This roused the indignation of the court against him, and the commission proceeded to their duties as guardians of ecclesiastical concerns. The archbishop of Canterbury refused to assist, denying the right of laymen to decide on church affairs. This was of great injury to the king, and completed the division between him and the church: the people too shared in the feeling, as the bishop, who was suspended during the king's pleasure, was regarded as a sacrifice to Catholic hatred, and became of course unboundedly popular.

It was at this time that the French minister attempted to increase the animosity between James and the Prince of Orange. The latter had always paid his father-in-law some respect, and each had observed towards the other the civilities and courtesies due from one independent power to another, and from one relative to another. The suspicions of the prince were easily excited as to the succession, and this was the great point that the Catholic party wished to decide, which France was desirous of mooting, and that both James and William conceived to be the greatest source of contention, as well as the most difficult of settlement. It involved all the prince cherished, as an ambitious man, but he well knew that it was the very point which would at once rouse the fiercest opposition with all interested, and might, by some turn of fortune, lead to his injury. He was informed of the measures taken by James or his cabinet, for the conversion of the Princess of Denmark, which could not but satisfy him as to

the objects of James, and the necessity there was of hastening his own plans; and it is probable that not long after, the determination was formed to invade England, and the conspiracy to carry it into effect arranged. Barillon laboured to get from James a decided opinion, as to whether the Prince of Orange was to succeed to the throne. But James always replied that there was no question with him on the subject; the succession was not with him to confirm or put aside; it was a matter settled by Heaven, but he knew full well, that enemies were labouring to raise doubts with the prince, and ruin one or both. He was right; as it was clearly the interest and intention of Louis to play off one against the other, and produce such confusion in their affairs, as to facilitate his designs on the rest of Europe. But William was not a man to be deceived by political manœuvres. It was as easy for him to seize the intentions of another, as to establish his own; and like all able conspirators he never allowed his plans to appear as if decided on or ready to be acted on, but as if his movements were the consequences of his enemy's. Such conduct shows deep sagacity, as it preserves a defensive position, and a readiness to act as circumstances prescribe, without being obliged to derange or alter the original purpose. The situation of James seems at this time to have been beyond human subtlety to comprehend. He could not understand why a foreign power, acting on his own principles, of the same religion, and who had thrown a fire-brand into every cabinet in Europe, should yet desire to destroy the only individual who had the same wishes, and was willing to adopt all his views, and enter into all his plans. Nor could he see why his own son-in-law was working his overthrow, when he was necessarily heir to the crown. Nor why a portion of his Catholic advisers urged one set of measures, and another the opposite, since both had the same interests at stake. Nor how the chief man of his cabinet could plot against him, at the time that he entered with such activity and earnestness into all his feelings and designs—and by such conduct, could of course hope for nothing from an enemy. Such a knot of perplexities was never before offered to a king, yet a single hint to any but an obstinate man, would have unsettled the devices, artifices, and schemes, that were forming around him a light but secure net, and entrapping him by the allurements of flattery. If a sincere opinion could have reached him in a form to attract notice he might have been saved, or some honest advice urging him to follow, not thwart public will, to obey, not attempt to subdue the voice of the people. But he pursued his system of futile innovation, and instead of retracting or hesitating, became every day bolder. He did not remember, that in England as in all old countries, the people live on traditionary recollections, that every feeling is fixed in

an attachment to the past, and that to urge them to surrender a right, is to raise with them further demands for its security.

“In a country where the laws and public opinion have a real and sovereign power, since their organs are powerful, it is a dangerous experiment to tempt the honour and conscience of men by base offers of advantage. A prince can never wound or corrupt with impunity that which is noble in the heart of man.” He who uses the interests of men as the sole instruments for stimulating them to exertion, may succeed in his selfish ends while he has any thing to offer, or they any thing to gain by suberviency to his views. But when this control ceases, there is a terrible reaction, and demoralization ensues from all practices on human virtue. The unprincipled and ambitious see but the common path by which men can be brought to serve their purposes, and the extent of unfortunate consequences is in proportion to their abilities, and the magnitude of their plans. With such men, talent is the standard of merit, and a ready submission the measure of utility. In their hour of misfortune, in looking on the ruins of their empire of hopes, they miss one of the consolations of fallen greatness, a virtuous conscience, and find retorted on themselves their own lessons, in the perfidious desertion of those whose worth and reputation were but the emanations of their glory. James was thus made the tool of the more cunning, and in every more open violation of the laws of England pursued the course his enemies designed. In trying to suspend the penal laws, he irritated the feelings of a country where all things give way to law and precedent, and where, from the force of existing prejudices, innovations on any established forms or principles is revolution. But James was not startled at this dilemma. He determined to struggle to secure his object, not with the resolution of an energetic mind, but with the perverse will of obstinacy; and some further attacks on the church inflamed the nation still more. While he was thus engaged in domestic affairs, his rival was adding to his fame and increasing his strength. A league had been made by the Prince with some other powers, to prevent any further aggrandizement by the ambition of Louis. The King of France had now the larger portion of Europe against him, and William was burning to head the large army preparing to attack France, as the means of adding to his importance and diminishing that of Louis. James should have seen that it was impossible for him to remain neutral, yet he regarded nothing but his own ends, and at the same time continued his quarrels with the church, embroiling himself also with the universities, while he was warned by Louis of the impracticability of establishing the Catholic religion without the aid of parliament, and that the idea of engrossing all authority was chimerical.

James opened a controversy with the Universities, by endea-

vouring to break through some of their regulations concerning Catholics. The attacks upon these powerful and popular institutions, were the most dangerous he had yet made. They displayed to his own party that he was weak, and to the nation that there was no safety for their religion; stimulated the Church to the most violent exertions, and gave an impulse to the outcries and indignation of every enemy. But all that he now undertook was mortifying to his pride as a sovereign, and to his feelings as a man. He felt the necessity of conciliating the King of France at the expense of his dignity—of showing his subjects that all connexion between them was dissolved—that their interests were divided, and all sympathy removed.

At the commencement of his reign, he began his public acknowledgment of pontifical authority, and he now proved that his submission was unreserved, in permitting the Nuncio to make a public appearance, with the insignia of his privileges, while he and his queen knelt before him:—and of this act of degradation, both personal and national, James boasted to the French minister.

“The king, your master, will, without doubt, learn with pleasure, that a Catholic Prelate has been publicly honoured at my court; and on leaving Barillon, again said, you see I omit nothing in my power: I hope the king, your master, will assist me, and that, together, we shall do great things for our religion. The Spanish minister openly expressed astonishment at the concourse of priests in the habits of their orders. But, demanded the king, is it not the custom in Spain for kings to consult their confessors? Undoubtedly, replied Don Roquillo, and it is for that reason our affairs are so badly managed.”—Mazure, Vol. iii.

The Nuncio himself was an unwilling actor in this insolent outrage, and at that time James’s envoy at the Court of Rome, was exposing his own folly and that of his master, so as to call down the indignation of the Pope. While James was thus frustrating his own plans, the Prince was proceeding in a direct course to his object, concealing, however, every intention beneath an impenetrable mystery. Every thing tended to the ruin of James. Even his own instruments betrayed him, and his ministers, who discovered that they were on the losing side, were securing their fortunes in the reward of their treachery.

“Sunderland demanded of Barillon his semi-annual bribe in advance, as if he foresaw that each payment would probably be the last. D’Abbeville received from the Count Davaux two thousand pounds, and the first clerk of the admiralty surrendered, for a hundred guineas, all the state secrets; whilst Father Peter persisted, in the hope of a cardinal’s hat, in precipitating his unfortunate sovereign on the most hazardous designs.”—Mazure, Vol. iii.

This is the common picture of human nature, when circum-

stances subserve our interests, when danger drives men to cowardly expedients, and the dread and excitement of the moment suppress every feeling but those attached to the individual. The effect was the same among sects bearing towards each other a deadly hostility. The Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, and Quakers, though in collision with the Church of England, and disposed to revenge by the bitter and unintermitted persecution they had endured from that proud hierarchy, yet joined with her in the common cause of expelling the Catholics. It was not from the love of truth, nor because they conceived their religion to be the true one, nor from a magnanimous desire of preserving their liberties; but because it would have been dangerous to trust a king who spurned all other forms of worship but his own. It was for their interest to destroy the man, and they threw aside mutual discontents to combine for their own sakes. The king felt that he was now utterly deserted, and could confide in no one.

"The king of England," writes Bonrepaus, in his despatches to Louis, "appears unhappy at having no one on whom he can rely; but he would be still more so, if he saw all that others see. His ministers are looking to his successor, as if he were already at the gates of London, and could compel them to render an account of all they have done against the laws and the crown. The king pretends, that he has attempted to maintain the royal prerogative—the Prince of Orange replies, that the suppression of the penal laws and test act destroys entirely the authority of the king, in calling the republicans to the government—and on this ground he calls to account those who yield to the will of his Britannic majesty, with an audacity that would enrage men bred in the respect and love of their legitimate king."—Mazure, Vol. iii.

The mind of the British public was now prepared for the coming of the Prince of Orange. The nation felt that the present state could not last. The king was a prisoner in his dominions, and thus bereft of power and forsaken by public opinion—his fall must be near. A rival, too, was in the field, who did not come as a stranger, but already shared some of those feelings of attachment which were claimed as of right by the *legitimate* monarch. When he at length arrived, there was no resistance; James had been warned by the King of France, that the preparations then making in the ports of Holland were to be directed against England. But a false and fatal idea of security, or an obstinate pride, seems to have betrayed him into incredulity, on all the rumours that reached him concerning the prince's designs; and till the landing of the Dutch troops, James's perceptions were not cleared to the full view of his total destruction. He was thus a victim to his own policy. He mistook the age. He placed himself beyond his father's time, and without the power

of being impressed by his example. The republican spirit that brought the one to the block had gained strength; it had become less violent, but more fixed in its purposes—sterner, but from the consciousness of its force more disposed to forgive. He did not see that it was the natural result of the institutions of England, and had not been weakened by exhausting burdens or extended corruption; but that its purity rendered its exercise more open and more to be dreaded—its vigour better directed, and more irresistible.

ART. VIII.—ABOLITION OF NEGRO SLAVERY.

- 1.—*Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831–32, on the Abolition of Slavery.* Richmond.
- 2.—*Letter of Appomattox to the People of Virginia on the subject of the Abolition of Slavery.* Richmond.

IN looking to the texture of the population of our country, there is nothing so well calculated to arrest the attention of the observer as the existence of negro slavery throughout a large portion of the confederacy; a race of people differing from us in colour and in habits, and vastly inferior in the scale of civilization, have been increasing and spreading—"growing with our growth and strengthening with our strength"—until they have become intertwined with every fibre of society. Go through our southern states, and every where you see the negro slave by the side of the white man, you find him alike in the mansion of the rich, the cabin of the poor, the workshop of the mechanic, and the field of the planter. Upon the contemplation of a population framed like this, a curious and interesting question readily suggests itself to the inquiring mind. Can these two distinct races of people, now living together as master and servant, be ever separated? Can the black be sent back to his African home? or will the day ever arrive when he can be liberated from this thralldom, and mount in the scale of civilization and rights to an equality with the white? This is a question of truly momentous character: it involves the whole framework of society, contemplates a separation of its elements, or a radical change in their relation, and requires for its adequate investigation the most complete and profound knowledge of the nature and sources of national wealth and political aggrandizement, an acquaintance with the elastic and powerful spring of population, and the causes which invigorate or paralyze its ene-

gies. It requires a clear perception of the varying rights of man amid all the changing circumstances by which he may be surrounded, and a profound knowledge of all the principles, passions, and susceptibilities, which make up the moral nature of our species, and according as they are acted upon by adventitious circumstances, alter our condition, and produce all that wonderful variety of character which so strongly marks and characterizes the human family. Well, then, does it behoove even the wisest statesman to approach this august subject with the utmost circumspection and diffidence; its wanton agitation even is pregnant with mischief, but rash and hasty action threatens, in our opinion, the whole southern country with irreparable ruin. The evil of *yesterday's* growth may be extirpated *to-day*, and the vigour of society may heal the wound; but that which is the growth of *ages* may require *ages* to remove. The Parliament of Great Britain, with all its philanthropic zeal, guided by the wisdom and eloquence of such statesmen as Chatham, Fox, Burke, Pitt, Canning, and Brougham, has never yet seriously agitated this question, in regard to the West India possessions. Revolutionary France, actuated by the most intemperate and phrenetic zeal for liberty and equality, attempted to legislate the free people of colour in the Island of St. Domingo into all the rights and privileges of the whites; and but a season afterwards, convinced of her madness, she attempted to retrace her steps, when it was too late; the deed had been done, the bloodiest and most shocking insurrection ever recorded in the annals of history had broken out, and the whole island was involved in frightful carnage and anarchy, and France in the end has been stript of "the brightest jewel in her crown,"—the fairest and most valuable of all her colonial possessions. Since the revolution, France, Spain, and Portugal, large owners of colonial possessions, have not only not abolished slavery in their colonies, but have not even abolished the slave trade in practice.

In our southern slave-holding country, the question of emancipation had never been seriously discussed in any of our legislatures, until the whole subject, under the most exciting circumstances, was, during the last winter, brought up for discussion in the Virginia legislature, and plans of partial or total abolition were earnestly pressed upon the attention of that body. It is well known, that during the last summer, in the county of Southampton in Virginia, a few slaves, led on by Nat Turner, rose in the night, and murdered in the most inhuman and shocking manner between sixty and seventy of the unsuspecting whites of that county. The news of course was rapidly diffused, and with it consternation and dismay were spread throughout the state, destroying for a time all feeling of security and confidence, and even when subsequent development had proven, that the

conspiracy had originated with a fanatic negro preacher, (whose confessions prove beyond a doubt mental aberration,) and that this conspiracy embraced but few slaves, all of whom had paid the penalty of their crimes, still the excitement remained, still the repose of the commonwealth was disturbed, for the ghastly horrors of the Southampton tragedy could not immediately be banished from the mind. *Rumour*, with her thousand tongues, was busily engaged in spreading tales of disaffection, plots, insurrections, and even massacres, which frightened the timid, and harassed and mortified the whole of the slave-holding population. During this period of excitement, when reason was almost banished from the mind, and the imagination was suffered to conjure up the most appalling phantoms, and picture to itself a crisis in the vista of futurity, when the overwhelming numbers of the blacks would rise superior to all restraint, and involve the finest portion of our land in universal ruin and desolation, we are not to wonder that even in the lower part of Virginia many should have seriously inquired, if this supposed monstrous evil could not be removed from her bosom. Some looked to the removal of the free people of colour, by the efforts of the Colonization Society, as an antidote to all our ills; some were disposed to strike at the root of the evil, to call on the general government for aid, and by the labours of *Hercules* to extirpate the curse of slavery from the land; and others again, who could not bear that Virginia should stand towards the general government (whose unconstitutional action she had ever been foremost to resist) in the attitude of a suppliant, looked forward to the legislative action of the state as capable of achieving the desired result. In this degree of excitement and apprehension, the legislature met, and plans for abolition were proposed and earnestly advocated in debate.

Upon the impropriety of this debate we beg leave to make a few observations. Any scheme of abolition proposed so soon after the Southampton tragedy, would necessarily appear to be the result of that most inhuman massacre. Suppose the negroes, then, to be really anxious for their emancipation, no matter on what terms, would not the extraordinary effect produced on the legislature by the Southampton insurrection, in all probability have a tendency to excite another? And we must recollect, from the nature of things, no plan of abolition could act suddenly on the whole mass of slave population in the state. Mr. Randolph's was not even to commence its operation till 1840. Waiting, then, one year or more until the excitement could be allayed, and the empire of reason could once more have been established, would surely have been productive of no injurious consequences, and in the mean time a legislature could have been selected which would much better have represented the views and wishes of

their constituents on this vital question. Virginia could have ascertained the sentiments and wishes of other slave-holding states, whose concurrence, if not absolutely necessary, might be highly desirable, and should have been sought after and attended to, at least as a matter of state courtesy. Added to this, the texture of the legislature was not of that character calculated to ensure the confidence of the people in a movement of this kind. If ever there was a question debated in a deliberative body, which called for the most exalted talent, the longest and most tried experience, the utmost circumspection and caution, a complete exemption from prejudice and undue excitement where both are apt to prevail, an ardent and patriotic desire to advance the vital interests of the state, uncombined with all mere desire for vain and ostentatious display, and with no view to party or geographical divisions, that question was the question of the *abolition of slavery* in the Virginia legislature. "*Grave and reverend seniors,*" "the very fathers of the republic," were indeed required for the settlement of one of such magnitude. It appears, however, that the legislature was composed of an unusual number of young and inexperienced members, elected in the month of April previous to the Southampton massacre, and at a time of profound tranquillity and repose, when of course the people were not disposed to call from their retirement their most distinguished and experienced citizens.

We are very ready to admit, that in point of ability and eloquence, the debate transcended our expectations. One of the leading political papers in the state remarked—"We have never heard any debate so eloquent, so sustained, and in which so great a number of speakers had appeared, and commanded the attention of so numerous and intelligent an audience. Day after day multitudes throng to the capital, and have been compensated by eloquence which would have illustrated Rome or Athens." But however fine might have been the rhetorical display, however ably some isolated points might have been discussed, still we affirm, with confidence, that no enlarged, wise, and practical plan of operations, was proposed by the abolitionists. We will go further, and assert that their arguments, in most cases, were of a wild and intemperate character, based upon false principles, and assumptions of the most vicious and alarming kind, subversive of the rights of property and the order and tranquillity of society, and portending to the whole slave-holding country—if they ever shall be followed out in practice—inevitable and ruinous consequences. Far be it, however, from us, to accuse the abolitionists in the Virginia legislature of any settled malevolent design to overturn or convulse the fabric of society. We have no doubt that they were acting conscientiously for the best; but it often happens that frail imperfect man, in the too

ardent and confident pursuit of imaginary good, runs upon his utter destruction.

We have not formed our opinion lightly upon this subject; we have given to the vital question of abolition the most mature and intense consideration which we are capable of bestowing, and we have come to the conclusion—a conclusion which seems to be sustained by facts and reasoning as irresistible as the demonstration of the mathematician—that every plan of emancipation and deportation which we can possibly conceive, is *totally* impracticable. We shall endeavour to prove, that the attempt to execute these plans can only have a tendency to increase all the evils of which we complain, as resulting from slavery. If this be true, then the great question of abolition will necessarily be reduced to the question of emancipation, with a permission to remain, which we think can easily be shown to be subversive of the interests, security, and happiness, of both the blacks and whites, and consequently hostile to every principle of expediency, morality, and religion. We have heretofore doubted the propriety even of too frequently agitating, especially in a public manner, the questions of abolition, in consequence of the injurious effects which might be produced on the slave population. But the Virginia legislature, in its zeal for discussion, boldly set aside all prudential considerations of this kind, and openly and publicly debated the subject before the whole world. The seal has now been broken, the example has been set from a high quarter; we shall, therefore, waive all considerations of a prudential character which have heretofore restrained us, and boldly grapple with the abolitionists on this great question. We fear not the result, so far as truth, justice, and expediency alone are concerned. But we must be permitted to say, that we do most deeply dread the effects of misguided philanthropy, and the intrusion, in this matter, of those who have no interest at stake, and who have not that intimate and minute knowledge of the whole subject so absolutely necessary to wise action.

In our study, we began the examination of this subject with a general inquiry into the origin of slavery in ancient and modern times, and proceeded to a consideration of the slave trade, by which slavery has been introduced into the United States. We indicated the true sources of slavery, and the principles upon which it rests, in order that the value of those arguments founded on the maxims that “all men are born equal,” that “slavery in the abstract is wrong,” that “the slave has a natural right to regain his liberty,” and so forth, might be fully appreciated. We endeavoured to show that those maxims may be and generally are inapplicable and mischievous, and that something else is requisite to convert slavery into freedom, than the mere enunciation of abstract truths divested of all adventitious circumstances and

relations. But this first principal division of our subject proved so voluminous that we have been obliged to set it aside for the present, in order to obtain room for the more pressing and important topics of the great question which we undertook to treat. Upon these we enter, therefore, at once, and inquire seriously and fairly whether there be means by which our country may get rid of negro slavery.

Plans for the Abolition of Slavery.

Under this head we will consider, first, those schemes which propose abolition and deportation, and secondly, those which contemplate emancipation without deportation. 1st. In the late Virginia legislature, where the subject of slavery underwent the most thorough discussion, all seemed to be perfectly agreed in the necessity of removal in case of emancipation. Several members from the lower counties, which are deeply interested in this question, seemed to be sanguine in their anticipations of the final success of some project of emancipation and deportation to Africa, the original home of the negro. "Let us translate them," said one of the most respected and able members of the Legislature, (Gen. Broadnax,) "to those realms from which, in evil times, under inauspicious influences, their fathers were unfortunately abducted.—Mr. Speaker, the idea of restoring these people to the region in which nature had planted them, and to whose climate she had fitted their constitutions—the idea of benefiting not only our condition and their condition by the removal, but making them the means of carrying back to a great continent, lost in the profoundest depths of savage barbarity, unconscious of the existence even of the God who created them, not only the arts and comforts and multiplied advantages of civilized life, but what is of more value than all, a knowledge of true religion—intelligence of a Redeemer—is one of the grandest and noblest, one of the most expansive and glorious ideas which ever entered into the imagination of man. The conception, whether to the philosopher, the statesman, the philanthropist, or the Christian, of rearing up a colony which is to be the nucleus around which future emigration will center, and open all Africa to civilization and commerce, and science and arts and religion—when Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands, indeed, is one which warms the heart with delight." (*Speech of Gen. Broadnax of Dinwiddie*, pp. 36 and 37.) We fear that this splendid vision, the creation of a brilliant imagination, influenced by the pure feelings of a philanthropic and generous heart, is destined to vanish at the severe touch of analysis. Fortunately for reason and common sense, all these projects of deportation may be subjected to the most rigid and accurate cal-

culations, which are amply sufficient to dispel all doubt, even in the minds of the most sanguine, as to their practicability.

We take it for granted that the right of the owner to his slave is to be respected, and consequently that he is not required to emancipate him, unless his full value is paid by the state. Let us then, keeping this in view, proceed to the very simple calculation of the expense of emancipation and deportation in Virginia. The slaves, by the last census (1830) amounted within a small fraction to 470,000; the average value of each one of these is \$200; consequently the whole aggregate value of the slave population of Virginia in 1830, was \$94,000,000, and allowing for the increase since, we cannot err far in putting the present value at \$100,000,000. The assessed value of all the houses and lands in the state amounts to \$206,000,000, and these constitute the material items in the wealth of the state, the whole personal property besides bearing but a very small proportion to the value of slaves, lands, and houses. Now, do not these very simple statistics speak volumes upon this subject? It is gravely recommended to the state of Virginia to give up a species of property which constitutes nearly one-third of the wealth of the whole state, and almost one-half of that of Lower Virginia, and with the remaining two-thirds to encounter the additional enormous expense of transportation and colonization on the coast of Africa. But the loss of \$100,000,000 of property is scarcely the half of what Virginia would lose, if the immutable laws of nature could suffer (as fortunately they cannot) this tremendous scheme of colonization to be carried into full effect. Is it not population which makes our lands and houses valuable? Why are lots in Paris and London worth more than the silver dollars which it might take to cover them? Why are lands of equal fertility in England and France worth more than those of our Northern States, and those again worth more than Southern soils, and those in turn worth more than the soils of the distant West? It is the presence or absence of population which alone can explain the fact. It is in truth the slave-labour in Virginia which gives value to her soil and her habitations—take away this and you pull down the atlas that upholds the whole system—eject from the state the whole slave population, and we risk nothing in the prediction, that on the day in which it shall be accomplished, the worn soils of Virginia will not bear the paltry price of the government lands in the West, and the Old Dominion will be a “waste howling wilderness,”—“the grass shall be seen growing in the streets, and the foxes peeping from their holes.”

But the favourers of this scheme say they do not contend for the sudden emancipation and deportation of the whole black population;—they would send off only the increase, and thereby keep down the population to its present amount, while the whites

increasing at their usual rate would finally become relatively so numerous as to render the presence of the blacks among us for ever afterwards entirely harmless. This scheme, which at first to the unreflecting seems plausible, and much less wild than the project of sending off the whole, is nevertheless impracticable and visionary, as we think a few remarks will prove. It is computed that the annual increase of the slaves and free coloured population of Virginia is about six thousand. Let us first, then, make a calculation of the expense of purchase and transportation. At \$200 each, the six thousand will amount in value to \$1,200,000. At \$30 each, for transportation, which we shall soon see is too little, we have the whole expense of purchase and transportation \$1,380,000, an expense to be annually incurred by Virginia to keep down her black population to its present amount. And let us ask, is there any one who can seriously argue that Virginia can incur such an annual expense as this for the next twenty-five or fifty years, until the whites have multiplied so greatly upon the blacks, as in the *opinion* of the *alarmists* for ever to quiet the fears of the community? Vain and delusive hope, if any was ever wild enough to entertain it! We should as soon expect the *Chamois*, the hardy rover over Alpine regions, by its unassisted strength to hurl down the snowy mantle which for ages has clothed the lofty summit of Mont Blanc, as that Virginia will be ever able by her own resources to purchase and colonize on the coast of Africa six thousand slaves for any number of years in succession.

But this does not develop to its full extent the monstrous absurdity of this scheme. There is a view of it yet to be taken, which seems not to have struck very forcibly any of the speakers in the Virginia legislature, but which appears to us of itself perfectly conclusive against this whole project. We have made some efforts to obtain something like an accurate account of the number of negroes every year carried out of Virginia to the south and south-west. We have not been enabled to succeed completely; but from all the information we can obtain, we have no hesitation in saying, that upwards of six thousand are yearly exported to other states. Virginia is in fact a *negro* raising state for other states; she produces enough for her own supply and six thousand for sale. Now, suppose the government of Virginia enters the slave market, resolved to purchase six thousand for emancipation and deportation, is it not evident that it must overbid the southern seeker, and thus take the very slaves who would have gone to the south? The very first operation then of this scheme, provided slaves be treated as property, is to arrest the current which has been hitherto flowing to the south, and to accumulate the evil in the state. As sure as the moon in her transit over the meridian arrests the current which is gliding to the

ocean, so sure will the action of the Virginia government, in an attempt to emancipate and send off 6000 slaves, stop those who are annually going out of the state; and when 6000 are sent off in any one year, (which we never expect to see) it will be found on investigation that they are those who would have been sent out of the state by the operation of our slave trade, and to the utter astonishment and confusion of our abolitionists, the black population will be found advancing with its usual rapidity—the only operation of the scheme being to substitute our government, *alias ourselves*, as purchasers, instead of the planters of the south. This is a view which every legislator in the state should take. He should beware lest in his zeal for action, this efflux, which is now so salutary to the state, and such an abundant source of wealth, be suddenly dried up, and all the evils of slavery be increased instead of diminished. If government really could enter with capital and zeal enough into the boundless project, we might even in a few years see the laws of nature reversed, and the tide of slavery flowing from the south into Virginia, to satisfy the philanthropic demand for colonization. The only means which the government could use to prevent the above described effect, would be either arbitrarily to fix the price of slaves below their market value, which would be a clear violation of the right of property, (which we shall presently notice,) or to excite a feeling of insecurity and apprehension as to this kind of property, and thus dispose the owner to part with it at less than its true value:—but surely no statesman would openly avow such an object, although it must be confessed that some of the speakers even who contended that slaves should ever be treated as property, avowed sentiments which were well calculated to produce such a result.

It is said, however, that the southern market will at all events be closed against us, and consequently that the preceding argument falls to the ground. To this we answer, that as long as the demand to the south exists, the supply will be furnished in some way or other, if our government do not unwisely tamper with the subject. Bryan Edwards has said, that “an attempt to prevent the introduction of slaves into the West Indies, would be like churning the winds, or giving laws to the ocean.” We may with truth affirm, that an attempt to prevent a circulation of this kind of property through the slave-holding states of our confederacy, would be equally if not more impracticable. But there is a most striking illustration of this now exhibiting before our eyes—the Southampton massacre produced great excitement and apprehension throughout the slave-holding states, and two of them, hitherto the largest purchasers of Virginia slaves, have interdicted their introduction under severe penalties. Many in our state looked forward to an immediate fall in the price of

slaves from this cause—and what has been the result? Why, wonderful to relate, Virginia slaves are now higher than they have been for many years past—and this rise in price has no doubt been occasioned by the number of southern purchasers who have visited our state, under the belief that Virginians had been frightened into a determination to get clear of their slaves at all events; and we are, consequently, at this moment, exporting slaves more rapidly, through the operation of the internal slave trade, than for many years past.

Let us now examine a moment into the object proposed to be accomplished by this scheme. It is contended that free labour is infinitely superior to slave labour in every point of view, and therefore that it is highly desirable to exchange the latter for the former, and that this will be gradually accomplished by emancipation and deportation; because the vacuum occasioned by the exportation of the slaves will be filled up by the influx of freemen from the north and other portions of the Union—and thus, for every slave we lose, it is contended we shall receive in exchange a free labourer, much more productive and more moral. If we are not greatly mistaken, this, on analysis, will be found to be a complete specimen of that arithmetical *school boy* reasoning, which has ever proved so deceptive in politics, and so ruinous in its practical consequences. We shall canvass, before concluding this review, the general assertion, that free labour is superior in cheapness and productiveness to slave labour; but for the present we will allow all that is asserted on this head, and that it is very desirable on our part to make the exchange of slave for free labour. Let us now see whether this plan of abolition and transportation be calculated to effect it; and in order that we may fully examine the project in this point of view, we will endeavour first to trace out its operation on the slave population, and then on the white.

Since the publication of the celebrated work of Dr. Malthus on the “principle of population,” the knowledge of the causes which affect its condition and increase, is much more widely diffused. It is now well known to every student of political economy, that in the wide range of legislation, there is nothing more dangerous than too much tampering with the elastic and powerful *spring* of population.

The energies of government are for the most part feeble or impotent when arrayed against its action. It is this procreative power of the human species, either exerted or dormant, which so frequently brushes away *in reality* the visionary fabrics of the philanthropists, and mars the cherished plots and schemes of statesmen. Euler has endeavoured to prove, by some calculations, that the human species, under the most favourable circumstances, is capable of doubling itself once in twelve years. In

our western country, the progress of population has, in many extensive districts, been so rapid as to show, in our opinion most conclusively, that it is capable of doubling itself once in fifteen years without the aid of emigration. The whole of our population, since the independence of the United States, has shown itself fully capable of duplication in periods of twenty-five years, without the accession from abroad.* In some portions of our country the population is stationary, in others but very slowly advancing. We will assume then for the two extremes in our country, the stationary condition on the one side, and such increase on the other as to give rise to a duplication every fifteen years. Now as throughout the whole range comprehended between these extremes, population is capable of exerting various degrees of energy, it is very evident that the statesman who wishes to increase or diminish population, must look cautiously to the effect of his measures on its spring, and see how this will be acted on. If for example his object be to lessen the number of a slowly increasing population, he must be convinced that his plan does not stimulate the procreative energies of society to produce more than he is capable of taking away; or if his object be to increase the numbers, take heed lest his project deaden and paralyze the source of increase so much as to more than counterbalance any effort of his. Now looking at the texture of the Virginia population, the desideratum is to diminish the blacks and increase the whites. Let us see how the scheme of emancipation and deportation will act. We have already shown that the first operation of the plan, if slave property were rigidly respected and never taken without full compensation, would be to put a stop to the efflux from the state through other channels; but this would not be the only effect. Government entering into the market with individuals, would elevate the price of slaves beyond their natural value, and consequently the raising of them would become an object of primary importance throughout the whole state. We can readily imagine that the price of slaves might become so great that each master would do all in his power to encourage marriage among them—would allow the females almost entire exemption from labour, that they might the better breed and nurse—and would so completely concentrate his efforts upon this object, as to neglect other schemes and less productive sources of wealth. Under these circumstances the prolific African might no doubt be stimulated to press hard upon one of the limits above stated, doubling his numbers in fifteen years; and such is the tendency which our abolition schemes, if ever seriously engaged in, will most undoubtedly produce; they will be certain

* The longest period of duplication has been about twenty-three years and seven months, so that the addition of one year and five months will more than compensate for the emigration.

to stimulate the procreative powers of that very race which they are aiming to diminish; they will enlarge and invigorate the very monster which they are endeavouring to stifle, and realize the beautiful but melancholy fable of Sisyphus, by an eternal renovation of hope and disappointment. If it were possible for Virginia to purchase and send off annually for the next twenty-five or fifty years, 12,000 slaves, we should have very little hesitation in affirming, that the number of slaves in Virginia would not be at all lessened by the operation, and at the conclusion of the period such habits would be generated among our blacks, that for a long time after the cessation of the drain, population might advance so rapidly as to produce among us all the calamities and miseries of an over crowded people.

We are not now dealing in mere conjecture; there is ample proof of the correctness of these anticipations in the history of our own hemisphere. The West India islands, as we have before seen, are supplied with slaves more cheaply by the African slave trader than they can raise them, and consequently the black population in the Islands nowhere keeps up its numbers by natural increase. Even in the Island of Cuba, where the negro slave is treated as humanely as any where on the globe, from 1804 to 1817 the blacks lost 4,461 upon the stock of 1804. "Prior to the annexation of Louisiana to the United States," says Mr. Clay in his Colonization Speech of 1830, "the supply of slaves from Africa was abundant. The price of adults was generally about one hundred dollars, a price less than the cost of raising an infant. Then it was believed that the climate of the province was unfavourable to the rearing of negro children, and comparatively few were raised. After the United States abolished the slave trade the price of adults rose very considerably—greater attention was consequently bestowed on their children, and now nowhere is the African female more prolific than she is in Louisiana, and the climate of no one of the southern states is supposed to be more favourable to the rearing of her offspring." For a similar reason now, the slaves in Virginia multiply more rapidly than in most of the southern states;—the Virginians can raise cheaper than they can buy; in fact it is one of their greatest sources of profit. In many of the other slave-holding states this is not the case, and consequently the same care is not taken to encourage matrimony and the rearing of children.

It was upon this very principle, that Mr. Pitt, in 1791, based the masterly and unanswerable argument contained in his splendid speech on the abolition of the slave trade; in which he proved, upon data furnished by the West India planters themselves, that the moment an end was put to the slave trade, the natural increase of the negroes would commence, and more than keep up their numbers in the Islands.

But our opponents perhaps may be disposed to answer, that this increase of slavery from the stimulus to the black population afforded by the colonization abroad, ought not to be objected to on our own principles, since each slave will be worth two hundred dollars or more. This answer would be correct enough if it were not that the increase of the blacks is effected at our expense both as to wealth and numbers; and to show this, we will now proceed to point out the operation of the scheme under consideration upon the white population. Malthus has clearly shown that population depends on the *means of subsistence*, and will, under ordinary circumstances, increase to a level with them. Now by means of subsistence we must not only comprehend the necessities of life, such as food, clothing, shelter, &c., but likewise such conveniencies, comforts, and even luxuries, as the habits of the society may render it essential for all to enjoy. Whatever then has a tendency to destroy the wealth and diminish the aggregate capital of society, has the effect, as long as the *standard of comfort** remains the same, to check the progress of the population.

It is sure to discourage matrimony, and cause children to be less carefully attended to, and to be less abundantly supplied. The heavy burthens which have hitherto been imposed on Virginia, through the operation of Federal exactions, together with the *high standard* of comfort prevalent throughout the whole state, (about which we shall by and by make a few observations) have already imposed checks upon the progress of the white population of the state. If not one single individual were to emigrate from the state of Virginia, it would be found, so inert has become the principle of increase in the state, that the population would not advance with the average rapidity of the American people. Now, under these circumstances, an imposition of an additional burthen of \$1,380,000 for the purpose of purchase and deportation of slaves, would add so much to the taxes of the citizens—would subtract so much from the capital of the state, and increase so greatly the embarrassments of the whole population, that fewer persons would be enabled to support families, and consequently to get married. This great tax, added to those we are already suffering under, would weigh like an incubus upon the whole state—it would operate like the blighting hand of Providence that should render our soil barren and our labour unproductive. It would diminish the value of the *fee simple* of Virginia, and not only check the natural increase of population within the commonwealth, but would make every man desirous of quitting the scenes of his home and his infancy, and

* By standard of comfort we mean that amount of necessities, conveniencies, and luxuries, which the habits of any people render essential to them.

fleeing from the heavy burthen which would for ever keep him and his children buried in the depths of poverty. His sale of negroes would partly enable him to emigrate; and we have little doubt, that whenever this wild scheme shall be seriously commenced, it will be found that more whites than negroes will be banished by its operation from the state. And there will be this lamentable difference between those who are left behind; a powerful stimulus will be given to the procreative energies of the blacks, while those of the whites will be paralyzed and destroyed. Every emigrant from among the whites will create a vacuum not to be supplied—every removal of a black will stimulate to the generation of another.

“*Uno avulso non deficit alter.*”

The *poverty* stricken master would rejoice in the prolificness of his female slave, but pray Heaven in its kindness to strike with barrenness his own spouse, lest in the plenitude of his misfortunes, brought on by the wild and Quixotic philanthropy of his government, he might see around him a numerous offspring unprovided for and destined to galling indigence.

It is almost useless to inquire whether this deportation of slaves to Africa would, as some seem most strangely to anticipate, invite the whites of other states into the commonwealth. Who would be disposed to enter a state with worn out soil and a black population mortgaged to the payment of millions per annum, for the purpose of emancipation and deportation, when in the West the most luxuriant soils, unencumbered with heavy exactions, could be purchased for the paltry sum of \$ 1 25 per acre?

Where, then, is that multitude of whites to come from, which the glowing fancy of orators has sketched out as flowing into and filling up the vacuum created by the removal of slaves? The fact is—throughout the whole debate in the Virginia legislature, the speakers seemed to consider the increase of population as a sort of fixed quantity, which would remain the same under the endless change of circumstance, and consequently that every man exported from among the blacks, lessened *pro tanto* exactly the black population, and that the whites, moving on with their usual speed, would fill the void; which certainly was an erroneous supposition, and manifested an almost unpardonable inattention to the wonderful *elasticity* of the powerful spring of population. The removal of inhabitants, accompanied with great loss of productive labour and capital, so far from leaving the residue in a better situation, and disposing them to increase and multiply, produces the directly opposite effect; it deteriorates the condition of society, and deadens the spring of population. It is curious to look to the history of the world, and see how completely this position is sustained by facts. Since the downfall of

the Roman empire, there have been three forced emigrations of very considerable extent, from three of the countries of Europe. The Moors were expelled from Spain, the Protestants from the Netherlands, and the Hugonots from France; each of these expulsions came well nigh ruining the country from which it took place. We are best acquainted with the effects of the expulsion of the Hugonots from France, because it happened nearer to our own times, during the reign of Louis XIV. In this case only 500,000 are supposed to have left France, containing then a population of 20 or 25,000,000 of souls. The energies of this mighty country seemed at once paralyzed by this emigration, her prosperity was instantly arrested, her remaining population lost the vigour which characterized them as long as this *leven* was among them, and to this day, France has not recovered from the tremendous blow. Her inferiority to England, in industry and all the useful arts, is in a great measure to be traced back to this stupid intolerance of her *great* monarch Louis XIV. The reason why these expulsions were so very injurious to the countries in question, was because the emigrants were the labouring classes of society, and their banishment consequently dried up the sources of production, and lessened the aggregate wealth and capital of the people. Now these expulsions are *nothing* in comparison with that contemplated by our abolitionists. In France only one in fifty of the population was expelled, and no expense was incurred in the deportation; but in Virginia the proportion to be expelled is much greater, and the expense is to devolve on the government.

When the emigration is accompanied with no loss of capital to the state, and no abstraction of *productive* labour, then the population will not be injuriously affected, but sometimes greatly benefited. In the hunting state, the expulsion of half of the tribe would benefit the remainder in a politico-economical light, because they live on the game of the forest, which becomes more abundant as soon as the consumers diminish. Pastoral nations, for a like reason, are rarely injured by emigration, for they live on cattle, and the cattle live on the spontaneous produce of the earth, and when a colony is sent off, the remainder will generally be benefited, since the consumption is relieved while the production is not diminished. And this satisfactorily explains the difficulty which has so much puzzled historians:—how the North of Europe, which Gibbon, Hume, and Robertson, all maintain was in a pastoral state, and not nearly so thickly settled as at present, should nevertheless have been able for several centuries to furnish those terrible swarms of barbarians, who “gathering fresh darkness and terror” as they rolled on upon the South, at length, with their congregated multitudes, “obscured the sun of Italy, and sunk the Roman world in night.” This example of

the barbarians in the North of Europe, sending so many hundreds of thousands of emigrants to the South, is a beautiful illustration of the capacity of population to counteract the effects of emigration in all those cases where the spring of population is not weakened. As soon as new swarms left the country, the means of subsistence were more ample for the residue; the vigour of population soon supplied the deficiency; and then another swarm went forth and relieved again the national *hive*. Our purchase and deportation of slaves would produce a similar effect on our blacks, but it would be entirely at the expense of both the numbers and wealth of the whites, and would be therefore one of the most blighting curses that could scathe the land. Ireland, at present, is suffering heavy afflictions from an over-crowded population; but her government could not relieve her by sending off the paupers, and for the simple reason that it would require an expense on the part of Ireland which would produce as great or even greater abstraction of capital than of unproductive mouths, and would moreover give more vigour to the spring of population. If other nations would incur the expense for her, then perhaps there might be for her a temporary benefit; but in a short time such a stimulus would be given to population, as would counteract all the vain efforts of man, and in the end, leave her in a worse condition than before. We doubt whether England, France, and Germany, by a steady concentration of all their financial resources upon the deportation and comfortable settlement and support of the superabundant population of Ireland, would, at the expiration of fifty years, be found to have lessened the numbers by one single individual. The effect would merely be, to pledge the resources of these three nations to the support of the Irish population, and to substitute the procreation of Irishmen, for that of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans, and as soon as this support was withdrawn, the very habits which had been generated by it in Ireland, would be its greatest curse. The only effectual means of relieving Ireland, will be to raise the *standard of comfort* in that country, and to arrest the population by the preventive checks which would lessen the marriages. Until this be done in some way or other, Ireland is doomed to suffer the heavy penalty.

We are now prepared to explain how it is that so many negroes have been exported from Africa by the slave trade, while the gap, says Franklin, is almost imperceptible. Gen. Broadnax, in his speech, computes the average number now annually sent out from Africa by the operation of the slave trade, to be 100,000; and, he adds, if all this can be effected against so many risks and hazards, and in violation of the laws of God and man, shall it be said that the whole state of Virginia cannot export 6000 to Africa in a year? Yes, strange as it may seem, this is all true;

and the simple reason of the great difference is, that Africa incurs no expense, but on the contrary, generally receives a full equivalent for the deported slave, which augments her means of subsistence, and stimulates the spring of population. Saddle Africa with the whole of this burthen, and we are perfectly sure that the entire resources of that immense continent would not suffice to purchase up, send off, and colonize 5000 per annum. There is the same difference between this exportation from Africa, and that proposed by the abolitionists from Virginia, that there is between the agriculturist who sends his produce to a foreign state or country and receives back a full equivalent, and him who is condemned to send his abroad at his own expense, and to distribute it gratuitously. We imagine that no one who was acquainted with the condition of these two farmers would wonder that one should grow wealthy, and the other miserably poor. The 6000 slaves which Virginia annually sends off to the South are a source of wealth to Virginia; but the 1000 or 2000 whites who probably go to the West are a source of poverty; because in the former case we have an equivalent left in the place of the exported slave—in the latter we lose both labour and capital without an equivalent; and precisely such a result in a much more aggravated form, will spring from this mad colonization scheme, should it ever be carried into operation. If the governments of Europe were silly enough to appropriate their resources to the purchase of our slaves, at their full marketable value, for the purpose of deportation, they should, for ought that we could do, have every one that they could buy. An equivalent would thus be left for the deported slave, and however much others might suffer for their folly, we should escape.*

Against most of the great difficulties attendant on the plan of emancipation above examined, it was impossible for the abolitionists entirely to close their eyes; and it is really curious to pause a moment and examine some of the reflections and schemes by which Virginia was to be reconciled to the plan. We have been told that it would not be necessary to purchase all the slaves sent away—that many would be surrendered by their owners without an equivalent. “There are a number of slave-holders,” (said one who has all the lofty feeling and devoted patriotism which have hitherto so proudly characterized Virginia,) “at this very time, I do not speak from vain conjecture, but from what I know from the best information, and this number would con-

* Perhaps one of the greatest blessings (if it could be reconciled to our consciences) which could be conferred on the southern portion of the Union, would arise from the total abolition of the African slave trade, and the opening the West Indian and South American markets to our slaves. We do not believe that deportation to any other quarter, or in any other way, can ever effect the slightest diminution.

tinue to increase, who would voluntarily surrender their slaves, if the state would provide the means of colonizing them elsewhere. And there would be again another class, I have already heard of many, while they could not afford to sacrifice the entire value of their slaves, would cheerfully compromise with the state for half of their value." In the first place, we would remark that the gentleman's anticipation would certainly prove delusive—the surrender of a very few slaves would enhance the importance and value of the residue, and make the owner much more reluctant to part with them. Let any farmer in Lower Virginia ask himself how many he can spare from his plantation—and he will be surprised to see how few can be dispensed with. If that intelligent gentleman, from the storehouse of his knowledge, would but call up the history of the past, he would see that *mere philanthropy*, with all her splendid boastings, has never yet accomplished one great scheme; he would find the remark of that great judge of human nature, the illustrious author of the *Wealth of Nations*, that no people had the generosity to liberate their slaves until it became their interest to do so, but too true; and the philosophic page of Hume, Robertson, Stuart, and Sismondi, would inform him that the serfs of Europe have been only gradually emancipated through the operation of *self interest* and not *philanthropy*: and we shall soon see that it was fortunate for both parties that this was the cause.

But it is strange indeed that gentlemen have never reflected, that the pecuniary loss to the state, will be precisely the same, whether the negroes be purchased or gratuitously surrendered. In the latter case the burthen is only shifted from the whole state to that portion where the surrender is made—thus if we own \$10,000 worth of this property, and surrender the whole to government, it is evident that we lose the amount of \$10,000; and if the whole of Lower Virginia could at once be induced to give up all of this property, and it could be sent away, the only effect of this generosity and self devotion would be to inflict the *blow* of *desolation* more exclusively on this portion of the state—the aggregate loss would be the same, the burthen would only be shifted from the whole to a part—the West would dodge the blow, and perhaps every candid citizen of Lower Virginia would confess that he is devoid of that refined incomprehensible patriotism which would call for self immolation on the shrine of folly, and would most conscientiously advise the eastern Virginians never to surrender their slaves to the government without a fair equivalent. Can it be genuine philanthropy to persuade them *alone* to step forward and bear the whole burthen?

Again; some have attempted to evade the difficulties by seizing on the increase of the negroes after a certain time. Thus Mr. Randolph's plan proposed that all born after the year 1840,

should be raised by their masters to the age of eighteen for the female and twenty-one for the male, and then hired out, until the neat sum arising therefrom amounted to enough to send them away. Scarcely any one in the legislature—we believe not even the author himself—entirely approved of this plan.* It is obnoxious to the objections we have just been stating against voluntary surrender. It proposes to saddle the slave-holder with the whole burthen; it infringes directly the rights of property; it converts the fee simple possession of this kind of property into an estate for years; and it only puts off the great sacrifice required of the state to 1840, when most of the evils will occur that have already been described. In the mean time it destroys the value of slaves, and with it all landed possessions—checks the productions of the state, imposes (when 1840 arrives) upon the master the intolerable and grievous burthen of raising his young slaves to the ages of eighteen and twenty-one, and then liberating them to be hired out under the superintendence of government (the most miserable of all managers,) until the proceeds arising therefrom shall be sufficient to send them away. If any man at all conversant with political economy should ever anticipate the day when this shall happen, we can only say that his faith is great indeed, enough to remove mountains, and that he has studied in a totally different school from ourselves.

Again; we entirely agree with the assertion of Mr. Brown, one of the ablest and most promising of Virginia's sons, that the ingenuity of man, if exerted for the purpose, could not devise a more efficient mode of producing discontent among our slaves, and thus endangering the peace of the community. There are born annually of this population about 20,000 children. Those which are born before the year 1840 are to be slaves; those which are born after that period are to be free at a certain age. These two classes will be reared together; they will labour together, and commune together. It cannot escape the observation of him who is doomed to servitude, that although of the same colour and born of the same parents, a far different destiny awaits his more fortunate brother—as his thoughts again and again revert to the subject, he begins to regard himself as the victim of injustice. Cheerfulness and contentment will flee from his bosom, and the most harmless and happy creature that lives on earth, will be transformed into a dark designing and desperate rebel. (*Brown's Speech, pp. 8 and 9.*)

There are some again who exhaust their ingenuity in devising schemes for taking off the breeding portion of the slaves to Afri-

* The difficulty of falling upon any definite plan which can for a moment command the approbation of even a few of the most intelligent abolitionists, is an unerring symptom of the difficulty and impracticability of the whole.

ca, or carrying away the sexes in such disproportions as will in a measure prevent those left behind from breeding. All of these plans merit nothing more than the appellation of *vain juggling legislative conceits*, unworthy of a wise statesman and a moral man. If our slaves are ever to be sent away in any systematic manner, *humanity* demands that they should be carried in families. The voice of the world would condemn Virginia if she sanctioned any plan of deportation by which the male and female, husband and wife, parent and child, were systematically and relentlessly separated. If we are to indulge in this kind of regulating vice, why not cure the ill at once, by following the counsel of Xenophon in his *Economics*, and the practice of Old Cato the Censor? Let us keep the male and female separate* in *Ergastula*, or dungeons, if it be necessary, and then one generation will pass away, and the evil will be removed to the heart's content of our humane philanthropists! But all these puerile conceits fall far short of surmounting the great difficulty which, like Memnon, is eternally present and cannot be removed.

"Sedet eternumque sedebit."

There is \$100,000,000 of slave property in the state of Virginia, and it matters but little how you destroy it, whether by the slow process of the cautious *practitioner*, or with the frightful despatch of the self confident *quack*; when it is gone, no matter how, the deed will be done, and Virginia will be a desert.

We shall now proceed to examine briefly the most dangerous of all the wild doctrines advanced by the abolitionists in the Virginia legislature, and the one which, no doubt, will be finally acted upon, if ever this business of emancipation shall be seriously commenced. *It was contended that property is the creature of civil society, and is subject to its action even to destruction.* But lest we may misrepresent, we will give the language of the gentleman who first boldly and exultingly announced it. "My views are briefly these," said Mr. Faulkner; "they go to the foundation upon which the social edifice rests—property is the creature of civil society.—So long as that property is not dangerous to the good order of society, it may and will be tolerated. But, sir, so soon as it is ascertained to jeopardize the peace, the happiness, the good order, nay the very existence of society, from that moment the right by which they hold their property is gone, society ceases to give its consent, the condition upon which they are permitted to hold it is violated, their right ceases.—Why, sir, it is ever a rule of municipal law, and we use this merely as an illustration of the great principles of society, *sic utere tuo ut alienum non lædas*. So hold your property as not

* See Hume's *Essay on the populousness of Ancient Nations*, where he ascribes this practice to Cato and others, to prevent their slaves from breeding.

to injure the property, still less the lives and happiness of your neighbours. And the moment, even in the best regulated communities, there is in practice a departure from this principle, you may abate the nuisance. It may cause loss, but it is what our black letter gentlemen term *Damnum absque injuria*, a loss for which the law affords no remedy." Now for the application of these principles: "Sir, to contend that *full value* shall be paid for the slaves by the commonwealth, now or at any future period of their emancipation, is to deny all right of action upon this subject whatsoever. It is not within the financial ability of the state to purchase them. We have not the means—the utmost extremity of taxation would fall far short of an adequate treasury. What then shall be done? we must endeavour to ascertain some middle ground of compromise between the rights of the community and the rights of individuals, some scheme which, while it responds to the demands of the people for the extermination of the alarming evil, will not in its operation disconcert the settled institutions of society, or involve the slave holder in pecuniary ruin and embarrassment." (*Faulkner's Speech*, pp. 14, 15, and 16.)

To these doctrines we call the serious attention of the whole slave-holding population of our Union, for all alike are concerned. It is time indeed for Achilles to rise from his inglorious repose and buckle on his armour, when the enemy are about to set fire to the fleet. This doctrine, absurd as it may seem in the practical application made by the speaker, will be sure to become the most popular with those abolitionists in Virginia, who have no slave property to sacrifice. It is the remark of Hobbes, that men might easily be brought to deny that "things equal to the same are equal to each other," if their fancied interests were opposed in any way to the admission of this axiom. We find that the highly obnoxious doctrine just spoken of, was not entertained by the gentleman from Berkeley alone, but was urged to an equally offensive extent by Mr. M'Dowell, who is supposed by his friends to have made the most able and eloquent speech in favour of abolition. He says, "when it (property) loses its utility, when it no longer contributes to the personal benefits and wants of its holders in any equal degree with the expense or the risk or the danger of keeping it, much more when it jeopardises the security of the public;—when this is the case; then the original purpose for which it is authorized is lost, its character of property in the just and beneficial sense of it is gone, and it may be regulated without private injustice, in any manner which the general good of the community, by whose laws it was licensed, may require." (*M'Dowell's Speech*, see *Richmond Whig*, 24th March 1832.) It is thus, if we may borrow the justly indignant language of Mr. Goode's eloquent and forcible speech,

that "slave property has been compared to a nuisance which the commonwealth may abate at pleasure. A nation of souls to be abated by the mere effort of the will of the general assembly. A nation of free men to hold their property by the precarious tenure of the precarious will of the general assembly!! and to reconcile us to our condition, we are assured by the gentleman from Berkeley, that the general assembly, in the abundance of its liberality, is ready to enter into a compromise, by which we shall be permitted to hold *our own* property *twenty-eight years!* on condition that we then surrender it absolutely and unconditionally.—Sir, I cannot but admire the frankness with which these gentlemen have treated this subject. They have exhibited themselves in the fulness of their intentions; given us warning of their designs; and we now see in all its nakedness the vanity of all hope of compensation." (*Goode's Speech*, p. 29.)

The doctrine of these gentlemen, so far from being true in its application, is not true in theory. The great object of government is the protection of property:—from the days of the patriarchs down to the present time, the great desideratum has been to find out the most efficient mode of protecting property. There is not a government at this moment in Christendom, whose peculiar practical character is not the result of the state of property.

No government can exist which does not conform to the state of property;—it cannot make the latter conform entirely to the government;—an attempt to do it would and ought to revolutionize any state. The great difficulty in forming the government of any country arises almost universally from the state of property, and the necessity of making it conform to that state; and it was the state of property in Virginia which really constituted the whole difficulty in the late convention. There is a right which these gentlemen seem likewise to have had in their minds, which writers on the law of nations call the right of *eminent* or *transcendental domain*; that right by which, in an exigency, the government or its agents may seize on persons or property, to be used for the general weal. Now, upon this there are two suggestions which at once present themselves.—First, that this right only occurs in cases of real exigency;* and secondly, that the writers of our national law—and the Constitution of the United States expressly sanctions the principle—say, that no property can be thus taken without full and fair compensation.†

These gentlemen, we hope to prove conclusively before finish-

* It is, then, the right of necessity, and may be defined that right which authorizes the performance of an act absolutely necessary for the discharge of an indisputable duty. But private property must always be paid for.

† The Congress of the United States, in the case of *Marigny d'Auterive*, placed slave property upon precisely the same footing, in this respect, with all other kinds.

ing, have failed to show the *exigency*; and even if they have proved that, they deny the right of compensation, and upon what principle? why, that the whole state is not competent to afford it, and may therefore justly *abate* the *nuisance*. And is it possible that a burthen, in this Christian land, is most unfeelingly and remorselessly to be imposed upon a portion of the state, which, by the very confession of the gentlemen who urge it, could not be borne by the whole without inevitable ruin? But it was the main object of their speeches to show, that slave property is valueless, that it is a burthen, a *nuisance* to the owner; and they seemed most anxious to enlighten the poor ignorant farmers on this point, who hold on with such pertinacity to this kind of property, which is inflicting its bitterest sting upon them. Now, is it not enough for the slave-holder to reply, that the circumstance of the slave bearing the price of two hundred dollars in the market, is an evidence of his value with every one acquainted with the elements of political economy; that, generally speaking, the market value of the slave is even less than his real value; for no one would like to own and manage slaves unless equally or more profitable than other kinds of investments in the same community; and if this or that owner may be pointed out as ruined by this species of property, might we not point to merchants, mechanics, lawyers, doctors, and divines, all of whom have been ruined by their several pursuits; and must all these employments be abated as *nuisances*, to satisfy the crude, undigested theories of tampering legislators? "It is remarkable," we quote the language of him who shone forth one of the brightest stars in the late constellation of talent assembled in the Virginia Convention, "that this 'nuisance' is more offensive in a direct ratio to its distance from the complaining party, and in an inverse ratio to the quantity of offending matter in his neighbourhood; that a 'magazine of gunpowder' in the town of Norfolk is a 'nuisance' to the county of Berkeley, and to all the people of the west! The people of the west, in which there are comparatively few slaves, in which there never can be any great increase of that kind of property, because their agriculture does not require it, and because in a great part of their country the negro race cannot be acclimated—the people of the west find our slave property in *our planting country*, where it is valuable, a 'nuisance' to *them*. This reverses the proverb, that men bear the ills of others better than their own. I have known men sell all their slave property and vest the proceeds in the stocks, and become zealous for the abolition of slavery. And it would be a matter of curiosity to ascertain (if it could be done) the aggregate number of slaves, held by all the orators and all the printers who are so willing to abate the nuisance of slave property held by other people. I sus-

pect the census would be very short."—*Letters of Appomattox to the People of Virginia.*

The fact is, it is always a most delicate and dangerous task for one set of people to legislate for another, without any community of interests. It is sure to destroy the great principle of responsibility, and in the end to lay the weaker interest at the mercy of the stronger. It subverts the very end for which all governments are established, and becomes intolerable, and consequently against the fundamental rights of man, whether prohibited by the constitution or not.

If a convention of the whole state of Virginia were called, and in due form the right of slave property were abolished by the votes of Western Virginia alone, does any one think that Eastern Virginia would be bound to yield to the decree? Certainly not. The strong and unjust man in a state of nature robs the weaker, and you establish government to prevent this oppression. Now, only sanction the doctrine of the Virginia orators, let one interest in the government (the west) rob another at pleasure (the east), and is there any man who can fail to see that government is systematically producing that very oppression which it is intended to remedy, and for which alone it is established? In forming the late Constitution of Virginia, the East objected to the "white basis principle," upon the very grounds that it would enable Western to oppress Eastern Virginia, through the medium of slave property. The most solemn asseverations of a total unwillingness, on the part of the West, to meddle with or touch the slave population, beyond the rightful and equitable demands of revenue, were repeatedly made by their orators. And now, what has the lapse of two short years developed? Why, that the West, unmindful of former professions, and regardless of the eternal principles of justice, is urging on an invasion and final abolition of that kind of property which it was solemnly pledged to protect! Is it possible that gentlemen can have reflected upon the consequences which even the avowal of such doctrines is calculated to produce? Are they conciliatory? Can they be taken kindly by the East? Is it not degrading for freemen to stand quailing with the fear of losing that property which they have been accumulating for ages—to stand waiting in fearful anxiety for the capricious edict of the West, which may say to one man, "sir, you must give up your property, although you have amassed it under the guarantee of the laws and constitutions of your state and of the United States;" and to another, who is near him and has an equal amount of property of a different description, and has no more virtue and no more conscience than the slave-holder, "you may hold yours, because we do not yet consider it a 'nuisance'?" This is language which cannot fail to awaken the people to a sense of their

danger. These doctrines, whenever announced in debate, have a tendency to disorganize and unhinge the condition of society, and to produce uncertainty and alarm;* to create revulsions of capital; to cause the land of Old Virginia, and real source of wealth, to be abandoned; and her white wealthy population to flee the state, and seek an asylum in a land where they will be protected in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry. In fine, we would say, these doctrines are "nuisances," and if we were disposed to retaliate, would add that they ought to be "abated." We will close our remarks on this dangerous doctrine, by calling upon Western Virginia and the non-slave-holders of Eastern Virginia, not to be allured by this syren song. It is as delusive as it may appear fascinating; all the sources of wealth and departments of industry, all the great interests of society, are really interwoven with one another—they form an indissoluble chain; a blow at any part quickly vibrates through the whole length—the destruction of one interest involves another. Destroy agriculture, destroy tillage, and the ruin of the farmer will draw down ruin upon the mechanic, the merchant, the sailor, and the manufacturer—they must all escape together from the land of desolation.

We hope we have now satisfactorily proved the impracticability of sending off the whole of our slave population, or even the annual increase; and we think we have been enabled to do this by pointing out only one half of the difficulties which attend the scheme. We have so far confined our attention to the expense and difficulty of purchasing the slaves, and sending them across the ocean. We have now to look a little to the recipient or territory to which the blacks are to be sent; and if we know any thing of the history and nature of colonization, we shall be completely upheld in the assertion, that the difficulties on this score are just as great and insurmountable as those which we have shown to be attendant on the purchase and deportation. We shall be enabled to prove, if we may use the expression, *a double impracticability* attendant on all these schemes.

The impossibility of colonizing the blacks.

The whole subject of colonization is much more difficult and intricate than is generally imagined, and the difficulties are often very different from what would, on slight reflection, be anticipated. They are of three kinds, physical, moral, and national. The former embraces unhealthy climate or want of proper seasoning, a

* We look upon these doctrines as calculated to produce precisely the same results as are produced by the government of Turkey, which, by rendering property insecure, has been able to arrest, and permanently to repress, the prosperity of the fairest and most fertile portions of the globe.

difficulty of procuring subsistence and the conveniences of life, ignorance of the adaptations and character of the soils, want of habitations, and the necessity of living together in multitudes for the purposes of defence, whilst purposes of agriculture require that they should live as dispersed as possible. The moral difficulties arise from a want of adaptation on the part of the new colonists to their new situation, want of conformity in habits, manners, tempers, and dispositions, producing a heterogeneous mass of population, uncemented and unharmonizing. Lastly, the difficulties of a national character embrace all the causes of altercation and rupture between the colonists and neighbouring tribes or nations; all these dangers, difficulties, and hardships, are much greater than generally believed. Every new colony requires the most constant attention, the most cautious and judicious management in both the number and character of the emigrants, a liberal supply of both capital and provisions, together with a most watchful and paternal government on the part of the mother country, which may defend it against the incursions and depredations of warlike or savage neighbours. Hence the very slow progress made by all colonies in their first settlement.

The history of colonization is well calculated of itself to dissipate all the splendid visions which our chimerical philanthropists have indulged, in regard to its efficiency in draining off a redundant or noxious population. The rage for emigration to the New World, discovered by Columbus, was at first very considerable; the brilliant prospects which were presented to the view of the Spaniards, of realizing fortunes in the abundant mines and on the rich soils of the islands and the continent, enticed many at first to leave their homes in search of wealth, happiness, and distinction—and what was the consequence? “The numerous hardships with which the members of infant colonies have to struggle,” says Robertson, “the diseases of unwholesome climates, fatal to the constitutions of Europeans; the difficulty of bringing a country covered with forests into culture; the want of hands necessary for labour in some provinces, and the slow reward of industry in all, unless where the accidental discovery of mines enriched a few fortunate adventurers, were evils immensely felt and magnified. Discouraged by the view of these, the spirit of migration was so much damped, that sixty years after the discovery of the New World, the number of Spaniards in all its provinces is computed not to have exceeded 15,000!”* Even these few were settled at an expense of life both to the emigrants and the natives, which is really shocking to the feelings of humanity; and we cannot peruse the accounts of the conquests of Mexico and Peru, without feeling that the

* Robertson's *America*, Vol. ii. p. 151.

race destroyed was equal, in moral worth at least, to their destroyers.

In the settlement of Virginia, begun by Sir Walter Raleigh, and established by Lord Delaware, three attempts completely failed; nearly half of the first colony was destroyed by the savages, and the rest, consumed and worn down by fatigue and famine, deserted the country and returned home in despair. The second colony was cut off to a man in a manner unknown; but they were supposed to have been destroyed by the Indians. The third experienced the same dismal fate; and the remains of the fourth, after it had been reduced by famine and disease, in the course of six months, from five hundred to sixty persons, were returning in a famished and desperate condition to England, when they were met in the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay by Lord Delaware, with a squadron loaded with provisions, and every thing for their relief and defence.* The first puritan settlers, in like manner, suffered "woes unnumbered,"—nearly half perished by want, scurvy, and the severity of the climate.

The attempts to settle New-Holland, have presented a melancholy and affecting picture of the extreme hardships which infant colonies have to struggle with before the produce is even equal to the support of the colonists. The establishment of colonies, too, in the eastern part of the Russian dominions, has been attended with precisely the same difficulties and hardships.

After this very brief general review of the history of modern colonization, we will now proceed to examine into the prospects of colonizing our blacks on the coast of Africa, in such numbers as to lessen those left behind. And in the first place we would remark, that almost all countries, especially those in southern and tropical latitudes, are extremely unfavourable to life when first cleared and cultivated. Almost the whole territory of the United States and South America, offer a conclusive illustration of this fact. We are daily witnessing, in the progress of tillage in our country, the visitation of diseases of the most destructive kind, over regions hitherto entirely exempt; our bilious fevers, for example, seem to travel in great measure with the progress of opening, clearing, and draining of the country. Now, when we turn our attention to Africa, on which continent all agree that we must colonize, if at all, we find almost the whole continent possessing an insalubrious climate under the most favourable circumstances; and, consequently, we may expect this evil will be enhanced during the incipient stages of society, at any given point, while the progress of clearing, draining, and tilling is going forward. All the travellers through Africa agree in their de-

* Malthus on Population, given upon the authority of both Burke's and Robertson's America.

scriptions of the general insalubrity of the climate. Park and Buffon agree in stating, that longevity is very rare among the negroes. At forty they are described as wrinkled and gray haired, and few of them survive the age of fifty-five or sixty; a Shungalla woman, says Bruce, at twenty-two, is more wrinkled and deformed by age, than a European at sixty; this short duration of life is attributable to the climate, for in looking over the returns of the census in our country, we find a much larger proportional number of cases of longevity among the blacks than the whites. "If accurate registers of mortality," says Malthus, (and no one was more indefatigable in his researches, or more capable of drawing accurate conclusions) "were kept among these nations (African), I have little doubt, that including the mortality from wars, one in seventeen or eighteen, at least, dies annually, instead of one in thirty-four or thirty-six, as in the generality of European states."^{*} The sea coast is described as being generally much more unhealthy than the interior. "Perhaps it is on this account chiefly," says Park, "that the interior countries abound more with inhabitants than the maritime districts."[†] The deleterious effects of African climate, are of course much greater upon those accustomed to different latitudes and not yet acclimated. It is melancholy, indeed, to peruse the dreadful hardships and unexampled mortality attendant upon those companies which have from time to time, actuated by the most praiseworthy views, penetrated into the interior of Africa.

It is difficult to say, which has presented most obstacles to the inquisitive traveller, the suspicion and barbarity of the natives, or the dreadful insalubrity of the climate. Now, it is to this continent, the original home of our blacks, to this destructive climate we propose to send the slave of our country, after the lapse of ages has completely inured him to our colder and more salubrious continent. It is true, that a territory has already been secured for the Colonization Society of this country, which is said to enjoy an unusually healthful climate. Granting that this may be the case, still when we come to examine into the capacity of the purchased territory for the reception of emigrants, we find that it only amounts to about 10,000 square miles, not a seventh of the superficies of Virginia. When other sites are fixed upon, we may not, and cannot expect to be so fortunate;—are not the most healthy districts in Africa the most populous, according to Park and all travellers? Will not these comparatively powerful nations, in all probability relinquish their territory with great reluctance? Will not our lot be consequently cast on barren sands or amid pestilential atmospheres, and then what exaggerated

^{*} See Malthus on Population, Book I. l. 8.

[†] See Park's Travels in Africa. p. 193. New-York Edition.

tales and false statements must be made if we would reconcile the poor blacks to a change of country pregnant with their fate?

But we believe that the very laudable zeal of many conscientious philanthropists has excited an overweening desire to make our colony in Liberia, in every point of view, appear greatly superior to what it is. We know the disposition of all travellers to exaggerate; we know the benevolent feelings of the human heart, which prompt us to gratify and minister to the desires and sympathies of those around us, and we know that philanthropic schemes, emancipation, and colonization societies, now occupy the public mind, and receive the largest share of public applause. Under these circumstances, we are not to wonder if colouring should sometimes impair the statements of those who have visited the colony; for ourselves, we may be too sceptical, but are rather disposed to judge from facts which are acknowledged by all, than from general statements from officers and interested agents. In 1819, two agents were sent to Africa to survey the coast and make a selection of a suitable situation for a colony. In their passage home in 1820, one died. In the same year, 1820, the *Elizabeth* was chartered and sent out with three agents and eighty emigrants. All three of the agents and twenty of the emigrants died, a proportional mortality greater than in the *middle passage*, which has so justly shocked the humane feelings of mankind, and much greater than that occasioned by that dreadful plague (the Cholera) which is now clothing our land in mourning, and causing our citizens to flee in every direction to avoid impending destruction. In the spring of 1821, four new agents were sent out, of whom one returned sick, one died in August, one in September, and we know not what became of the fourth.* It is agreed on all hands, that there is a seasoning necessary, and a formidable fever to be encountered, before the colonists can enjoy tolerable health. Mr. Ashmun, who afterwards fell a victim to the climate, insisted that the night air of Liberia was free from all noxious effects; and yet we find that the emigrants, carried by the *Volador* to Liberia a year or two since, are said to have fared well, losing only two, in consequence of every precaution having been taken against the night air, while the most dreadful mortality destroyed those of the *Carolinian*, which went out nearly contemporaneously with the *Volador*. The letter of Mr. Reynolds marked G, at the conclusion of the Fifteenth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, instructs us in the proper method of preserving health on the coast of Africa, and in spite of the flattering accounts and assurances of agents

* These facts we have stated upon the authority of Mr. Carey, of Philadelphia, who has given us an interesting, but I fear too flattering account of the Colony, in a series of letters addressed to the Hon. Charles F. Mercer.

and philanthropists, we should be disposed to take warning from these salutary hints. The following are some of them ;—

“ 1st. On no account to suffer any of the crew to be out of the ship *at sunset*.

“ 2d. To have a sail stretched on the windward *side* of the vessel ; and an awning was also provided, which extended over the poop and the whole main deck, *to defend the crew from the night air*.

“ 3d. The night watch was encouraged to smoke tobacco.

“ 4th. To distribute French brandy to the crew whilst in port, in lieu of rum. (The editor of the Report recommends strong coffee.) The crew on rising were served with a liberal allowance of strong coffee before commencing their day’s work.

“ The result was that the ships on each side of the Cambridge lost the *greater* part of their crews ; and not one man of her crew was seriously unwell.” (*Fifteenth Annual Report*, p. 51, published in *Georgetown*, 1832.)

We have said enough to show that the Continent of Africa, and its coasts particularly, are extremely unhealthy—that the natives themselves are not long lived—and that unacclimated foreigners are in most imminent danger. That there may be some healthy points on the sea shore, and salubrious districts in the interior, and that Liberia may be fortunately one of them, we are even willing to admit—but then we know that generally the most insalubrious portions will fall into our possession, because those of an opposite character are already too densely populated to be deserted by the natives—and consequently, let us view the subject as we please, we shall have this mighty evil of unhealthy climate to overcome. We have seen already, in the past history of our colony, that the slightest blunder, in landing on an unhealthy coast, in exposure to a deadly night air, or in neglecting the necessary precautions during the period of acclimating, has proved most frightfully fatal to both blacks and whites. Suppose now, that instead of the one or two hundred sent by the Colonization Society, Virginia should actually send out six thousand—or if we extend our views to the whole United States, that sixty thousand should be annually exported, accompanied of course by some hundreds of whites, what an awful fatality might we not occasionally expect? The chance for blundering would be infinitely increased, and if some ships might fortunately distribute their cargoes with the loss of few lives, others again might lose all their whites and a fourth or more of the blacks, as we know has already happened ; and although this fatality might arise from blunder or accident, yet would it strike the imagination of men—and that which may be kept comparatively concealed now, would, when the number of emigrants swelled to such multitudes, produce alarm and consternation. We look forward con-

idently to the day, if this wild scheme should be persevered in for a few years, when the poor African slave, on bended knees, might implore a remission of that fatal sentence which would send him to the land of his forefathers.

But the fact is, that all climates will prove fatal to emigrants who come out in too great crowds, whether they are naturally unhealthy or not. One of the greatest attempts at colonization in modern times, was the effort of the French to plant at once 12,000 emigrants on the coast of Guiana. The consequence was, that in a very short time 10,000 of them lost their lives in all the horrors of despair, 2,000 returned to France, the scheme failed, and 25,000,000 of francs, says Raynal, were totally lost. Seventy-five thousand Christians, says Mr. Eaton in his account of the Turkish empire, were expelled by Russia from the Crimea, and forced to inhabit the country deserted by the Nogai Tartars, and in a few years only 7000 of them remained. In like manner, if 6000, or much more, if 60,000 negroes, with their careless and filthy habits, were annually sent to Africa, we could not calculate, for the first one or two years, upon less than the death of one-half or perhaps three-fourths; and, repugnant as the assertion may be to the feelings of benevolence, we have no hesitation in saying, that nothing but a most unparalleled mortality among the emigrants, would enable us to support the colony for even a year or two. Aristotle was of opinion, that the keeping of 5000 soldiers in idleness would ruin an empire. If the brilliant anticipations of our colonization friends shall be realized, and the day actually arrives, when 60,000, or even 6000 blacks can be annually landed in health upon the coast of Africa, then will the United States, or broken down Virginia, be obliged to support an *empire* in idleness. "The first establishment of a new colony," says Malthus, "generally presents an instance of a country peopled considerably beyond its actual produce; and the natural consequence seems to be, that this population, if not annually supplied by the mother country, should, at the commencement, be diminished to the level of the first scanty productions, and not begin permanently to increase till the remaining numbers had so far cultivated the soil as to make it yield a quantity of food more than sufficient for their own support, and which consequently they could divide with a family. The frequent failures of new colonies tend strongly to show the order of precedence between food and population."* It is for this reason that colonies so slowly advance at first, and it becomes necessary to *feed* them (if we may so express ourselves) with extreme caution, and with limited numbers, in the beginning. But a few additional months will render support from the mother

* Malthus on Population, vol. ii. pp. 140, 141.

country necessary. If this state of things continues for a short time, you make the colony a great *pauper* establishment, and generate all those habits of idleness and worthlessness which will ever characterize a people dependent on the bounty of others for their subsistence. If Virginia should send out 6000 emigrants to Africa, and much more, if the United States should send 60,000, the whole colony would inevitably perish, if the wealth of the mother country was not exhausted for their supply. Suppose a member in Congress should propose to send out an army of 60,000 troops, and maintain them on the coast of Africa; would not every sensible man see at once that the thing would be impracticable, if even the existence of our country depended upon it?—it would ruin the greatest empire on the globe—and yet, strange to tell, the philanthropists of Virginia are seriously urging her to attempt that which would every year impose upon her a burthen proportionally greater than all this!

If any man will for a moment revert to the history of Liberia, which has been as flourishing or even more flourishing than similar colonies, there will be seen at once enough to convince the most sceptical of the truth of this assertion. What says Mr. Ashmun, perhaps the most intelligent and most judicious of colonial agents?—"If rice grew spontaneously," said he, "and covered the country, yet it is possible by sending few or none able to reap and clean it, to starve 10,000 helpless children and infirm old people in the midst of plenty. Rice does not grow spontaneously however; nor can any thing necessary for the subsistence of the human species, be procured here without the sweat of the brow. Clothing, tools, and building materials are much dearer here than in America. But send out your emigrants, labouring men and their families only, or laborious men and their families, accompanied only with their natural proportion of inefficient; and *with the ordinary blessings of God*, you may depend on their causing you a *light expense* in Liberia," &c. Again, "If such persons (those who cannot work,) are to be *supported* by American funds, *why not keep them in America*, where they can do something, by picking cotton and stemming tobacco, towards supporting themselves. I know that nothing is effectually done in colonizing this country, till the colony's own resources can sustain *its own*, and a *considerable annual increase of population*." Here then are statements from one most zealous and enthusiastic in the cause of colonization, one who has sacrificed his life in the business, which clearly show that the Colonization Society, with its very limited means, has over supplied the colony with emigrants. What then might not be expected from the tremendous action of the state and general governments on this subject? they would raise up a pauper establishment, which we conscientiously believe, would require

the disposable wealth of the rest of the world to support, and the thousands of emigrants who would be sent, so far from being *laborious men*, would be the most idle and worthless of a race, who only desire liberty because they regard it as an exemption from labour and toil. Every man, too, at all conversant with the subject, knows that such alone are the slaves which a kind master will ever consent to sell, to be carried to a distant land. Sixty thousand emigrants per annum to the United States, would even now sink the wages of labour, and embarrass the whole of our industrious classes, although we have at this moment lands, capable of supporting millions more when gradually added to our population.

The Irish emigrants to Great Britain, have already begun to produce disastrous effects. "I am firmly persuaded," says Mr. M'Culloch, "that nothing so deeply injurious to the character and habits of our people, has ever occurred, as the late extraordinary influx of Irish labourers.—If another bias be not given to the current of emigration, Great Britain will necessarily continue to be the grand outlet for the pauper population of Ireland, nor will the tide of beggary and degradation cease to flow, until the plague of poverty has spread its ravages over both divisions of the empire."* Where, then, in the wide world, can we find a *fulcrum* upon which to place our mighty lever of colonization? nowhere! we repeat it, *nowhere!* unless we condemn emigrants to absolute starvation. Sir Josiah Childe, who lived in an age of comparative ignorance, could well have instructed our modern philanthropists in the true principles of colonization. "*Such as our employment is,*" says he, "*so will our people be;* and if we should imagine we have in England employment but for one hundred people, and we have born and bred (or he might have added brought) amongst us one hundred and fifty—fifty must away from us, or starve, or be hanged to prevent it."† And so say we in regard to our colonization—if our new colony cannot absorb readily more than one or two hundred per annum, and we send them 6000 or 60,000, the surplus "must either flee away or starve or be hanged," or be fed by the mother country, (which is impossible.)

So far we have been attending principally to the difficulties of procuring subsistence; but the habits and moral character of our slaves present others of equal importance and magnitude. Doctor Franklin says that one of the reasons why we see so many fruitless attempts to settle colonies at an immense public and private expense by several of the powers of Europe, is that the

* M'Culloch's Edition of the Wealth of Nations, 4th Vol. pp. 154 and 155. Edinburgh Edition.

† Sir Josiah Childe's Discourse on Trade.

moral and mechanical habits adapted to the mother country, are frequently not so to the new settled one, and to external events, many of which are unforeseen, and that it is to be remarked that none of the English colonies became any way considerable, till the necessary manners were born and grew up in the country. Now, with what peculiar and overwhelming force does this remark apply to our colonization of liberated blacks? We are to send out thousands of these, taken from a state of slavery and ignorance, unaccustomed to guide and direct themselves, void of all the attributes of free agents, with dangerous notions of liberty and idleness, to elevate them at once to the condition of freemen, and invest them with the power of governing an empire, which will require more wisdom, more prudence, and at the same time more firmness than ever government required before. We are enabled to support our position by a quotation from an eloquent supporter of the American colonization scheme. "Indeed," said the Rev. Mr. Bacon, at the last meeting of the American Colonization Society, "it is something auspicious, that in the earlier stages of our undertaking, there has not been a general rush of emigration to the colony. In *any single year* since Cape Montserado was purchased, the influx of *a thousand emigrants* might have been fatal to our enterprise.—The new comers into any community must always be a *minority*, else every arrival is a *revolution*; they must be a *decided minority*, easily absorbed into the system and mingled with the mass, else the community is constantly liable to convulsion. Let 10,000 *foreigners, rude and ignorant*, be landed at once in this District (of Columbia,) and what would be the result? Why you must have an armed force here to keep the peace;—so *one thousand* now landing *at once* in our colony, might be its ruin."

The fact is, the *true* and *enlightened* friends of colonization, must reprobate all those chimerical schemes proposing to deport any thing like the increase of one state, and more particularly of the whole United States. The difficulty just explained, has already been severely felt in Liberia, though hitherto supplied very scantily with emigrants, and those generally the most exemplary of the free blacks: thus in 1828 it was the decided opinion of Mr. Ashmun, "that for at least two years to come, a much more discriminating selection of settlers must be made, than ever has been—even in the first and second expeditions by the Elizabeth and Nautilus in 1820 and 21, or that the prosperity of the colony will *inevitably and rapidly decline*." Now when to all these difficulties we add the prospect of frequent wars with

* See Fifteenth Annual Report of American Colonization Society, p. 10.

the natives of Africa,* the great expense we must incur to support the colony, and the anomalous position of Virginia, an *imperium in imperio*, holding an empire abroad, we do not see how the whole scheme can be pronounced any thing less than a *stupendous piece of folly*.

Some have supposed that the circumstance of the Africans being removed a stage or two above the savages of North America, will render the colonization of Africa much easier than that of America:—we draw directly the opposite conclusion. The Indians of North America had nowhere taken possession of the soil; they were wanderers over the face of the country; their titles could be extinguished for slight considerations; and it is ever melancholy to reflect that their habits of improvidence and of intoxication, and even their cruel practices in war, have all been (such has been for them the woeful march of events,) favourable to the rapid increase of the whites, who have thus been enabled to exterminate the *red men*.

The natives of Africa exist in the rude agricultural state, much more numerous than the natives of America. Their titles to land will be extinguished with much more difficulty and expense. The very first contact with our colony will carry to them the whole art and implements of war.† As our colonists spread and press upon them, border wars will arise; and in vain will the attempt be made to extirpate the African nations, as we have the Indian tribes: every inhabitant of Liberia who is taken prisoner by his enemy, will be consigned, according to the universal practice of Africa, to the most wretched slavery either in Africa or the West Indies. And what will our colony do? Must they murder, while their enemies enslave? Oh, no, it is too cruel, and will produce barbarizing and exterminating wars. Will they spare the prisoners of war? No! There does not and never will exist a people on earth, who would tamely look on and see their wives, mothers, brothers, and sisters, ignominiously enslaved, and not resent the insult. What, then, will be done? Why, they will be certain to enslave too; and if domestic slavery should be interdicted in the colony, it would be certain to encourage the slave trade;‡ and if we could ever look forward to the time when the slave trade should be destroyed, then the throwing back of this immense current upon Africa would inundate all the countries of that region. It would be like the checking of the emigration from the northern hives upon the Roman world.

* The Colony has already had one conflict with the natives, in which it had like to be overwhelmed.

† Powder and fire-arms formed material items in the purchase of Liberia.

‡ We fear our colony at Liberia is not entirely free from this stain even now; it is well known that the British colony at Sierra Leone has frequently aided the slave trade.

The northern nations, in consequence of this check, soon experienced all the evils of a redundant population, and broke forth with their redundant numbers in another quarter; both England and France were overrun, and the repose of all Europe was again disturbed. Let, then, the real philanthropist ponder over these things, and tremble for the fate of colonies which may be imprudently planted on the African soil. The history of the world has too conclusively shown, that two races, differing in manners, customs, language, and civilization, can never harmonize upon a footing of equality. One must rule the other, or exterminating wars must be waged. In the case of the savages of North America, we have been successful in exterminating them; but in the case of African nations, we do think, from a view of the whole subject, that our colonists will most probably be the victims; but the alternative is almost equally shocking, should this not be the case. They must, then, be the exterminators or enslavers of all the nations of Africa with which they come into contact. The whole history of colonization, indeed, presents one of the most gloomy and horrific pictures to the imagination of the genuine philanthropist which can possibly be conceived. The many Indians who have been murdered, or driven in despair from the haunts and hunting grounds of their fathers—the heathen driven from his heritage, or hurried into the presence of his God in the full blossom of all his heathenish sins—the cruel slaughter of Ashantees—the murder of Burmese—all, *all* but too eloquently tell the misery and despair portended by the advance of civilization to the savage and the pagan, whether in America, Africa, or Asia. In the very few cases where the work of desolation ceased, and a commingling of races ensued, it has been found that the civilized man has sunk down to the level of barbarism, and there has ended the mighty work of civilization! Such are the melancholy pictures which sober reason is constrained to draw of the future destinies of our colony in Africa. And what, then, will become of that grand and glorious idea of carrying religion, intelligence, industry, and the arts, to the already wronged and injured Africa? It is destined to vanish, and prove worse than mere delusion. The rainbow of promise will be swept away, and we shall awake at last to all the sad realities of savage warfare and increasing barbarism. We have thus stated some of the principal difficulties and dangers accompanying a scheme of colonization, upon a scale as large as proposed in the Virginia legislature. We have said enough to show, that if we ever send off 6000 per annum, we must incur an expense far beyond the purchase money.

The expense of deportation to Africa we have estimated at thirty dollars; but when there is taken into the calculation the further expense of collecting in Virginia, of feeding, protecting,

&c., in Africa, the amount swells beyond all calculation. Mr. Tazewell, in his able Report on the colonization of free people of colour on the African coast, represents this expense as certainly amounting to one hundred dollars; and judging from actual experience, was disposed to think two hundred dollars would fall below the fair estimate. If the Virginia scheme shall ever be adopted, we have no doubt that both these estimates will fall below the real expense. The annual cost of removing 6000, instead of being \$1,380,000, will swell beyond \$2,400,000, an expense sufficient to destroy the entire value of the whole property of Virginia. Voltaire, in his Philosophical Dictionary, has said, that such is the inherent and preservative vigour of nations, that governments cannot possibly ruin them; that almost all governments which had been established in the world had made the attempt, but had failed. If the sage of France had lived in our days, he would have had a receipt furnished by some of our philanthropists, by which this work might have been accomplished! We read in holy writ of one great emigration from the land of Egypt, and the concomitant circumstances should bid us well beware of an imitation, unless assisted by the constant presence of Jehovah. Ten plagues were sent upon the land of Egypt before Pharaoh would consent to part with the Israelites, the productive labourers of his kingdom. But a short time convinced him of the heavy loss which he sustained by their removal, and he gave pursuit; but God was present with the Israelites—He parted the waters of the Red Sea for *their* passage, and closed them over the Egyptians—He led on his chosen people through the wilderness, testifying his presence in a pillar of fire by night and a cloud of smoke by day—He supplied them with manna in their long journey, sending a sufficiency on the sixth for that and the seventh day. When they were thirsty the rocks poured forth waters, and when they finally arrived in the land of promise, after the loss of a generation, the mysterious will of heaven had doomed the tribes of Canaan to destruction; fear and apprehension confounded all their counsels; their battlements sunk down at the trumpet's sound; the native hosts, under heaven's command, were all slaughtered; and the children of Israel took possession of the habitations and property of the slaughtered inhabitants. The whole history of this emigration beautifully illustrates the great difficulties and hardships of removal to foreign lands of multitudes of people.

But, say some, if Virginia cannot accomplish this work, let us call upon the general government for aid—let Hercules be requested to put his shoulders to the wheels, and roll us through the formidable *quagmire* of our difficulties. Delusive prospect! Corrupting scheme! We will throw all constitutional difficulties out of view, and ask if the federal government can be re-

questioned to undertake the expense for Virginia, without encountering it for the whole slave-holding population? And then, whence can be drawn the funds to purchase more than 2,000,000 of slaves, worth at the lowest calculation \$400,000,000; or if the increase alone be sent off, can Congress undertake annually to purchase at least 60,000 slaves at an expense of \$12,000,000, and deport and colonize them at an expense of twelve or fifteen millions more? But the fabled hydra would be more than realized in this project. We have no doubt that if the United States in good faith should enter into the slave markets of the country, determined to purchase up the whole annual increase of our slaves, so unwise a project, by its artificial demand, would immediately produce a rise in this property, throughout the whole southern country, of at least 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. It would stimulate and invigorate the *spring* of black population, which, by its tremendous action, would set at naught the puny efforts of man, and like the Grecian matron, unweave in the night what had been woven in the day. We might well calculate upon an annual increase of at least four and half per cent. upon our two millions of slaves, if ever the United States should create the artificial demand which we have just spoken of; and then, instead of an increase of 60,000, there will be 90,000, bearing the average price of \$300 each, making the enormous annual expense of purchase alone \$27,000,000!—and difficulties, too, on the side of the colony, would more than enlarge with the increase of the evil at home. Our Colonization Society has been more than fifteen years at work; it has purchased, according to its friends, a district of country as congenial to the constitution of the black as any in Africa; it has, as we have seen, frequently over-supplied the colony with emigrants; and mark the *result*, for it is worthy of all observation, there are not now more than 2000 or 2500 inhabitants in Liberia! And these are alarmed lest the Southampton insurrection may cause such an emigration as to inundate the colony. When, then, in the lapse of time, can we ever expect to build up a colony which can receive sixty or ninety thousand slaves per annum? And if this should ever arrive, what guarantee could be furnished us that their ports would always be open to our emigrants? Would law or compact answer? Oh, no! Some legislator, in the plenitude of his wisdom, might arise, who could easily and *truly* persuade his countrymen that these annual importations of blacks were *nuisances*, and that the laws of God, whatever might be those of men, would justify their abatement. And the drama would be wound up in this land of promise and expectation, by turning the cannon's

* We must recollect, that the expense of colonizing increases much more rapidly than in proportion to the simple increase of the number of emigrants.

mouth against the liberated emigrant and deluded philanthropist. The scheme of colonizing our blacks on the coast of Africa, or any where else, by the United States, is thus seen to be more stupendously absurd than even the Virginia project. King Canute, the Dane, seated on the sea shore, and ordering the rising flood to recede from his royal feet, was not guilty of more vanity and presumption than the government of the United States would manifest, in the vain effort of removing and colonizing the annual increase of our blacks.

We have thus examined fully this scheme of emancipation and deportation, and trust we have satisfactorily shown, that the whole plan is utterly impracticable, requiring an expense and sacrifice of property far beyond the entire resources of the state and federal governments. We shall now proceed to inquire, whether we can emancipate our slaves with permission that they remain among us.

Emancipation without deportation.

We candidly confess, that we look upon this last mentioned scheme as much more practicable and likely to be forced upon us, than the former. We consider it at the same time so fraught with danger and mischief both to the whites and blacks—so utterly subversive of the welfare of the slave-holding country, in both an economical and moral point of view, that we cannot, upon any principle of right or expediency, give it our sanction. Almost all the speakers in the Virginia legislature seemed to think there ought to be no emancipation without deportation. Mr. Clay, too, in his celebrated Colonization speech of 1830, says, "If the question were submitted whether there should be immediate or gradual emancipation of all the slaves in the United States, without their removal or colonization, painful as it is to express the opinion, *I have no doubt that it would be unwise to emancipate them.* I believe, that the *aggregate* of evils which would be engendered in society, upon the supposition of general emancipation, and of the liberated slaves remaining principally among us, would be greater than *all* the evils of slavery, great as they unquestionably are." Even the northern philanthropists themselves admit, generally, that there should be no emancipation without removal. Perhaps, then, under these circumstances, we might have been justified in closing our review with a consideration of the colonization scheme; but as we are anxious to survey this subject fully in all its aspects, and to demonstrate upon every ground the complete justification of the whole southern country in a further continuance of that system of slavery which has been originated by no fault of theirs, and continued and increased contrary to their most earnest desires and petitions, we have determined briefly to examine this scheme

likewise. As we believe the scheme of deportation *utterly* impracticable, we have come to the conclusion that in the present great question, the real and the decisive line of conduct is either *abolition without removal*, or a *steady perseverance* in the system now established. "Paltry and timid minds," says the present Lord Chancellor of England on this very subject, "shudder at the thought of *mere inactivity*, as cowardly troops tremble at the idea of calmly waiting for the enemy's approach. Both the one and the other hasten their fate by relentless and foolish movements."

The great ground upon which we shall rest our argument on this subject is, *that the slaves, in both an economical and moral point of view, are entirely unfit for a state of freedom among the whites*; and we shall produce such proofs and illustrations of our position, as seem to us perfectly conclusive. That condition of our species from which the most important consequences flow, says Mr. Mill the Utilitarian, is the necessity of labour for the supply of the fund of our necessities and conveniences. It is this which influences, perhaps, more than any other, even our moral and religious character, and determines more than every thing else besides, the social and political state of man. It must enter into the calculations of not only the political economist, but even of the metaphysician, the moralist, the theologian, and politician.

We shall therefore proceed at once to inquire what effect would be produced upon the slaves of the South in an economical point of view, by emancipation with permission to remain—whether the *voluntary* labour of the freedman would be as great as the *involuntary* labour of the slave? Fortunately for us this question has been so frequently and fairly subjected to the test of experience, that we are no longer left to vain and fruitless conjecture. Much was said in the legislature of Virginia about superiority of free labour over slave, and perhaps under certain circumstances this might be true; but in the present instance, the question is between *the relative amounts of labour which may be obtained from slaves before and after their emancipation*. Let us then first commence with our country, where it is well known to every body, that slave labour is vastly more efficient and productive, than the labour of free blacks. Taken as a whole class, the latter must be considered the most worthless and indolent of the citizens of the United States. It is well known that throughout the whole extent of our Union, they are looked upon as the very *drones* and *pests* of society. Nor does this character arise from the disabilities and disfranchisement by which the law attempts to guard against them. In the non-slave-holding states, where they have been more elevated by law, this kind of population is in a worse condition and much more troublesome

to society, than in the slave-holding, and especially in the planting states. Ohio, some years ago, formed a sort of land of promise for this deluded class, to which many repaired from the slave-holding states; and what has been the consequence? They have been most harshly expelled from that state and forced to take refuge in a foreign land. Look through all the Northern States, and mark the class upon whom the eye of the police is most steadily and constantly kept—see with what vigilance and care they are hunted down from place to place—and you cannot fail to see, that idleness and improvidence are at the root of all their misfortunes. Not only does the experience of our own country illustrate this great fact, but others furnish abundant testimony.

“The free negroes,” says Brougham, “in the West Indies, are, with a very few exceptions, chiefly in the Spanish and Portuguese settlements, equally averse to all sorts of labour which do not contribute to the supply of their immediate and most urgent wants. Improvident and careless of the future, they are not actuated by that principle which inclines more civilized men to equalize their exertions at all times, and to work after the necessities of the day have been procured, in order to make up for the possible deficiencies of the morrow: nor has their intercourse with the whites taught them to consider any gratification as worth obtaining, which cannot be procured by slight exertion of desultory and capricious industry.”* In the Report of the Committee of the Privy Council in Great Britain, in 1788, the most ample proof of this assertion is brought forward. In Jamaica and Barbadoes, it was stated, that free negroes were never known to work for hire, and they have all the vices of the slaves. Mr. Braithwait, the agent for Barbadoes, affirmed, that if the slaves in that Island were offered their freedom on condition of working for themselves, not one-tenth of them would accept it. In all the other colonies the statements agree most accurately with those collected by the Committee of the Privy Council. “M. Malouet, who bore a special commission from the present government to examine the character and habits of the Maroons in Dutch Guiana, and to determine whether or not they were adapted to become hired labourers, informs us that they will only work one day in the week, which they find abundantly sufficient in the fertile soil and genial climate of the New World, to supply all the wants that they have yet learnt to feel. The rest of their time is spent in absolute indolence and sloth. ‘*Le repos,*’ says he ‘*et l’oisiveté sont devenus dans leur état social leur unique passion.*’ He gives the very same description of the free negroes in the French colonies, although many of them possess lands and slaves. The spectacle, he tells us, was never yet exhibited of a

* Brougham’s Colonial Policy, Book IV. Sec. 1.

free negro supporting his family by the culture of his little property. All other authors agree in giving the same description of free negroes in the British, French, and Dutch colonies, by whatever denomination they may be distinguished, whether Maroons, Caribes, free blacks, or fugitive slaves. The Abbé Raynal, with all his ridiculous fondness for savages, cannot, in the present instance, so far twist the facts according to his fancies and feelings, as to give a favourable portrait of this degraded race.”*

From these facts it would require no great sagacity to come to the conclusion, that slave cannot be converted into free labour without imminent danger to the prosperity and wealth of the country where the change takes place—and in this particular it matters not what may be the colour of the slave. In the commencement of the reign of Charles V., the representations of Las Casas determined Cardinal Ximenes, the prime minister of Charles, to make an experiment of the conversion of slave labour into free; and for this purpose pious commissioners were sent out, attended by Las Casas himself, for the purpose of liberating the Indian slaves in the New World. Now mark the result—these commissioners, chosen from the cloister, and big with real philanthropy, repaired to the Western World intent upon the great work of emancipation. “Their ears,” says Robertson, “were open to information from every quarter—they compared the different accounts which they received—and after a *mature* consideration of the whole, they were fully satisfied that the state of the colony rendered it *impossible* to adopt the plan proposed by Las Casas, and recommended by the Cardinal. They plainly perceived, that no allurements were so powerful as to surmount the natural aversion of the Indians to any laborious effort, and that nothing but the authority of a master could compel them to work; and if they were not kept constantly under the eye and discipline of a superior, so great were their natural listlessness and indifference, that they would neither attend to religious instruction, nor observe those rights of Christianity which they had been already taught. Upon all these accounts the superintendents found it *necessary* to tolerate *repartimientos*, and to suffer the Indians to remain under subjection to their Spanish masters.”† In the latter part of his reign, Charles, with most imprudent and fatal decision, proclaimed the immediate and universal emancipation of all the Indians—and precisely what any man of reflection might have anticipated resulted. Their industry and freedom were found entirely incompatible. The alarm was instantly spread over the whole Spanish colonies. Peru, for a time lost

* Brougham's Colonial Policy.

† Robertson's America, vol. i. p. 123.

to the monarchy, was only restored by the repeal of the obnoxious law ; and in New Spain quiet was only preserved by a combination of the governor and subjects to suspend its execution. During the mad career of the French revolution, the slaves in the French colonies were for a time liberated, and even in Cayenne, where the experiment succeeded best in consequence of the paucity of slaves, it completely demonstrated the superiority of slave over free black labour ; and generally the re-establishment of slavery was attended with the most happy consequences, and even courted by the negroes themselves, who became heartily tired of their short lived liberty. Of the great experiment which has been recently made in Colombia and Guatemala, we shall presently speak. We believe it has completely proved the same well established fact—the great superiority of slave over free negro labour.

Mr. Clarkson, in his pamphlet on Slavery, has alluded in terms of high commendation to an experiment made in Barbadoes, on Mr. Steele's plantation, which he contends has proved the safety and facility of the transition from slave to free labour. It seems Mr. Steele parcelled out his land among his negroes, and paid them wages for their labour. Now, we invite particularly the attention of our readers to the following extracts from the letter of Mr. Sealy, a neighbour of Mr. Steele, which will not only serve to establish our position, but afford an illustration of the melancholy fact, that the best of men cannot be relied on when under the influence of prejudice and passion. "It so happened," says Mr. Sealy, "that I resided on the nearest adjoining estate to Mr. Steele, and superintended the management of it myself for many years ; I had therefore a better opportunity of forming an opinion than Mr. Clarkson can have—he has read Mr. Steele's account—I witnessed the operations and effects of his plans. He possessed one of the largest and most seasonable plantations, in a delightful part of the island ; with all these advantages his estate was never in as good order as those in the same neighbourhood, and the crops were neither adequate to the size and resources of the estate, nor in proportion to those of other estates in the same part of the island. Finally, after an experiment of thirty years, under Mr. Steele, and his executor, Mr. T. Bell, Mr. Steele's debts remained unpaid, and the plantation was sold by a decree of the Court of Chancery. After the debts and costs of suit were paid, very little remained out of £45,000 to go to the residuary legatees.

"It was very well known that the negroes rejoiced when the change took place, and thanked their God that they were relieved from the copyhold system. Such was the final result and success that attended this system, which has been so much eulogized by Mr. Clarkson. After the estate was sold and the system

changed, I had equally an opportunity of observing the management, and certainly the manifest improvement was strong evidence in favour of the change. Fields which had been covered with bushes for a series of years, were brought into cultivation, and the number of pounds of sugar was in some years more than doubled under the new management; the provision crops also were abundant; consequently the negroes and stock were amply provided for." Again; the Attorney General of Barbadoes corroborates the statements of Mr. Sealy in the most positive terms: he says, "I was surprised to see it asserted lately in print, that his, Mr. Steele's plantation, succeeded well under that management. *I know it to be false.* It failed considerably; and had he lived a few years longer, he would have died not worth a *farthing*. Upon his death they reverted to the old system, to which the slaves readily and willingly returned; the plantation now succeeds, and the slaves are contented and happy, and think themselves much better off than under the copyhold system, for their wages would not afford them many comforts which they have now." (Upon this subject see No. LX. *London Quarterly. ART. West India Colonies.*) But a short time since, a highly respectable, and one of the most intelligent farmers of Virginia, informed us that he had actually tried, upon a much smaller scale, a similar experiment, and that it entirely failed; the negroes, devoid of judgment and good management, became lazy and improvident, and every time one was so unfortunate as to fall sick, it immediately became necessary to support him. The whole plan soon disgusted the master, and proved that the free labour system would not answer for the best of our negroes; for those he tried were his best. Now these experiments were the more conclusive, because the master reserved the right of reimposing slavery upon them in case the experiment should not meet his approbation: every stimulus was thus offered, in case their freedom were really desirable, to work hard, but their natural indolence and carelessness triumphed over love of liberty, and demonstrated the fact, that free labour made out of slave, is the worst in the world.

So far we have adduced instances from among mixed populations alone. Some have imagined that the indolence of the liberated black in these cases, has arisen entirely from the presence of the whites, acknowledged to be the superior race both by law and custom; that consequently if the blacks could be freed from the degrading influence exerted by the mere pressure of the whites, they would quickly manifest more desire to accumulate and acquire all the industrious habits of the English operative or New-England labourer. Although this is foreign to our immediate object, which is to prove the inefficacy of free black labour in our country, where of course whites must always be present,

we will nevertheless examine this opinion, because it has been urged in favour of that grand scheme of colonization recommended by some of the orators in the Virginia legislature. Our own opinion is that the presence of the whites ought rather to be an incentive and encouragement to labour. Habits of industry are more easily acquired when all are busy and active around us. A man feels a spirit of industry and activity stir within him, from moving amongst such societies as those of Marseilles, Liverpool, and New-York, where the din of business and bustle assails his ears at every turn, whereas he soon becomes indolent and listless at Bath or Saratoga. Why then are our coloured free men so generally indolent and worthless among the industrious and enterprising citizens of even our northern and New-England states? It is because there is an inherent and intrinsic cause at work, which will produce its effect under all circumstances. In the free black, the principle of idleness and dissipation triumphs over that of accumulation and the desire to better our condition; the animal part of the man gains the victory over the *moral*; and he consequently prefers sinking down into the listless inglorious repose of the brute creation, to rising to that energetic activity which can only be generated amid the multiplied, refined, and artificial wants of civilized society. The very conception which nine slaves in ten have of liberty, is that of idleness and sloth with the enjoyment of plenty; and we are not to wonder that they should hasten to practise upon their theory so soon as liberated. But the experiment has been sufficiently tried to prove most conclusively that the free black will work nowhere except by compulsion.

St. Domingo is often spoken of by philanthropists and schemers; the trial has there been made upon a scale sufficiently grand to test our opinions, and we are perfectly willing to abide the result of the experiment.

The main purpose of the mission of Consul General M'Kenzie to Hayti, by the British government, was to clear up this very question. We have made every exertion to procure the very valuable notes of that gentleman on Hayti, but have failed: we are therefore obliged to rely upon the eighty-ninth number of the London Quarterly, in one article of which, mention is made of the result of M'Kenzie's observations. "By all candid persons," says the Review, "the deliberate opinion which that able man has formed from careful observation, and the whole tenor of the evidence he has furnished, will be thought conclusive. Such invincible repugnance do the free negroes of that island feel to labour, that the system of the *code rural* of 1826, about the genuineness of which so much doubt was entertained a few years ago, is described as falling little short of the compulsion to which the slaves had been subjected previous to their emancipation.

'The consequences of delinquency,' he says, 'are heavy fine and imprisonment, and the provisions of the law are as despotic as can well be conceived.' He afterwards subjoins:—'Such have been the various modes for inducing or compelling labour for nearly forty years. It is next necessary to ascertain as far as it is practicable, the degree of success which has attended each; and the only mode with which I am acquainted, is to give the returns of the exported agricultural produce during the same period, marking, where it can be done, any accidental circumstance that may have had an influence.' He then quotes the returns at length, and observes—'There is one decided inference from the whole of these six returns, viz. the positive decrease of corn cultivation in all its branches—the diminution of other branches of industry, though not equally well marked, is no less certain, than that articles of spontaneous growth maintain, if not exceed, their former amount.' We may further add, that even the light labour required for trimming the plantation coffee trees, has been so much neglected, that the export of coffee in 1830, falls short of that of 1829, by no less than 10,000,000 pounds." (*See London Quarterly Review, No. 89, Art. West India Question.*)

We subjoin here, to exhibit the facts asserted by Mr. M'Kenzie in a more striking manner, a tabular view of some of the principal exports from St. Domingo, during her subjection to France, and during the best years of the reigns of Toussaint, Dessalines, and Boyer,* upon the authority of James Franklin on the present state of Hayti.

Produce.	French.	Toussaint.	Dessalines.	Boyer.
	1791.	1802.	1804.	1822.†
Sugar,	163,405,220 lbs.	53,400,000 lbs.	47,600,000 lbs.	652,541 lbs.
Coffee,	68,151,180	34,370,000	31,000,000	35,117,834
Cotton,	6,286,126	4,050,000	3,000,000	891,950

There has been a gradual diminution of the amount of the products of Hayti since 1822. In 1825 the whole value of exports was about \$ 8,000,000, more than \$ 1,000,000 less than in 1822, and the revenue of the island was not equal to the public expenditure. Is not this fair experiment for forty years, under more favourable circumstances than any reasonable man had a right to anticipate, sufficient to convince and overwhelm the most sceptical as to the unproductiveness of slave labour converted into free labour?

But the British colony at Sierra Leone is another case in point, to establish the same position. Evidence was taken in 1830 be-

* It is known that under Boyer there was a union of the Island under one government.

† The other years give the returns for the French part of the Island, this for the Spanish and French, and ought therefore to be proportionably greater.

fore a committee of the House of Commons. Captain Bullen, R. N. stated that at Sierra Leone they gave the blacks a portion of land to cultivate, and they cultivate *just as much* as will keep them and not *an inch* more. Mr. Jackson, one of the judges of the mixed commission court, being asked—"Taking into consideration the situation of Sierra Leone, and the attention paid by government to promote their comfort, what progress have they made towards civilization or the comforts of civilized life?" makes this answer—"I should say very inadequate to the efforts which have been made to promote their comfort and civilization." Captain Spence, being asked a similar question, replies—"I have formed a very indifferent opinion as to their progress in industry. I have not been able to observe that they seem inclined to cultivate the country farther than vegetables and things of that kind. They do not seem inclined to cultivate for exportation. Their wants are very few, and they are very wild; and their wants are supplied by the little exertion they make. They have sufficient to maintain them in clothing and food, and these are all their wants."

Our own colony upon the coast of Africa proves too the same fact. It has been fed slowly and cautiously with emigrants, and yet Mr. Ashmun's intreaties to colonization-friends in the United States, to recollect that rice did not grow spontaneously in Africa, to send out *labouring men* of good character, &c., but too conclusively show, in spite of the coloured and exaggerated statements of prejudiced friends, the great difficulty of making the negroes work in even Liberia; and we have no doubt that if 6000 or 60,000 could be colonized annually in Africa, there would not be a more worthless and indolent race of people upon the face of the globe than our African colonies would exhibit.

We have now, we think, proved our position that slave labour in an economical point of view, is far superior to free negro labour; and have no doubt that if an immediate emancipation of the negroes were to take place, the whole southern country would be visited with an immediate general famine, from which the productive sources of all the other states of the Union could not deliver them.

It is now easy for us to demonstrate the second point in our argument—that the slave is not only *economically* but *morally* unfit for freedom. And first, idleness and consequent want, are of themselves sufficient to generate a catalogue of vices of the most mischievous and destructive character. Look to the penal prosecutions of every country, and mark the situation of those who fall victims to the laws. And what a frightful proportion do we find among the indigent and idle classes of society! Idleness generates want—want gives rise to temptation—and strong temptation makes the villain. The most appropriate prayer for

frail imperfect man, is, "lead us not into temptation." Mr. Archer of Virginia well observed in a speech before the Colonization Society, that "the free blacks were destined by an insurmountable barrier—to the want of occupation—thence to the want of food—thence to the distresses which ensue that want—thence to the settled deprivation which grows out of those distresses, and is nursed at their bosoms; and this condition *was not casually but fate*. The evidence was not speculation in political economy—it was geometrical demonstration."

We are not to wonder that this class of citizens should be so depraved and immoral. An idle population will always be worthless; and it is a mistake to think that they are only worthless in the Southern States, where it is erroneously supposed the slavery of a portion of their race depresses them below their condition in the free states: on the contrary, we are disposed rather to think their condition better in the slave than the free states. Mr. Everett, in a speech before the Colonization Society, during the present year, says, "they (the free blacks) form in Massachusetts about one-seventy-fifth part of the population; *one-sixth of the convicts in our prisons are of this class*." The average number of annual convictions in the state of Virginia, estimated by the late Governor Giles, from the penitentiary reports, up to 1829, is seventy-one for the whole population—making one in every sixteen thousand of the white population, one in every twenty-two thousand of the slaves, and one for every five thousand of the free coloured people. Thus, it will be seen, that crimes among the free blacks are more than three times as numerous as among the whites, and four and a half times more numerous than among the slaves. But although the free blacks have thus much the largest proportion of crime to answer for, yet the proportion is not so great in Virginia as in Massachusetts. Although they are relatively to the other classes more numerous, making the one-thirtieth of the population of the state, not one-eighth of the whole number of convicts are from among them in Virginia, while in Massachusetts there is one-sixth. We may infer, then, they are not so degraded and vicious in Virginia, a slave-holding state, as in Massachusetts, a non-slave-holding state. But there is one fact to which we invite particularly the attention of those philanthropists who have the elevation of southern slaves so much at heart—that *the slaves in Virginia furnish a much smaller annual proportion of convicts than the whites, and among the latter a very large proportion of the convicts consist of foreigners or citizens of other states*.

There is one disadvantage attendant upon free blacks, in the slave-holding states, which is not felt in the non-slave-holding. In the former they corrupt the slaves, encourage them to steal

from their masters by purchasing from them, and they are, too, a sort of moral conductor by which the slaves can better organize and concert plans of mischief among themselves.

So far we have been speaking of the evils resulting from mere idleness; but there are other circumstances which must not be omitted in an enumeration of the obstacles to emancipation. The blacks have now all the habits and feelings of slaves, the whites have those of masters; the prejudices are formed, and mere legislation cannot remove them. "Give me," said a wise man, "the formation of the habits and manners of a people, and I care not who makes the laws." Declare the negroes of the South free to-morrow, and vain will be your decree until you have prepared them for it; you depress, instead of elevating. The law would, in every point of view, be one of the most cruel and inhumane which could possibly be passed. The law would make them freemen, and custom or prejudice, we care not which you call it, would degrade them to the condition of slaves; and soon should we see, that "it is happened unto them, according to the true proverb, the dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire." "*Ne quid nimis*," should be our maxim; and we must never endeavour to elevate beyond what circumstances will allow. It is better that each one should remain in society in the condition in which he has been born and trained, and not to mount too fast without preparation. Hence, in the southern states the condition of the free blacks is better than in the northern; in the latter he is told that he is a freeman and entirely equal to the white, and prejudice assigns to him a degraded station—light is furnished him by which to view the interior of the fairy palace which is fitted up for him, and custom expels him from it, after the law has told him it was his. He consequently leads a life of endless mortification and disappointment. Tantalus like, he has frequently the cup to his lips, and imperious custom dashes it untasted from him. In the southern states, law and custom more generally coincide; the former makes no profession which the latter does not sanction, and consequently the free black has nothing to grieve and disappoint him.

We have already said, in the course of this review, that if we were to liberate the slaves, we could not, in fact, alter their condition—they would still be virtually slaves; talent, habit, and wealth, would make the white the master still, and the emancipation would only have the tendency to deprive him of those sympathies and kind feelings for the black which now characterize him. Liberty has been the heaviest curse to the slave, when given too soon; we have already spoken of the eagerness and joy with which the negroes of Mr. Steele, in Barbadoes, returned to a state of slavery. The east of Europe affords hundreds of

similar instances. In 1791, Stanislaus Augustus, preparing a hopeless resistance to the threatened attack of Russia, in concert with the states, gave to Poland a constitution which established the complete personal freedom of the peasantry. The boon has never been recalled, and what was the consequence? "Finding," (says Jones, in his volume on Rents,) "their dependence on their proprietors for subsistence remained undiminished, the peasants showed no very grateful sense of the boon bestowed upon them; they feared they should now be deprived of all claim upon the proprietors for assistance, when calamity or infirmity overtook them. It is only since they have discovered that the *connexion* between them and the owners of the estates on which they reside is *little altered in practice*, and that their old masters very generally *continue*, from expediency or humanity, the occasional aid they formerly lent them, that they have become *reconciled* to their new character of freemen." "The Polish boors are, therefore, in *fact*, still *slaves*," says Burnett, in his "View of the Present State of Poland," "and relatively to their political existence, absolutely subject to the will of their lord as in all the barbarism of the feudal times."—"I was once on a short journey with a nobleman, when we stopped to bait at the farm-house of a village. The peasants got intelligence of the presence of their lord, and assembled in a body of twenty or thirty to prefer a petition to him. I was never more struck with the appearance of these poor wretches, and the *contrast* of their condition with that of their master; I stood at a distance, and perceived that he did not yield to their supplication. When he dismissed them, I had the curiosity to inquire the object of their petition; and he replied, that they had begged for an increased allowance of land, on the plea that what they had was insufficient for their support. He added, 'I did not grant it them because their present allotment is the usual quantity, and as it has sufficed hitherto, so I know it will in time to come. Besides,' said he, 'if I give them more, I well know that it will not in *reality* better their circumstances.' Poland does not furnish a man of more humanity than the one who rejected this apparently reasonable petition; but it must be allowed that he had reasons for what he did. Those degraded and wretched beings, instead of hoarding the small surplus of their absolute necessities, are almost universally *accustomed to expend* it in that abominable spirit, which they call *schnaps*. It is incredible what quantities of this pernicious liquor are drunk by the peasant men and women. The first time I saw any of these withered creatures was at Dantzic. I was prepared, by printed accounts, to expect a sight of singular wretchedness; but I shrunk involuntarily from the sight of the reality. Some involuntary exclamation of surprise, mixed with compassion, escaped me; a thoughtless and a feelingless per-

son (which are about the same thing) was standing by, 'Oh, sir,' says he, 'you will find plenty of such people as these in Poland; and you may strike them and kick them, or do what you please with them, and they will never resist you: they dare not.' Far be it from me to ascribe the feelings of this man to the more cultivated and humanized Poles; but such incidental and thoughtless expressions betray but too sensibly the general state of feeling which exists in regard to these oppressed men." The traveller will now look in vain, throughout our slave-holding country, for such misery as is here depicted; and in spite of all the tales told by gossiping travellers, he will find no master so relentless as the Polish proprietor, and no young man so "thoughtless" and "feelingless" as the young Pole above mentioned. But liberate our slaves, and in a very few years we shall have all these horrors and reproaches added unto us.

In Livonia, likewise, the serfs were prematurely liberated; and mark the consequences. Von Halen, who travelled through Livonia in 1819, observes, "along the high-road through Livonia are found, at short distances, filthy public houses, called in the country *Rhatcharuas*, before the doors of which are usually seen a multitude of wretched carts and sledges belonging to the peasants, who are so addicted to brandy and strong liquors* that they spend whole hours in those places. Nothing proves so much the state of barbarism in which those men are sunk, as the manner in which they received the decree issued about this time. These savages, unwilling to depend upon their own exertions for support, *made all the resistances in their power* to that decree, the execution of which was at length *intrusted to an armed force.*" The Livonian peasants, therefore, received their new privileges yet more ungraciously than the Poles, though accompanied with the gift of property and secure means of subsistence, if they *chose to exert themselves*. By an edict of Maria Theresa, called, by the Hungarians, the *urbarium*, personal slavery and attachment to the soil were abolished, and the peasants declared to be "*homines liberæ transmigrationis*;" and yet, says Jones, "the authority of the owners of the soil over the persons and property of their tenantry has been very imperfectly abrogated; the necessities of the peasants oblige them frequently to resort to their landlords for loans of food; they become laden with heavy debts, to be discharged by labour.† The proprietors

* We believe, in case of an emancipation of our blacks, that drunkenness would be among them like the destroying angel.

† Almost all our free negroes will run in debt to the full amount of their credit. "I never knew a free negro," says an intelligent correspondent, in a late letter, "who would not contract debts, if allowed, to greater amount than he could pay; and those whom I have suffered to reside on my land, although good

retain the right of employing them at pleasure, paying them, in lieu of subsistence, about one-third of the actual value of their labour: and lastly, the administration of justice is still in the hands of the nobles; and one of the first sights which strikes a foreigner, on approaching their mansions, is a sort of low framework of posts, to which a serf is tied when it is thought proper to administer the discipline of the whip, for offences which do not seem grave enough to demand a formal trial."

Let us for a moment revert to the black republic of Hayti, and we shall see that the negroes have gained nothing by their bloody revolution. Mr. Franklin, who derives his information from personal inspection, gives the following account of the present state of the island:—"Oppressed with the weight of an overwhelming debt, contracted without an equivalent, with an empty treasury, and destitute of the ways and means for supplying it; the soil almost neglected, or at least very partially tilled; without commerce or credit. Such is the present state of the republic; and it seems almost impossible that, under the system which is now pursued, there should be any melioration of its condition, or that it can arrive at any very high state of improvement. Hence, there appears every reason to apprehend that it *will recede into irrecoverable insignificance, poverty, and disorder.*" (p. 265.) And the great mass of the Haytiens are virtually in a state of as abject slavery as when the island was under the French dominion. The government soon found it absolutely necessary to establish a system of compulsion in all respects as bad, and more intolerable, than when slavery existed. The *Code Henri* prescribed the most mortifying regulations, to be obeyed by the labourers of the island; *work was to commence at daylight, and continue uninterruptedly till eight o'clock; one hour was then allowed to the labourer to breakfast on the spot; at nine work commenced again and continued until twelve, when two hours repose was given to the labourer; at two he commenced again, and worked until night.* All these regulations were enforced by severe penal enactments. Even Toussaint L'ouverture, who is supposed to have had the welfare of the negroes as much at heart as any other ruler in St. Domingo, in one of his proclamations in the ninth year of the French republic, peremptorily directs—"all *free labourers*, men and women, now in a state of idleness, and living in towns, villages, and on other plantations than those to which they belong, with the intention to evade work, even those of both sexes who had not been employed in field labour since the revolution, *are required to return immediately to their respective plantations.*" And in

mechanics, have been generally so indolent and improvident as to be in my debt at the end of the year, for provisions, brandy, &c., when I would allow it."

article seven, he directs, that "the *overseers* and *drivers* of every plantation shall make it their business to inform the commanding officer of the district in regard to the conduct of the labourers *under their management*, as well as those who shall absent themselves from their plantations *without a pass*, and of those who residing on the plantations shall refuse to work; they shall be forced to go to the labour of the field, and if they prove obstinate, they shall be arrested and carried before the military commandant, in order to suffer the punishment above prescribed, according to the exigence of the case, the punishment being fine and imprisonment." And here is the boasted freedom of the negroes of St. Domingo;—the appalling vocabulary of "overseer," "driver," "pass," &c., is not even abolished. Slavery to the government and its military officers is substituted for private slavery; the black master has stepped into the shoes of the white; and we all know that he is the most cruel of masters, and more dreaded by the negro than any of the ten plagues of Egypt. We are well convinced, that there is not a single negro in the commonwealth of Virginia who would accept such *freedom*; and yet the happiest of the human race are constantly invited to sigh for such freedom, and to sacrifice all their happiness in the vain wish. But it is not necessary further to multiply examples; enough has already been said, we hope, to convince the most sceptical of the great disadvantage to the slave himself, of freedom, when he is not prepared for it. It is unfortunate, indeed, that prejudiced and misguided philanthropists so often assert as *facts*, what, on investigation, turns out not only false, but even hostile to the very theories which they are attempting to support by them. We have already given one example of this kind of deception, in relation to Mr. Steele. We will now give another.

"In the year 1760, the Chancellor Zamoyski," says Burnett, "enfranchised six villages in the Palatinate of Masovia. This experiment has been much vaunted by Mr. Coxe, as having been attended with all the good effects desired; and he asserts that the chancellor had, in consequence, enfranchised the peasants on all his estates. *Both of these assertions are false.* I inquired particularly of the son of the present Count Zamoyski respecting these six villages, and was grieved to learn, that the experiment had completely failed. The count said, that within a few years he had sold the estate; and added, I was glad to get rid of it from the trouble the peasants gave me. These degraded beings, on receiving their freedom, were overjoyed at they knew not what, having no distinct comprehension of what freedom meant; but merely a rude notion that they may now do what they liked.*

* Precisely such a notion as that entertained by the slaves of this country and the West Indies.

They ran into every species of excess and extravagance which their circumstances admitted. Drunkenness, instead of being occasional, became almost perpetual ; riot and disorder usurped the place of quietness and industry ; the necessary labour suspended, the lands were worse cultivated than before ; the small rents required of them they were often unable to pay." (*Burnett's View of Poland*, p. 105.) Indeed, it is a calamity to mankind, that zealous and overheated philanthropists will not suffer the truth to circulate, when believed hostile to their visionary schemes. Such examples as the foregoing ought to be known and attended to. They would prevent a great deal of that impatient silly action which has drawn down such incalculable misery, so frequently, upon the human family. "There is a time for all things," and nothing in this world should be done before its time. An emancipation of our slaves would check at once that progress of improvement, which is now so manifest among them. The whites would either gradually withdraw, and leave whole districts or settlements in their possession, in which case they would sink rapidly in the scale of civilization ; or the blacks, by closer intercourse, would bring the whites down to their level. In the contact between the civilized and uncivilized man, all history and experience show, that the former will be sure to sink to the level of the latter. In these cases it is always easier to descend than ascend, and nothing will prevent the *facilis descensus* but slavery. The great evil, however, of these schemes of emancipation, remains yet to be told. They are admirably calculated to excite plots, murders, and insurrections ; whether gradual or rapid in their operation, this is the inevitable tendency. In the former case, you disturb the quiet and contentment of the slave who is left unemancipated ; and he becomes the midnight murderer to gain that fatal freedom whose blessings he does not comprehend. In the latter case, want and invidious distinction will prompt to revenge. Two totally different races, as we have before seen, cannot easily harmonize together ; and although we have no idea that any organized plan of insurrection or rebellion can ever secure for the black the superiority, even when free,* yet his idleness will produce want and worthlessness, and his very worthlessness and degradation will stimulate him to deeds of rapine and vengeance ; he will oftener engage in plots and massacres, and thereby draw down on his devoted head the vengeance of the provoked whites. But one limited massacre is recorded in Virginia history ; let her liberate her slaves, and every year you would hear of insurrec-

* Power can never be dialoged from the hands of the intelligent, the wealthy, and the courageous, by any plans that can be formed by the poor, the ignorant, and the habitually subservient ; history scarce furnishes such an example.

tions and plots, and every day would perhaps record a murder; the melancholy tale of Southampton would not alone blacken the page of our history, and make the tender mother shed the tear of horror over her babe as she clasped it to her bosom; others of a deeper die would thicken upon us; those regions where the brightness of polished life has dawned and brightened into full day, would relapse into darkness, thick and full of horrors, and in those dark and dismal hours, we might well exclaim, in the shuddering language of the poet—

“Nox atra cavâ circumvolat umbrâ
 Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fundo
 Explicet?
 Urbs antiqua ruit, multos dominata per annos
 Plurima perque vias sternuntur inertia passim
 Corpora per que domos, et religiosa deorum
 Limina: • • • Crudelis ubique
 Luctus ubique pavor, et plurima mortis imago.”

Colombia and Guatemala have tried the dangerous experiment of emancipation, and we invite the attention of the reader to the following dismal picture of the city of Guatemala, drawn by the graphic pencil of Mr. Dunn—“With Lazaroni in rags and filth, a coloured population drunken and revengeful, her females licentious and her males shameless, she ranks as a true child of that accursed city, which still remains as a living monument of the fulfilment of prophesy and the forbearance of God, the hole of every foul spirit, the cage of every unclean and hateful bird. The pure and simple sweets of domestic life, with its thousand tendernesses and its gentle affections, are here exchanged for the feverish joys of a dissipated hour;—and the peaceful home of love is converted into a theatre of mutual accusations and recriminations. This leads to violent excesses; men carry a large knife in a belt, women one fastened in the garter. Not a day passes without murder; on fast days and on Sundays, the average number killed is from four to five. From the number admitted in the hospital of St. Juan de Dios, it appears that in the year 1827, near fifteen hundred were stabbed, of whom from three to four hundred died.”* Thank Heaven no such scenes as these have yet been witnessed in our country. From the day of the arrival of the negro slaves upon our coast in the Dutch vessel, up to the present hour, a period of more than two hundred years, there have not perished in the whole southern country by the hands of slaves, a number of whites equal to the average annual stabbings in the city of Guatemala, containing a population of 30,000 souls!! “Nor is the freed African,” says Dunn, “one degree raised in the scale—under fewer restraints, his vices display themselves more disgustingly;—insolent and

* See Dunn's Sketches of Guatemala, in 1827 and 1828, pp. 95, 96, and 97.

proud, indolent and a liar, he imitates only the vices of his superiors, and to the catalogue of his former crimes adds drunkenness and theft." Do not all these appalling examples but too eloquently tell the consequences of emancipation, and bid us well beware how we enter on any system which will be almost certain to bring down ruin and degradation on both the whites and the blacks?

But in despite of all the reasoning and illustrations which can be urged, the example of the northern states of our confederacy and the west of Europe afford, it is thought by some, conclusive evidence of the facility of changing the slave into the freeman. As to the former, it is enough to say that paucity of numbers,* uncongenial climate, and the state of agriculture to the north, together with the great demand of slaves to the south, alone accomplished the business. In reference to the west of Europe, it was the rise of the towns, the springing up of a middle class, and a change of agriculture, which gradually and silently effected the emancipation of the slaves, in a great measure through the operation of the selfish principle itself. Commerce and manufactures arose in the western countries, and with them sprang up a middle class of freemen, in the cities and the country too, which gradually and imperceptibly absorbed into its body all the slaves. But for this middle class, which acted as the *absorbent*, the slaves could not have been liberated with safety or advantage to either party. Now, in our southern country, there is no body of this kind to become *the absorbent*, nor are we likely to have such a body, unless we look into the vista of the future, and imagine a time when the south shall be to the north, what England now is to Ireland, and will consequently be *overrun* with northern labourers, underbidding *the means of subsistence* which will be furnished to the negro: then *perhaps* such a labouring class, devoid of all pride and habits of lofty bearing, *may* become a proper *recipient* or *absorbent* for emancipated slaves. But even then we fear the effects of difference of colour. The slave of Italy or France could be emancipated or escape to the city, and soon all records of his former state would perish, and he would gradually sink into the mass of freemen around him. But unfortunately the emancipated black carries a mark which no time can erase; he forever wears the indelible symbol of his inferior condition; *the Ethiopian cannot change his skin, nor the leopard his spots*.

In Greece and Rome, and we imagine it was so during the feudal ages, the domestic slaves were frequently among the most

* "There are more free negroes and mulattoes, said Judge Tucker in 1803, in Virginia alone, than are to be found in the four New-England states, and Vermont in addition to them." (*Tucker's Blackstone*, Vol. 1. Part 2nd. p. 66, foot note.)

learned, virtuous, and intelligent members of society. Terence, Phædrus, Esop, and Epictetus were all slaves. They were frequently taught all the arts and sciences, in order that they might be more valuable to their masters. "Seneca relates," says Wallace in his *Numbers of Mankind*, "that Calvisius Labinus had many anagnostæ slaves, or such as were learned and could read to their masters, and that none of them were purchased under £807 5s. 10d. According to Pliny, Daphnis the grammarian cost £5651 10s. 10d. Roscius the actor would gain yearly £4036 9s. 2d. A morio, or fool, was sold for £161 9s. 2d." (*Wallace on the Numbers of Mankind*, page 142.) There was no obstacle, therefore, to the emancipation of such men as these (except as to the fool,) either on the score of colour, intelligence, habits, or any thing else—the *body* of freemen could readily and without difficulty or danger absorb them. Not so now—nor ever will it be in all time to come, with our blacks. With these remarks, we shall close our examination of the plans by which it has been or may be proposed to get rid of slavery. If our arguments are sound, and reasonings conclusive, we have shown they are all wild and visionary, calculated to involve the South in ruin and degradation: and we now most solemnly call upon the statesman and the patriot, the editor and the philanthropist, to pause, and consider well, before they move in this dangerous and delicate business. But a few hasty and fatal steps in advance, and the work may be irretrievable. For Heaven's sake then let us pause, and recollect, that on this subject, so pregnant with the safety, happiness, and prosperity of millions, we shall be doomed to realize the fearful motto, "*nulla vestigia retrorsum.*"

There are some who, in the plenitude of their folly and recklessness, have likened the cause of the blacks to Poland and France, and have *darkly hinted* that the same aspirations which the generous heart breathes for the cause of bleeding, suffering Poland, and revolutionary France, must be indulged for the *insurrectionary blacks*. And has it come at last to this? that the hellish plots and massacres of Dessalines, Gabriel, and Nat Turner, are to be compared to the noble deeds and devoted patriotism of Lafayette, Kosciusko, and Schrynecki? There is an absurdity in this conception, which so outrages reason and the most common feelings of humanity, as to render it unworthy of serious patient refutation. But we will, nevertheless, for a moment examine it, and we shall find, on their own principles, if such reasoners have any principles, that their conception is entirely fallacious. The true theory of the right of revolution we conceive to be the following: no men or set of men are justifiable in attempting a revolution which must *certainly* fail; or if successful must produce *necessarily a much worse state* of things than the pre-existent order. We have not the right to plunge the dagger into the mo-

narch's bosom merely because he is a monarch—we must be sure it is the *only means* of dethroning a tyrant and giving peace and happiness to an aggrieved and suffering people. Brutus would have had no right to kill Cæsar if he could have foreseen the consequences. If France and Poland had been peopled with a race of serfs and degraded citizens, totally unfit for freedom and self-government, and Lafayette and Kosciusko could have known it, they would have been *parricides* instead of *patriots*, to have roused such ignorant and unhappy wretches to engage in a revolution whose object they could not comprehend, and which would inevitably involve them in all the horrors of relentless carnage and massacre. No man has ever yet contended that the blacks could gain their liberty and an ascendancy over the whites by wild insurrections; no one has ever imagined that they could do more than bring down, by their rash and barbarous achievements, the vengeance of the infuriated whites upon their devoted heads. Where then is the analogy to Poland and to France, lands of generous achievement, of learning, and of high and noble purposes, and with people capable of self-government? We shall conclude this branch of our subject with the following splendid extract from a speech of Mr. Canning, which should at least make the rash legislator more distrustful of his specifics.

“In dealing with a negro we must remember that we are dealing with a being possessing the form and strength of a man, but the intellect only of a child. To turn him loose in the manhood of his physical passions, but in the infancy of his uninstructed reason, would be to raise up a creature resembling the splendid fiction of a recent romance; the hero of which constructs a human form with all the physical capabilities of man, and with the thews and sinews of a giant, but being unable to impart to the work of his hands a perception of right and wrong, he finds too late that he has only created a more than mortal power of doing mischief, and himself recoils from the monster which he has made. What is it we have to deal with? is it an evil of yesterday's origin? with a thing which has grown up in our time—of which we have watched the growth—measured the extent—and which we have ascertained the means of correcting or controlling? No, we have to deal with an evil which is the growth of centuries and of tens of centuries; which is almost coeval with the deluge; which has existed under different modifications since man was man. Do gentlemen, in their passion for legislation, think, that after only thirty years discussion, they can now at once manage as they will the most unmanageable perhaps of all subjects? or do we forget, sir, that in fact not more than thirty years have elapsed since we first presumed to approach even the outworks of this great question? Do we, in the ardour of our nascent reformation, forget that during the ages which this system has ex-

isted, no preceding generation of legislators has ventured to touch it with a reforming hand ; and have we the vanity to flatter ourselves that we can annihilate it at a blow? No Sir, No!—If we are to do good it is not to be done by sudden and violent measures.” Let the warning language of Mr. Canning be attended to in our legislative halls, and all rash and intemperate legislation avoided. We will now proceed to the last division of our subject, and examine a little into the injustice and evils of slavery, with the view of ascertaining if we are really exposed to those dangers and horrors which many seem to anticipate in the current of time.

Injustice and Evils of Slavery.

1st. It is said slavery is wrong, in the *abstract* at least, and contrary to the spirit of Christianity. To this we answer as before, that any question must be determined by its circumstances, and if, as really is the case, we cannot get rid of slavery without producing a greater injury to both the masters and slaves, there is no rule of conscience or revealed law of God which *can* condemn us. The physician will not order the spreading cancer to be extirpated, although it will eventually cause the death of his patient, because he would thereby hasten the fatal issue. So if slavery had commenced even contrary to the laws of God and man, and the sin of its introduction rested upon our hands, and it was even carrying forward the nation by slow degrees to final ruin—yet if it were *certain* that an attempt to remove it would only hasten and heighten the final catastrophe—that it was in fact a “*vulnus immedicabile*” on the body politic, which no legislation could safely remove, then, we would not only not be bound to attempt the extirpation, but we would stand guilty of a high offence in the sight of both God and man, if we should rashly make the effort. But the original sin of introduction rests not on our heads, and we shall soon see that all those dreadful calamities which the false prophets of our day are pointing to, will never in all probability occur. With regard to the assertion, that slavery is against the spirit of Christianity, we are ready to admit the general assertion, but deny most positively that there is any thing in the Old or New Testament, which would go to show that slavery, when once introduced, ought at all events to be abrogated, or that the master commits any offence in holding slaves. The Children of Israel themselves were slave-holders, and were not condemned for it. When they conquered the land of Canaan they made one whole tribe “*hewers of wood and drawers of water,*” and they were at that very time under the special guidance of Jehovah ; they were permitted expressly to purchase slaves of the heathens, and keep them as an inheritance for their posterity—and even the Children of Israel might be enslaved for six years.

When we turn to the New Testament, we find not one single passage at all calculated to disturb the conscience of an honest slave-holder. No one can read it without seeing and admiring that the meek and humble Saviour of the world in no instance meddled with the established institutions of mankind—he came to save a fallen world, and not to excite the black passions of men and array them in deadly hostility against each other. From no one did he turn away; his plan was offered alike to all—to the monarch and the subject—the rich and the poor—the master and the slave. He was born in the Roman world, a world in which the most galling slavery existed, a thousand times more cruel than the slavery in our own country—and yet he nowhere encourages insurrection—he nowhere fosters discontent—but exhorts *always* to implicit obedience and fidelity. What a rebuke does the practice of the Redeemer of mankind imply upon the conduct of some of his nominal disciples of the day, who seek to destroy the contentment of the slaves, to rouse their most deadly passions, to break up the deep foundations of society, and to lead on to a night of darkness and confusion! “Let every man (says Paul,) abide in the same calling wherein he is called. Art thou called *being* a servant? care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free use *it* rather.” (1 *Corinthians*, vii. 20, 21.) Again; “Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrines be not blasphemed; and they that have believing masters, let them not despise *them*, because they are brethren, but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort.” (1 *Tim.* vi. 1, 2.) Servants are even commanded in Scripture to be faithful and obedient to unkind masters. “Servants, (says Peter,) be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but to the froward. For what glory is it if when ye shall be buffeted for your faults ye take it patiently; but if when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.” (1 *Peter*, ii. 18, 20.) These, and many other passages in the New Testament, most convincingly prove, that slavery in the Roman world was nowhere charged as a fault or crime upon the holder, and everywhere is the most implicit obedience enjoined.*

We beg leave, before quitting this topic, to address a few remarks to those who have conscientious scruples about the holding of slaves, and therefore consider themselves under an obligation to break all the ties of friendship and kindred—dissolve all the associations of happier days, to flee to a land where this

* See *Ephesians*, vi. 5, 9. *Titus*, ii. 9, 10. *Philemon*. *Colossians*, iii. 22, and iv. 1.

evil does not exist. We cannot condemn the conscientious actions of mankind, but we must be permitted to say, that if the assumption even of these pious gentlemen be correct, we do consider their conduct as very unphilosophical, and we will go further still, we look upon it as even immoral upon their own principles. Let us admit that slavery is an evil, and what then? why it has been entailed upon us by no fault of ours, and must we shrink from the charge which devolves upon us, and throw the slave in consequence into the hands of those who have no scruples of conscience—those who will not perhaps treat him so kindly? No! this is not philosophy, it is not morality; we must recollect that the unprofitable man was thrown into utter darkness. To the slave-holder has truly been intrusted the five talents. Let him but recollect the exhortation of the Apostle—"Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a master in Heaven;" and in the final day he shall have nothing on this score with which his conscience need be smitten, and he may expect the welcome plaudit—"Well done thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of the Lord." Hallam, in his History of the Middle Ages, says that the greatest moral evil flowing from monastic establishments, consisted in withdrawing the good and religious from society, and leaving the remainder unchecked and unrestrained in the pursuit of their vicious practices. Would not such principles as those just mentioned lead to a similar result? We cannot, therefore, but consider them as *whining and sickly*, and highly unphilosophical and detrimental to society.

2dly. *But it is further said that the moral effects of slavery are of the most deleterious and hurtful kind;* and as Mr. Jefferson has given the sanction of his great name to this charge, we shall proceed to examine it with all that respectful deference to which every sentiment of so pure and philanthropic a heart is justly entitled.

"The whole commerce between master and slave," says he, "is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions—the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it, for man is an imitative animal—this quality is the germ of education in him. From his cradle to his grave, he is learning what he sees others do. If a parent had no other motive, either in his own philanthropy or self love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and

daily exercised in the worst of tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities.”* Now we boldly assert that the fact does not bear Mr. Jefferson out in his conclusions. He has supposed the master in a continual passion—in the constant exercise of the most odious tyranny, and the child, a creature of imitation, looking on and learning. But is not this master sometimes kind and indulgent to his slaves? does he not mete out to them, for faithful service, the reward of his cordial approbation? Is it not his interest to do it? and when thus acting humanely, and speaking kindly, where is the child, the creature of imitation, that he does not look on and learn? We may rest assured, in this intercourse between a good master and his servant, more good than evil *may* be taught the child, the exalted principles of morality and religion may thereby be sometimes indelibly inculcated upon his mind, and instead of being reared a selfish contracted being, with nought but self to look to—he acquires a more exalted benevolence, a greater generosity and elevation of soul, and embraces for the sphere of his generous actions a much wider field. Look to the slave-holding population of our country, and you everywhere find them characterized by noble and elevated sentiment, by humane and virtuous feelings. We do not find among them that cold, contracted, calculating *selfishness*, which withers and repels every thing around it, and lessens or destroys all the multiplied enjoyments of social intercourse. Go into our national councils, and ask for the most generous, the most disinterested, the most conscientious, and the least unjust and oppressive in their principles, and see whether the slave-holder will be past by in the selection. Edwards says that slavery in the West Indies seems to awaken the laudable propensities of our nature, such as “frankness, sociability, benevolence, and generosity. In no part of the globe is the virtue of hospitality more prevalent than in the British sugar islands. The gates of the planter are always open to the reception of his guests—to be a stranger is of itself a sufficient introduction.”

Is it not a fact, known to every man in the South, that the most *cruel masters* are those who have been unaccustomed to slavery. It is well known that northern gentlemen who marry southern heiresses are much severer masters than southern gentlemen.† And yet, if Mr. Jefferson’s reasoning were correct, they ought to be much milder: in fact, it follows from his reasoning, that the authority which the father is called on to exercise over his children, must be seriously detrimental; and yet we

* Jefferson’s Notes on Virginia.

† A similar remark is made by Ramsay, and confirmed by Bryan Edwards, in regard to the West Indies. “Adventurers from Europe are universally more cruel and morose towards the slaves, than the Creole or native West Indian.” (*Hist. of W. I. Book 4. Chap. 1.*)

know that this is not the case; that on the contrary, there is nothing which so much humanizes and softens the heart, as this *very authority*; and there are none, even among those who have no children themselves, so disposed to pardon the follies and indiscretion of youth, as those who have seen most of them, and suffered greatest annoyance. There may be many cruel relentless masters, and there are unkind and cruel fathers too; but both the one and the other make all those around them shudder with horror. We are disposed to think that their example in society tends rather to strengthen, than weaken the principle of benevolence and humanity.

Let us now look a moment to the slave, and contemplate *his* position. Mr. Jefferson has described him as hating, rather than loving his master, and as losing, too, all that *amor patriæ* which characterizes the true patriot. We assert again, that Mr. Jefferson is not borne out by the fact. We are well convinced that there is nothing but the mere relations of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, which produce a closer tie, than the relation of master and servant. We have no hesitation in affirming, that throughout the whole slave-holding country, the slaves of a good master are his warmest, most constant, and most devoted friends; they have been accustomed to look up to him as their supporter, director, and defender. Every one acquainted with southern slaves, knows that the slave rejoices in the elevation and prosperity of his master; and the heart of no one is more gladdened at the successful debut of young master or miss on the great theatre of the world, than that of either the young slave who has grown up with them, and shared in all their sports, and even partaken of all their delicacies—or the aged one who has looked on and watched them from birth to manhood, with the kindest and most affectionate solicitude, and has ever met from them all, the kind treatment and generous sympathies of feeling tender hearts.

Gilbert Stuart, in his History of Society, says that the time when the vassal of the feudal ages was most faithful, most obedient, and most interested in the welfare of his master, was precisely when his dependance was most complete, and when, consequently, he relied upon his lord for every thing. When the feudal tenure was gradually changing, and the law was interposing between landlord and tenant, the close tie between them began to dissolve, and with it, the kindness on one side, and the affection and gratitude on the other, waned and vanished. From all this, we are forced to draw one important inference—that it is dangerous to the happiness and well being of the slave, for either the imprudent philanthropist to attempt to interfere too often, or the rash legislator to obtrude his regulating edicts, between master and slave. They only serve to

render the slave more intractable and unhappy, and the master more cruel and unrelenting. And we call upon the reverend clergy, whose examples should be pure, and whose precepts should be fraught with wisdom and prudence, to beware, lest in their zeal for the black, they suffer too much of the passion and prejudice of the human heart to mingle with those pure principles by which they should be governed. Let them beware of "what spirit they are of." "No sound," says Burke, "ought to be heard in the church, but the healing voice of Christian charity. Those who quit their proper character, to assume what does not belong to them, are for the most part ignorant of the character they assume, and of the character they leave off. Wholly unacquainted with the world in which they are so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs, on which they pronounce with so much confidence, they have nothing of politics but the *passions* they excite. Surely the church is a place where one day's truce ought to be allowed to the dissensions and animosities of mankind."

In the debate in the Virginia legislature, no speaker *insinuated even*, we believe, that the slaves in Virginia were not treated kindly; and all too agreed that they were most abundantly fed, and we have no doubt but that they form the happiest portion of our society. A merrier being does not exist on the face of the globe than the negro slave of the United States. *Even* Captain Hall himself, with his thick "crust of prejudice," is obliged to allow that they are happy and contented, and the master much less cruel than is generally imagined. We cannot, therefore, agree with Mr. Jefferson, in the opinion that slavery makes the unfeeling tyrant and the ungrateful dependant; and in regard to Virginia especially, we are almost disposed, judging from the official returns of crimes and convictions, to assert, with a statesman who has descended to his tomb (Mr. Giles,) "that the whole population of Virginia, consisting of three *castes*—of free white, free coloured, and slave coloured population, is the soundest and most moral of any other, according to numbers, in the whole world, as far as is known to me."

3dly. *It has been contended that slavery is unfavourable to a republican spirit:* but the whole history of the world proves that this is far from being the case. In the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, where the spirit of liberty glowed with most intensity, the slaves were more numerous than the freemen. Aristotle, and the great men of antiquity, believed slavery necessary to keep alive the spirit of freedom. In Sparta, the freeman was even forbidden to perform the offices of slaves, lest he might lose the spirit of independence. In modern times, too, liberty has always been more ardently desired by slaveholding communities. "Such," says Burke, "were our Gothic

ancestors; such, in our days, were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves who are not slaves themselves.”—“These people of the southern (American) colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty, than those of the northward.” And from the time of Burke down to the present day, the southern states have always borne this same honourable distinction. Burke says, “it is because freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege.” Another, and perhaps more efficient cause, of this, is the perfect spirit of equality so prevalent among the whites of all the slave-holding states. Jack Cade, the English reformer, wished all mankind to be brought to one common level. We believe slavery, in the United States, has accomplished this, in regard to the whites, as nearly as can be expected or even desired in this world. The menial and low offices being all performed by the blacks, there is at once taken away the greatest cause of distinction and separation of the ranks of society. The man to the north will not shake hands familiarly with his servant, and converse, and laugh, and dine with him, no matter how honest and respectable he may be. But go to the south, and you will find that no white man feels such inferiority of rank as to be unworthy of association with those around him. The same thing is observed in the West Indies. “Of the character common to the white residents of the West Indies, it appears to me,” says Edwards, “that the leading feature is an independent spirit, and a display of *conscious equality* throughout all ranks and conditions. The poorest white person seems to consider himself nearly on a level with the richest; and emboldened by this idea, approaches his employer with extended hand, and a freedom, which, in the countries of Europe, is seldom displayed by men in the lower orders of life towards their superiors.” And it is this spirit of equality which is both the generator and preserver of the genuine spirit of liberty.

4thly. *Insecurity of the whites, arising from plots, insurrections, &c., among the blacks.* This is the evil, after all, let us say what we will, which really operates most powerfully upon the schemers and emancipating philanthropists of those sections where slaves constitute the principal property. Now, if we have shown, as we trust we have, that the scheme of deportation is utterly impracticable, and that emancipation, with permission to remain, will produce all these horrors in *still greater degree*, it follows that this evil of slavery, allowing it to exist in all its latitude, would be no argument for legislative action, and therefore we might well rest contented with this issue; but as we are anxious to exhibit this whole subject in its true bearings, and as we do believe that this evil has been most strangely and causelessly exaggerated, we have determined to examine it

a moment, and point out its true extent. It seems to us, that those who insist most upon it, commit the enormous error of looking upon every slave in the whole slave-holding country as actuated by the most deadly enmity to the whites, and possessing all that reckless, fiendish temper, which would lead him to murder and assassinate the moment the opportunity occurs. This is far from being true; the slave, as we have already said, generally loves the master and his family;* and few indeed there are, who can coldly plot the murder of men, women, and children; and if they do, there are fewer still who can have the villany to execute. We can sit down and imagine that all the negroes in the south have conspired to rise on a certain night, and murder all the whites in their respective families; we may suppose the secret to be kept, and that they have the physical power to exterminate; and yet, we say the whole is *morally impossible*. No insurrection of this kind can ever occur where the blacks are as much civilized as they are in the United States. Savages and Koromantyn slaves can commit such deeds, because their whole life and education have prepared them, and they glory in the achievement; but the negro of the United States has imbibed the principles, the sentiments, and feelings of the white; in one word, he is civilized—at least, comparatively; his whole education and course of life are at war with such fell deeds. Nothing, then, but the most subtle and poisonous principles, sedulously infused into his mind, can break his allegiance, and transform him into the midnight murderer. Any man who will attend to the history of the Southampton massacre, must at once see, that the cause of even the partial success of the insurrectionists, was the very circumstance that there was no extensive plot, and that Nat, a demented fanatic, was under the impression that heaven had enjoined him to liberate the blacks, and had made its manifestations by loud noises in the air, an eclipse, and by the greenness of the sun. It was these signs which determined *him*, and ignorance and superstition, together with implicit confidence in Nat, determined a few others, and thus the bloody work began. So fearfully and reluctantly did they proceed to the execution, that we have no doubt but that if Travis, the first attacked, could have waked whilst they were getting into his house, or could have shot down Nat or Will, the rest would have fled, and the affair would have terminated in *limine*.

We have read with great attention the history of the insurrections in St. Domingo, and have no hesitation in affirming, that

* We scarcely know a single family, in which the slaves, especially the domestics, do not manifest the most unfeigned grief at the deaths which occur among the whites.

to the reflecting mind, that whole history affords the most complete evidence of the difficulty and almost impossibility of succeeding in these plots, even under the most favourable circumstances. It would almost have been a *moral miracle*, if that revolution had not succeeded. The French revolution had kindled a blaze throughout the world. The society of the *Amis des Noirs*, (the friends of the blacks,) in Paris, had educated and disciplined many of the mulattoes, who were almost as numerous as the whites in the island. The National Assembly, in its mad career, declared these mulattoes to be equal in all respects to the whites, and gave them the same privileges and immunities as the whites. During the ten years, too, immediately preceding the revolution, more than 300,000 negroes were imported into the island from Africa. It is a well known fact, that newly imported negroes are always greatly more dangerous than those born among us; and of those importations a very large proportion consisted of Koromantyn slaves, from the Gold Coast, who have all the savage ferocity of the North American Indian.* And lastly, the whites themselves, disunited and strangely inharmoonious, would nevertheless have suppressed the insurrections, although the blacks and mulattoes were nearly *fifteen-fold* their numbers, if it had not been for the constant and too fatal interference of France. The great sin of that revolution rests on the *National Assembly*, and should be an awful warning to every legislature to beware of too much tampering with so delicate and difficult a subject as an alteration of the fundamental relations of society.

But there is another cause which will render the success of the blacks for ever impossible in the South, as long as slavery exists. It is, that, in modern times especially, wealth and talent must ever rule over *mere* physical force. During the feudal ages, the vassals never made a settled concerted attempt to throw off the yoke of the lord or landed proprietor; and the true reason was, they had neither property nor talent, and consequently the power, under these circumstances, could be placed nowhere else than in the hands of the lords; but so soon as the *tiers etat* arose, with commerce and manufactures, there was something to struggle for, and the *crise des revolutions*, (the crisis of revolutions,) was the consequence. No connected, persevering, and well concerted movement, ever takes place, in modern times, unless for the sake of property. Now, the property, talent, con-

* It was the Koromantyns who brought about the insurrection in Jamaica in 1760. They are a very hardy race; and the Dutch, who are a calculating, money-making people, and withal the most cruel masters in the world, have generally preferred these slaves, because they might be *forced* to do most work; but the consequence of their avarice has been, that they have been more cursed with insurrections than any other people in the West Indies.

cert, and we may add habit, are all with the whites, and render their continued superiority absolutely certain, if they are not meddled with, no matter what may be the disproportion of numbers. We look upon these insurrections in the same light that we do the murders and robberies which occur in society, and in a slave-holding state, they are a sort of substitute for the latter; the robbers and murderers in what are called free states, are generally the poor and needy, who rob for money; negro slaves rarely murder or rob for this purpose; they have no inducement to do it—the fact is, the whole capital of the South is pledged for their maintenance. Now, there is no doubt but that the common robberies and murders, for money, take off, in the aggregate, more men, and destroy more property than insurrections among the slaves; the former are the result of fixed causes *eternally* at work, the latter of occasional causes which are rarely, *very rarely*, in action. Accordingly, if we should look to the whole of our southern population, and compare the average number of deaths, by the hands of assassins, with the numbers elsewhere, we would be astonished to find them perhaps as few or fewer than in any other population of equal amount on the globe. In the city of London there is, upon an average, a murder or a house-breaking and robbery every night in the year, which is greater than the amount of deaths by murders, insurrections, &c., in our whole southern country; and yet the inhabitant of London walks the streets and sleeps in perfect confidence, and why should not we who are in fact in much less danger? These calamities in London, very properly give rise to the establishment of a police, and the adoption of precautionary measures; and so they should in our country, and every where else. And if the Virginia legislature had turned its attention more to this subject during its last session, we think, with all due deference, it would have redounded much more to the advantage of the state than the intemperate discussion which was gotten up.

But it is agreed on almost all hands, that the danger of insurrection now is not very great; but a time must arrive, it is supposed by many, when the dangers will infinitely increase, and either the one or the other race must necessarily be exterminated. “I do believe,” said one in the Virginia legislature, “and such must be the judgment of every reflecting man, that unless something is done in time to obviate it, the day must ar-

* We wish that accurate accounts could be published of all the deaths which had occurred from insurrections in the United States, West Indies, and South America, since the establishment of slavery; and that these could be compared to the whole population that have lived since that epoch, and the number of deaths which occur in other equal amounts of population, from popular sedition, robberies, &c., and we would be astonished to see what little cause we have for the slightest apprehension on this score.

rive when scenes of inconceivable horror must inevitably occur, and one of these two races of human beings will have their throats cut by the other." Another gentleman anticipates the dark day when a negro legislature would be in session in the capital of the Old Dominion! Mr. Clay, too, seems to be full of gloomy anticipations of the future. In his Colonization Speech of 1830, he says, "Already the slaves may be estimated at two millions, and the free population at ten; the former being in the proportion of one to five of the latter. Their respective numbers will probably double in periods of thirty-three years. In the year 1863, the number of the whites will probably be twenty, and of the blacks four millions. In 1896, forty and eight; and in the year 1929, about a century, eighty and sixteen millions. What mind is sufficiently extensive in its reach—what nerve sufficiently strong—to contemplate this vast and progressive augmentation, without an awful foreboding of the tremendous consequences!" If these anticipations are true, then may we, in despair, quietly sit down by the waters of Babylon, and weep over our lot, for we can never remove the blacks. "*Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.*"

But we have none of these awful forebodings. We do not look to the time when the throats of one race must be cut by the other; on the contrary, we have no hesitation in affirming, and we think we can prove it too, that in 1929, taking Mr. Clay's own statistics, we shall be much more secure from plots and insurrections, than we are at this moment. It is an undeniable fact, that in the increase of population, the power and security of the dominant party always increase *much more* than in proportion to the relative augmentation of their numbers. One hundred men can much more easily keep an equal number in subjection than fifty, and a million would rule a million more certainly and securely than any lesser number. The dominant can only be overturned by concert and harmony among the subject party, and the greater the relative numbers on both sides, the more impossible does this concert on the part of the subjected become. A police, too, of the same *relative* numbers, is much more efficient amid a numerous population, than a very sparse one. We will illustrate by example, which cannot fail to strike even the most sceptical. Mr. Gibbon supposes that the hundredth man in any community, is as much as the people can afford to keep in pay for the purposes of a police. Now suppose the community be only one hundred, then one man alone is the police. Is it not evident that the ninety-nine will be able at any moment to destroy him, and throw off all restraint? Suppose the community one thousand, then ten will form the police, which would have a rather better chance of keeping up order among the nine hundred and ninety, than the one in the one

hundred, but still this would be insufficient. Let your community swell to one million, and ten thousand would then form the police, and ten thousand troops will strike terror in any city on the face of the globe. Lord Wellington lately asserted in the British Parliament, that Paris, containing a population of a million of souls (the most boisterous and ungovernable,) never required, before the reign of Louis Philip, more than forty-five hundred troops to keep it in the most perfect subjection. It is this very principle which explains the fact so frequently noticed, that revolutions are effected much more readily in small states than in large ones. The little republics of Greece underwent revolutions almost every month—the dominant party was never safe for a moment.—The little states of modern Italy have undergone more changes and revolutions than all the rest of Europe together, and if foreign influence were withdrawn, almost every ship from Europe, even now, would bring the news of some new revolution in those states. If the standing army will remain firm to the government, a successful revolution in most large empires, as France, Germany, and Russia, is almost impossible. The two revolutions in France have been successful, in consequence of the disaffection of the troops, who have joined the popular party.

Let us apply these principles to our own case; and for the sake of simplicity we will take a country of a mixed population of twenty thousand, viz. blacks ten thousand, and whites as many:—the patrol which they can keep out, would, according to our rule, be two hundred—double both sides, and the patrol would be four hundred, quadruple and it would be eight hundred—now a patrol of eight hundred would be much more efficient than the two hundred, though they were, relatively to the numbers kept in order, exactly the same; and the same principle is applicable to the progress of population in the whole slave-holding country. In 1929, our police will be much more efficient than now, if the two castes preserve any thing like the same relative numbers. We believe it would be better for the whites that the negro population should double, if they added only one half more to their numbers, than that they should remain stationary on both sides. Hence an insuperable objection to all these deporting schemes—they cannot diminish the relative proportion of the blacks to the whites, but on the contrary increase it, while they check the augmentation of the population as a whole, and consequently lessen the security of the dominant party. We do not fear the increase of the blacks, for that very increase adds to the wealth of society, and enables it to keep up the police. This is the true secret of the security of the West Indies and Brazil. In Jamaica, the blacks are eight fold the whites; throughout the extensive empire of Brazil, they are three to one. Political

prophets have been prophesying for fifty years past, that the day would speedily arrive, when all the West Indies would be in the possession of the negroes; and the danger is no greater now, than it was at the commencement. We sincerely believe the blacks never will get possession, unless through the mad interference of the mother countries, and *even* then we are doubtful whether they can conquer the whites. Now, we have nowhere in the United States, the immense disproportion between the two races observed in Brazil and the West Indies, and we are not like to have it in all time to come. We have no data, therefore, upon which to anticipate that dreadful crisis, which so torments the imagination of some.

But our population returns have been looked to, and it has been affirmed that they show a steady increase of blacks, which will finally carry them in all proportion beyond the whites, and that this will be particularly the case in Eastern Virginia. We have no fears on this score either: even if it were true, the danger would not be very great. With the increase of the blacks, we can afford to enlarge the police; and we will venture to say, that with the hundredth man at our disposal, and faithful to us, we would keep down insurrection in any large country on the face of the globe. But the speakers in the Virginia legislature, in our humble opinion, made most unwarrantable inferences from the census returns. They took a period between 1790 and 1830, and judged exclusively from the aggregate results of that whole time. Mr. Brown pointed out their fallacy, and showed that there was but a small portion of the period in which the blacks had rapidly gained upon the whites, but during the residue they were most rapidly losing their high relative increase, and would, perhaps, in 1840, exhibit an augmentation less than the whites. But let us go a little back—in 1740 the slaves in South Carolina, says Marshall, were three times the whites, the danger from them was greater then than it ever has been since, or ever will be again. There was an insurrection in that year, which was put down with the utmost ease, although instigated and aided by the Spaniards. The slaves in Virginia, at the same period, were much more numerous than the whites. Now suppose some of those *peepers* into futurity could have been present, would they not have predicted the speedy arrival of the time when the blacks, running ahead of the whites in numbers, would have destroyed their security? In 1763, the black population of Virginia was 100,000, and the white 70,000. In South Carolina, the blacks were 90,000, and the whites 40,000. Comparing these with the returns of 1740, our prophets, could they have lived so long, might have found some consolation in the greater relative increase of the whites. Again, when we see in 1830, that the blacks in both states have fallen in numbers below the whites, our pro-

phets, were they alive, might truly be pronounced *false*. (See *Holmes's Annals*, and *Marshall's Life of Washington*, on this subject.)

We are happy to see that the legislature of Virginia, during the last session, incorporated a company to complete the James river and Kanhawa improvements, and that the city of Richmond has so liberally contributed by her subscriptions, as to render the project almost certain of success. It is this great improvement which is destined to revolutionize the financial condition of the Old Dominion, and speed her on more rapidly in wealth and numbers, than she has ever advanced before: the snail pace at which she has hitherto been crawling, is destined to be converted into the giant's stride, and this very circumstance, of itself, will defeat all the gloomy predictions about the blacks. The first effect of the improvement will be to raise up larger towns in the eastern portion of the state. Besides other manifold advantages which these towns will diffuse, they will have a tendency to draw into them the capital and free labourers of the north, and in this way to destroy the proportion of the blacks. Baltimore is now an exemplification of this fact, which by its mighty agency is fast making Maryland a non-slave-holding state. Again, the rise of cities in the lower part of Virginia, and increased density of population, will render the division of labour more complete, break down the large farms into small ones, and substitute, in a great measure, the garden for the plantation cultivation: consequently, less slave and more free labour will be requisite, and in due time the abolitionists will find this most lucrative system working to their heart's content, increasing the prosperity of Virginia, and diminishing the evils of slavery without those impoverishing effects which all other schemes must necessarily have. We hope then that those gentlemen who have so perseveringly engaged in urging forward this great scheme of improvement, will not falter until the work is accomplished, and they will have the consolation of seeing that its moral effects will be no less salutary than the physical.

5thly, and lastly. *Slave labour is unproductive, and the distressed condition of Virginia and the whole South is owing to this cause.* Our limits will not allow us to investigate fully this assertion, but a very partial analysis will enable us to show that the truth of the general proposition upon which the conclusion is based, depends on circumstances, and that those circumstances do not apply to our southern country. The ground assumed by Smith and Storch, who are the most able supporters of the doctrine of the superior productiveness of free labour, is that each one is actuated by a desire to accumulate when free, and this desire produces much more efficient and constant exertions than can possibly be expected from the feeble operation of

fear upon the slave. We are, in the main, converts to this doctrine, but must be permitted to limit it by some considerations. It is very evident, when we look to the various countries in which there is free labour alone, that a vast difference in its productiveness is manifested. The English operative we are disposed to consider the most productive labourer in the world, and the Irish labourer, in his immediate neighbourhood, is not more than equal to the southern slave—the Spanish and even Italian labourers are inferior. Now, how are we to account for this great difference? It will be found *mainly* to depend upon the operation of two great principles, and *secondarily* upon attendant circumstances. These two principles are the desire to accumulate and better our condition, and a desire to indulge in idleness and inactivity.

We have already seen that the principle of idleness triumphed over the desire for accumulation among the savages of North and South America, among the African nations, among the blacks of St. Domingo, &c., and nothing but the strong arm of authority could overcome its operation. In southern countries, idleness is very apt to predominate, even under the most favourable circumstances, over the desire to accumulate, and slave labour, consequently, in such countries, is most productive. Again, staple-growing states are, *cæteris paribus*, more favourable to slave labour than manufacturing states. Slaves in such countries may be worked in bodies under the eye of a superintendent, and made to perform more labour than freemen. There is no instance of the successful cultivation of the sugar cane by free labour. St. Domingo, once the greatest sugar-growing island in the world, makes now scarcely enough for her own supply. We very much doubt even whether slave labour be not best for all southern agricultural countries. Humboldt, in his New Spain, says he doubts whether there be a plant on the globe so productive as the banana, and yet these banana districts, strange to tell, are the poorest and most miserable in all South America, because the people only labour a little to support themselves, and spend the rest of their time in idleness. There is no doubt but slave labour would be the most productive kind in these districts. We doubt whether the extreme south of the United States, and the West India islands, would ever have been cultivated to the same degree of perfection as now, by any other than slave labour.

But it is said free labour becomes cheaper than slave labour, and finally extinguishes it, as has actually happened in the West of Europe; this we are ready to admit, but think it was owing to a change in the tillage, and the rise of manufactures and commerce, to which free labour alone is adapted. As a proof of this, we can cite the populous empire of China, and the eastern nations generally, where slave labour has stood its ground against free

labour, although the population is denser, and the proportional means of subsistence more scanty than anywhere else on the face of the globe. How is this to be accounted for, let us ask? Does it not prove, that under some circumstances, slave labour is as productive as free? We would as soon look to China to test this principle, as any other nation on earth. Again, looking to the nations of antiquity, if the Scriptural accounts are to be relied on, the number of inhabitants in Palestine must have been more than 6,000,000; at which rate, Palestine was at least, when taking into consideration her limited territory, five times as populous as England.* Now we know that the tribes of Judah and Israel both used slave labour, and it must have been exceedingly productive, for we find the two Kings of Judah and Israel bringing into the field no less than 1,200,000 chosen men;† and Jehosaphat, the son of Asa, had an army consisting of 1,160,000;‡ and what a prodigious force must he have commanded, had he been sovereign of all the tribes! Nothing but the most productive labour could ever have supported the immense armies which were then led into the field.

Wallace thinks that ancient Egypt must have been thrice as populous as England; and yet so valuable was slave labour, that ten of the most dreadful plagues that ever affected mankind, could not dispose the selfish heart of Pharaoh to part with his Israelitish slaves; and when he lost them, Egypt sunk, never to rise to her pristine grandeur again. Ancient Italy too, not to mention Greece, was exceedingly populous, and perhaps Rome was a larger city than any of modern times—and yet slave labour supported these dense populations, and even rooted out free labour. All these examples prove sufficiently, that under certain circumstances, slave is as productive, and even more productive, than free labour.

But the southern states, and particularly Virginia, have been compared with the non-slave-holding states, and pronounced far behind them in the general increase of wealth and population; and this, it is said, is a decisive proof of the inferiority of slave labour in this country. We are sorry we have not the space for a thorough investigation of this assertion, but we have no doubt of its fallacy. Look to the progress of the colonies before the establishment of the federal government, and you find the slave-holding were the most prosperous and the most wealthy. The north dreaded the formation of the confederated government, *precisely* because of its *poverty*. This is an historic fact. It stood to the south, as Scotland did to England at the period of the Union; and feared lest the south, by its superior wealth, supported by

* See Wallace on the Numbers of Mankind, p. 52, Edinb. Edit.

† 2 Chron. xiii. 3.

‡ 2 Chron. xvii.

this very *slave labour*, which, all of a *sudden*, has become so unproductive, should abstract the little wealth which it possessed. Again, look to the exports at the present time of the whole confederacy, and what do we see—why, that one-third of the states, and those *slave-holding* too, furnish two-thirds of the whole exports!! But although this is now the case, we are still not prosperous. Let us ask them two simple questions; 1st. How came the south, for two hundred years, to prosper with her slave labour, if so very unproductive and ruinous? and 2dly. How does it happen, that her exports are so great even now, and that her prosperity is nevertheless on the decline? Painful as the accusation may be to the heart of the true patriot, we are forced to assert, that the unequal operation of the federal government has principally achieved it. The north has found that it could not compete with the south in agriculture, and has had recourse to the system of duties, for the purpose of raising up the business of manufactures. This is a business in which the slave labour cannot compete with northern, and in order to carry this system through, a coalition has been formed with the west, by which a large portion of the federal funds are to be spent in that quarter for internal improvements. These duties act as a discouragement to southern industry, which furnishes the exports by which the imports are purchased, and a bounty to northern labour, and the partial disbursements of the funds increase the pressure on the south to a still greater degree. It is not slave labour then which has produced our depression, but it is the action of the federal government which is ruining slave labour.

There is at this moment an exemplification of the destructive influence of government agency in the West Indies. The British West India Islands are now in a more depressed condition than any others, and both the Edinburgh and London Quarterly Reviews charge their depression upon the regulations, taxing sugar, coffee, &c., and preventing them, at the same time, from purchasing bread stuffs, &c. from the United States, which can be furnished by them cheaper than from any other quarter. Some of the philanthropists of Great Britain cry out it is slavery which has done it, and the slaves must be liberated; but they are at once refuted by the fact, that never has island flourished more rapidly than Cuba, in its immediate neighbourhood. And Cuba flourishes because she enjoys free trade, and has procured of late plenty of slaves. It is curious that the population of this island has, for the last thirty years, kept pace with that of Pennsylvania, one of the most flourishing of the states of the confederacy, and her wealth has increased in a still greater ratio.* Look again to Brazil, per-

* See some interesting statistics concerning this island in Mr. Poinsett's Notes on Mexico.

haps, at this moment, the most prosperous state of South America, and we find her slaves three times more numerous than the freemen. Mr. Brougham, in his Colonial Policy, says that Cayenne never flourished as long as she was scantily supplied with slaves, but her prosperity commenced the moment she was supplied with an abundance of this *unproductive* labour. Now we must earnestly ask an explanation of these phenomena, upon the principle that slave labour is unproductive.

There are other causes too, which have operated in concert with the federal government, to depress the south. The climate is unhealthy, and upon an average, perhaps one-tenth of the labour is suspended during the sickly months. There is a great deal of travelling too, from this cause, to the north, which abstracts the capital from the south, and spreads it over the north; and added to all this, the *standard of comfort* is much higher in the slave-holding than the non-slave-holding states.* All these circumstances together, are surely sufficient to account for the depressed condition of the south, without asserting that slave labour is valueless. But we believe all other causes as "dust in the balance," when compared with the operation of the federal government.

How does it happen that Louisiana, with a greater proportional number of slaves than any other state in the Union, with the most insalubrious climate, with one-fourth of her white population spread over the more northern states in the sickly season, and with a higher *standard of comfort* than perhaps any other state in the Union, is nevertheless one of the most rapidly flourishing in the whole southern country? The true answer is, she has been so fortunately situated as to be able to reap the fruits of federal protection. "Midas's wand" has touched her, and she

* In the Virginia debate, it was said that the slow progress of the Virginia population was a most unerring symptom of her want of prosperity, and the inefficacy of slave labour. Now we protest against this criterion, unless very cautiously applied. Ireland suffers more from want and famine than any other country in Europe, and yet her population advances almost as rapidly as ours, and it is this very increase which curses the country with the plague of famine. In the Highlands of Scotland, they have a very sparse population, scarcely increasing at all; and yet they are much better fed, clothed, &c. than in Ireland. Malthus has proved, that there are two species of checks which repress redundant populations—*positive* and *preventive*. It is the latter which keeps down the Scotch population; while the former, always accompanied with misery, keeps down the Irish. We believe at this time the preventive checks are in full operation in Virginia. The people of that state live much better than the same classes to the north, and they will not get married unless there is a prospect of maintaining their families in the same style they have been accustomed to live in. We believe the preventive checks may commence their operation too soon for the wealth of a state, but they always mark a high degree of civilization—so that the slow progress of population in Virginia turns out to be her highest eulogy.

has reaped the golden harvest. There is no complaint there of the unproductiveness of slave labour.

But it is time to bring this long article to a close; it is upon a subject which we have most reluctantly discussed; but, as we have already said, the example was set from a higher quarter; the seal has been broken, and we therefore determined to enter fully into the discussion. If our positions be true, and it does seem to us they may be sustained by reasoning almost as conclusive as the demonstration of the mathematician, it follows, that the time for emancipation has not yet arrived, and perhaps it never will. We hope sincerely, that the intelligent sons of Virginia will ponder well before they move—before they enter into a scheme which will destroy more than half Virginia's wealth, and drag her down from her proud and elevated station among the mean things of the earth.

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ART. I.—*Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia.—Lives of Eminent British Lawyers.* By HENRY ROSCOE, Esq. *Barrister at Law.* London: 1831.

THE dignity, respectability, and antiquity of the profession of the law cannot be disputed. Of the learned professions, nay of all the sciences, it may well put in a claim for even the highest rank. What, indeed, can be more noble than the aim of that science, which is to direct the actions of mankind, and whose foundations rest upon the will of the great ruler of the universe? At all times, and in every country, where the character of the individual has not tarnished the respectability with which his profession would otherwise have clothed him, the lawyer has claimed and received respect. It has been said, sarcastically, but yet truly, that all its professors are *Gentlemen* of the Bar; and that an admission to practise in a court of law, confers a patent of gentility that is not affected by the lowly birth or the empty pockets of the bearer. It is, in truth, a glorious tribute to the supremacy of science, and a distinction which the wearer can only sully by individual degradation and personal deficiency.

This has been and continues to be the case in Europe, but should be emphatically so in our own country. Ours is, essentially, a government of laws founded upon the expressed or tacit assent of the people; that profession, then, which aims to study, to expound, and to enforce them, cannot but be respected. None here, happily, are above the laws—none too humble for their influence. The professors of the science are connected, necessarily so, and intimately, with the every-day business of life: their aid is required, and their advice asked in the most trifling, as in the

most momentous of human occurrences—and as the law ties the nuptial knot, so one of her ministers is called on to give efficiency to the last will and testament of the dying. The influence, therefore, of the profession, is immense, and is a striking proof of the force of the adage “that knowledge is power.” Happily, to have acquired and to sustain that influence, a great knowledge of the laws is necessary; abilities and habits which render that information probable; and integrity and honesty to command confidence.

But though the dignity and influence of lawyers in their particular profession have not been denied, yet, in public affairs, as statesmen and as orators on the great theatre of political renown, their success has been questioned. It has been asserted, that their minds have been cramped by habits of technical study and reasoning, and that the hackneyed style of a pleader is unsuited to the meridian of parliamentary debate. We deny the truth of the position, even in England; though there, the education and the course of life of a lawyer may render him more liable to the justice of the charge. Without, however, arguing the point, supposing it to be true as a general remark, there have been splendid exceptions to it even in that country. The abilities of Dunning, Somers, Camden, and Mansfield in former times, and of Brougham and others in our own, have challenged a reputation even in Parliament, which the proudest of their “unhackneyed” orators may not be ashamed to wear. But, in our own land, all experience, as all correct reasoning, is opposed to the position. It is invidious to cite living names; it may suffice to assert, that the same men who have adorned their profession by an acquaintance with its minutest intricacies, have instructed and delighted their country and guided her destinies on the most exalted stage of political contest. It is not strange that it should be thus—a mere knowledge of the technicalities of the law does not constitute the lawyer in America—eloquence goes far to make the advocate here—but even that is not all-sufficient; extensive learning, not confined to a particular profession, and varied accomplishments (which may, in one sense, indeed, be considered some of the constituents of eloquence) must all unite.

There is a difference in the situation of British and American lawyers which is worthy of notice; and which we think more propitious to the early success of advocates across the water. In England it is well known that there are two distinct classes in the profession of the law, attorneys and barristers or counsel. In this country, generally, it is different. The same person goes through the drudgery of preparing the cause and arranging the papers, and afterwards enforces it by his eloquence and argument before a jury or the court. In Great Britain, on the other hand, the attorneys never open their mouths in court. It is theirs,

after arranging the cause and preparing a brief, to place the business in the hands of the barrister whom they may select, and they are always eagerly on the look out for an eminent or a rising advocate. To such a one, then, the field of business is wide open—an eloquent speech, which exhibits the germ of superior intellect, or the fruits of extensive learning, may ensure at once the patronage of the attorneys,* or attract the attention of the government, ever ready to welcome and to secure the rising talent of the bar.

This advantage the English lawyer possesses, together with another common to him and his American brethren, the opportunity of distinguishing himself before the public. But in England that public is different. The jurisdiction of the Courts of Westminster Hall extends over the whole country, and the fame and the practice of the advocate may be co-extensive with the jurisdiction. Here hundreds of local bars (we were about to say in a single state) divide the practice of the country. Each county court has its Brougham—we would be glad to add that any had its Mansfield. The sphere of a lawyer's practice, as well as his fame, is therefore here in a great degree limited, and the quantity of competition in this profession, as in every trade and business, cheapens labour. May it not also be said that the greater facilities of admission to the bar, and the shorter time required for previous preparation, have, by rendering the profession more easy of access, for that very reason lessened its advantages to its members without ministering to the good of the public? The abstruse sciences are to be mastered by continued hard study alone; and in their case there exists no locomotive to facilitate the ascent of the hill of knowledge,

“Where Fame's proud temple shines afar.”

Great occasions for the display of the abilities of an eloquent advocate, more frequently present themselves in Great Britain than here. Informations for libels, indictments for treason and for riot, and, we may add, crim. con. cases, are of constant recurrence. In causes of this description, the brightest efforts of the English bar have been made, and in those of the kind first mentioned, the sympathies of the people have been peculiarly enlisted on the side of the counsel for the defendants, as their opposition to what have been repeatedly acts of oppression on the part of the government, has converted them from mere private counsel into advocates in the great cause of the liberties of their countrymen. Happily for America, the slumbering talents of the bar have

* Roger North (*Life of Lord Guilford*, p. 425, vol. i.) says, that Sir John Churchill, a chancery practiser, would sometimes take £28 in his walk from Lincoln's Inn to the Temple Hall, for the purpose of making motions and defences for hastening and retarding causes out of term. This was an agreeable morning walk.

never been roused by governmental tyranny; it has been unknown since the days of '76; and the infrequency of the cases we last alluded to, showing, as it does, the pure state of our morals, can hardly be a matter of regret, though a fine field for professional display has been thereby closed. It was, of course, not in that spirit that we adverted to it, but merely intending to state how the facts stood in the two countries, upon the not uninteresting point of the sources of legal practice.

An Englishman, disposed to be sarcastic, might request our lawyers to console themselves with the reflection that opportunities for the exercise of their abilities are repeatedly presented in cases of murder, which, whatever may be the reason, (whether owing to the great importation of the lower classes of Europeans or not,) unfortunately too often occur. Criminal business is not, however, the most desirable, nor the reputation of a criminal lawyer the most enviable—and the advice we would give to the youthful aspirant to the honours of his profession, is, not to endeavour to make a fine speech in a criminal cause, but to labour by long-continued close study to master the difficulties of the science, and to acquire the reputation of being a sound lawyer, a chaste nervous speaker, and a man of business.

We have probably detained our readers too long from the book which we purpose to bring before their notice—our excuse must be the great interest we feel in the subject. That others are of the same opinion, is shown by the circumstance of the lives of lawyers forming a distinct portion of British biography. Our country is yet, perhaps, too young for this, but we hope the time will come when the professional labours of a Marshall, a Story, a Washington, a Webster, a Clay, and a Binney, may be held up to stimulate the efforts of the student, and be deemed worthy of separate notice and preservation.

The Cabinet Cyclopædia is one of the numerous forms under which works, in our day, without any apparent connexion, have been classed and published together. Theological books, novels, biographies, travels, histories, scientific productions, in fact, every kind of literary effort have been ushered into the world as parts of "family libraries," "cabinet cyclopædias" "select publications," &c. The plan is good; and in England the greatest talents of the day have been enlisted as contributors. The truth is, that now, literature of a certain kind is so common a thing, that there must be something striking "*ad captandum*" in the appearance of a book to make it much sought after. The Rev. Dionysius Lardner, LL. D., F. R. S., L. & E., M. R. I. A., F. L. S., F. Z. S., Hon. F. C. P. S., M. Ast. S., &c. &c.!! (we give all his titles—quite enough for a clergyman) has succeeded in his attempt. It is undoubtedly an addition that is highly useful to our literary stock. Of the different productions in

the series, not the least worthy of notice, is the book under review. Without any pretension, (it contains no dedication to purchase patronage, and no preface to deprecate censure,) it is really one of the best written works that have latterly issued from the press. The author writes modestly, but as a man of sense, and with the air of a practised writer. We know not if he be a relative of the great Roscoe, but he certainly will not diminish the lustre of the name. His "Lives" embrace those of Sir Edward Coke, John Selden, Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Guilford, Lord Jefferies, Lord Somers, Lord Mansfield, Sir J. E. Wilmot, Sir W. Blackstone, Lord Ashburton, Lord Thurlow, Sir W. Jones, Lord Erskine, and Sir Samuel Romilly. We shall endeavour to lay before our readers some of the most amusing anecdotes, and make short extracts from the lives of each; particularly where we conceive the incidents in their career to be least generally known.

The merits of the illustrious lawyer *Sir Edward Coke*, whose name stands first on the list, are familiar to the professional reader, and probably the events of his life are known to all. His name is, in fact, identified with that of the law itself in England, and the noble stand which he took in favour of liberty and the rights of the subject, in the arbitrary reigns of James and Charles the First, has rendered him not less illustrious as a patriot than he was great as a lawyer. To this part of his career, therefore, we will turn but for a moment, as we do not wish to fatigue our readers with a twice told tale. The part we refer to was the memorable interview between Coke, then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and his Majesty James I., in which the king undertook to lecture the judges for their construction of the law that interposed a barrier to his arbitrary designs. The ingenious reader will call to mind a famous document nearer home, which may give rise to reflections akin to those entertained by Lord Coke. Bancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, insisted that if the king were so pleased *he might take any cause from the determination of the judges, and decide it himself*; this, he said, was clear in divinity; and we suppose, he thought that the same as law. Lord Coke greatly marvelled at this; and according to his own statement, the king went on to say "that he thought *the law was reason, and that he and others had reason as well as the judges.*" "To which," says Coke, "it was answered by me, that true it was that God had endowed his majesty with excellent science and great endowments of nature; *but his majesty was not learned in the laws of his realm of England.*" A very good answer to all chief magistrates who attempt to take away the construction of the laws from the tribunals to which they appropriately belong. Coke knew something of the mode in which his majesty transacted business when he took the law into

his own hands, for Stow says, (p. 821) that James on his journey from Scotland, ordered a cutpurse to be executed *without trial*. Coke finally lost his office on account of his opposition to the arbitrary conduct of the government. He was summoned before the council, and suspended from his functions. Among other charges, was the following extraordinary one—that in his books of reports were many extravagant and exorbitant opinions set down and published for positive and good law. He was accordingly directed, during the vacation, while he had leisure, to take the reports into his consideration and review; and having corrected them, it was His Majesty's pleasure that he should bring them privately to himself, that he might consider thereof as in his princely judgment should be found expedient. After an examination of three months, Coke discovered five immaterial errors, which he submitted to the king; "being rather" says Bacon, "a scorn than a satisfaction to his majesty." James was pleased that Sir Edward's "memory should be refreshed, and that he should be put in mind of some passages dispersed in his books which his majesty did distaste." The king showed that he had a glimmering of sense left by dropping the tyrannical and undignified investigation. As we before said, Coke was finally turned out of his situation, and proceedings were, moreover, instituted against him in the Star-Chamber, amongst other things, "for blasphemously comparing of himself to Samuel."

Of Coke's writings, and of his merits as a lawyer, it is superfluous to speak—there was much, too, that was great and noble about him that we pass by. Unfortunately there was a dark side to his character—his barbarity to Raleigh and Digby will blot his name for ever. It is, however, more than probable that his conduct on those occasions, was owing to his overbearing and wicked temper, and not to any desire to persecute the martyrs to liberty; because, as his subsequent conduct showed, he preferred that to his personal advancement and comfort. We quote the account given by our author, as well to exhibit this failing in the character of Coke, as to show the extraordinary manner in which criminal causes were conducted in those days.

"Coke was then attorney general. In the course of his address, Raleigh interrupted him. 'To whom speak you this? You tell me news I never heard of.' To which Coke replied, 'Oh, sir, do I? I will prove you the notorious traitor that ever came to the bar. After you have taken away the king, you would alter religion, as you, Sir Walter Raleigh, have followed them of the bye, in imitation, for I will charge you with the words.' 'Your words cannot condemn me,' said Raleigh, 'my innocency is my defence. Prove one of those things where-with you have charged me, and I will confess the whole indictment, and that I am the horriblest traitor that ever lived, and worthy to be crucified with a thousand cruel torments.' 'Nay,' answered Coke, 'I will prove all. Thou art a monster. Thou hast an English face, but a Spanish heart. Now you must have money. Aremberg was no sooner in England, (I charge thee Raleigh) but thou incitest Obham to go unto him, and to deal with him for money, to bestow on discontented persons, to raise rebellion in the kingdom.' 'Let me answer for

myself,' said Raleigh. 'Thou shalt not,' was the fierce and brutal reply of Coke. —Again, on Raleigh observing that the guilt of Lord Cobham was no evidence against himself, Coke replied, 'all that he did was by thy instigation, thou viper! for I *thou* thee, thou traitor.' 'It becometh not a man of quality and virtue to call me so,' was Raleigh's dignified rebuke—'but I take comfort in it; it is all you can do.'—'Have I angered you?' said Coke—'I am in no case to be angry,' was Raleigh's answer.—pp. 2, 3.—During the trial, he called him a 'damnable atheist.'"

His style of oratory was very peculiar—quaint and pedantic—such as was sanctioned by the whimsical taste of the day. On the trial of Garnet, Coke thus described him. "He hath many gifts and endowments by nature; by art, learned, a good linguist, and by profession, a Jesuist, and a superior, as indeed he is superior to all his predecessors, in devilish treason; a doctor of Jesuists, that is, a doctor of five D. D's. as dissimulation, deposing of princes, disposing of kingdoms, daunting and deterring of subjects, and destruction."

Coke found a persevering and constant enemy to his advancement in the person of the great Bacon. It is known that these two singular men, from their very first setting out in life, were implacable opponents. The cause of their mutual dislike is unknown, but certain it is, that they watched each other's progress with the most deadly envy and enmity. These feelings seem to have raged in the bosom of Bacon with more intensity than in that of his rival, and are hardly reconcilable with the many almost superhuman qualities which he possessed. In truth, in reading the numerous acts of meanness and hypocrisy, of fawning upon power and low subserviency to the designs of a tyrannical prince, which have disgraced the character of the illustrious philosopher of England, the mind is almost persuaded to believe, that the historian has been deceived, rather than that such strange inconsistencies should exist in the human intellect. But, unfortunately, the truth of the seeming paradox is too well attested, and we must be content to gaze in silent wonder at the spectacle of the

"Brightest, wisest, meanest of mankind."

It is consolatory to reflect, that the noble qualities of the head and heart generally accompany each other, and that wisdom and benevolence oft walk hand in hand. It is not, however, paradoxical, that wisdom and baseness should sometimes be found in company—great intelligence, clearly discerning the path that leads to distinction, with a consciousness of superiority over fellow-labourers in the same struggle, allied to positive meanness, should its possessor be depressed in the scale of life below the level which his talents entitle him to assume. Bacon had within him a burning ambition—he saw that either himself or his rival must gather the fruits of successful exertion. Coke was his senior in age, and had the start of him in his race at the bar. The harsh-

ness and independence of Sir Edward's mind, had led him to adopt and to support the side of freedom both on the bench and in parliament, and the feelings of enmity in the bosom of Bacon, naturally threw him into the arms of the court party, upon whose favour he depended for promotion. Cunning, selfish, and ambitious, much as he hated Coke, he eagerly lent himself to his advancement from the situation of attorney-general to a seat on the bench, in order that a vacancy might be created which should be filled in his own person—and he succeeded. Keeping his eye steadily fixed upon the promotion of his own interests, to which he bent all the energies of his mighty mind, he lived to see his illustrious rival dismissed from all his high offices, and himself the keeper of the great seal of England. We have made these remarks, not to palliate or excuse the lord keeper's conduct—but to account for what has been thought an anomaly in the history of the human mind. It becomes us to mourn over the aberrations of genius; and with such instances as that of Bacon before our eyes, to doubt which most to admire, the littleness or the greatness of the human mind. Our readers, we are sure, will feel the correctness of the following remarks by Mr. Roscoe.

"It will not perhaps be altogether useless to compare the characters and fortunes of these two celebrated men. With powers of mind which have probably never been equalled; with philosophy to unravel the errors of ages, and to link with the highest of human sciences, his own immortal name; with an intellect so subtle and searching, as not only to traverse the world of matter, but to pierce into the unexplored realms of mind; with sagacity to read, and with ingenuity to govern, the characters of others; with a bland and copious tongue; and with an obedient and powerful pen; above all, with the richest of human gifts, the capacity of taking the most enlarged views of man's true happiness; with all these countless blessings showered lavishly upon him, Bacon has left a name which, in despite of its immortality, every honest and honourable man would scorn to bear; a name debased by the most mean and grovelling ambition, by thorough want of principle, and by the profligate abandonment of high and honourable feeling. Nor did he fail to reap his due reward in the insolence and ingratitude of those whom he had helped to raise and to flatter, and in the contempt of all to whom such debasement was odious."

"Far inferior in intellectual capacity, with none of the science, and with little of the literature of Bacon, Sir Edward Coke, in all the essentials of a truly noble character, was immeasurably his superior. Unimpeached in his integrity, consistent, honest, and firm in his political principles, he exhibited an admirable example of the most difficult of all virtues—virtue in public life. The dignified self-respect with which he conducted himself in his contests with the court, forms a striking contrast to the abject submission of Bacon, whenever he discovered that he had offended the king or his favourite. Nor is the conclusion of the lives of these great men less instructive. They had both been dismissed from their high stations; they had both been disgraced at court; but Coke retired with the enlivening consciousness of his honest and honourable life; Bacon, 'with wasted spirits and an oppressed mind,' and with bitter reflections on his shattered fortunes."—pp. 40, 41.

We cannot refrain from extracting the following singular account of a quarrel which took place in court between these two singular men, and which is thus narrated by Bacon himself:—

"I moved to have a re-seizure of the lands of George Moore, a relapsed recusant, a fugitive, and a practising traitor; and showed better matter for the queen against the discharge by plea, which is ever with a salvo jure. And this I did in as gentle and reasonable terms as might be.

"Mr. Attorney kindled at it, and said, 'Mr. Bacon, if you have any tooth against me, pluck it out; for it will do you more hurt, than all the teeth in your head will do you good.' I answered coldly in these very words: 'Mr. Attorney, I respect you, I fear you not, and the less you speak of your own greatness, the more I will think of it.'

"He replied—'I think scorn to stand upon terms of greatness towards you, who are less than little, less than the least;' and other such strange light terms he gave me, with that insulting which cannot be expressed.

"Herewith stirred, yet I said no more but this: 'Mr. Attorney do not depress me so far; for I have been your better, and may be again, when it please the queen.'

"With this he spake, neither I nor himself could tell what, as if he had been born attorney-general; and in the end, bade me not meddle with the queen's business, but with mine own; and that I was unsworn, &c.—I told him, sworn or unsworn was all one to an honest man, and that I ever set my service first, and myself second, and wished to God that he would do the like.

"Then he said, 'it were good to clap a *cap. utlagatum* upon my back,'—to which I only said, he could not, and that he was at a fault; for he hunted upon an old scent.

"He gave me a number of disgraceful words besides; which I answered with silence, and showing that I was not moved with them."—*Bacon's Letters by Birch*.—p. 22.

Lord Coke was unfortunate in his domestic life. The temper of his wife embittered his existence. In order to show her spite against him, on a certain occasion, when the king honoured her with a visit at her house in Holborn, she gave express commandment, that neither Sir Edward nor any of his servants should be admitted to the dinner she prepared for her royal guest.

At another time, there was a rumour of his death at his house at Stoke-Pogis; when his wife, accompanied by her brother, set off immediately to take possession of the place—but they were stopped on their way by the disagreeable intelligence of her husband's amendment. Sir Edward Coke died in 1634, at the age of 84.

We regard the name of *John Selden*, with all the veneration which profound and varied learning should ever inspire. His learning was so "stupendous," (to use the expression of the author of Lord Clarendon's life) that one would have thought that he had passed every hour of his life in reading; and yet his courtesy and affability were such as to induce a belief that he had been bred in a court. He was of humble parentage, and raised himself by the exercise of his own abilities. His researches and knowledge were such, his biographer says, that a familiar acquaintance with his writings, much less a critical examination of them, is a task few have the power or resolution to undertake. As an antiquarian lawyer, he stands, confessedly, without a rival.

His practice at the bar was inconsiderable—his talents and

learning appeared in the numerous writings with which he favoured the public. Amiable in private intercourse, and as a member of parliament, always on the side of liberal principles, the events of his life furnish nothing that is particularly interesting to the general reader. The defect in his character was what Lord Clarendon called an "indulgence to his safety"—he was constitutionally timid—and his timidity was nurtured and strengthened by his habits as a student.

This constitutional timidity was unfortunately displayed in a manner that has cut off much from his reputation as a man. In the year 1618, he published his *History of Tithes*; in which, with his usual research and ingenuity, he completely overthrew the divine right of tithes. The Church of England, then, exercised a triumphant sway; the whole body of her ecclesiastics were roused by the publication into indignant fury; and every censure, ecclesiastical and temporal, which it was in her power to inflict, was hurled at the offending author. The head of the church, the same who had found such fault with the legal decisions of Sir Edward Coke, summoned poor Selden before him to receive proper castigation and reproof from his royal lips for his damnable heresy. The scholar was introduced to the kingly presence by his friends, Ben Jonson and Edward Heyward, and the obnoxious passages in his treatise were pointed out by the royal theologian. The spirit of Sir Edward Coke was wanting. Selden bowed submissive to the royal criticisms, and promised a full recantation. This the unfortunate scholar was compelled to sign in the following words, when summoned before the Court of High Commission:

"My good Lords, I most humbly acknowledge the error I have committed in publishing the History of Tithes; and especially in that I have at all, by showing any interpretation of Holy Scriptures, by meddling with councils, fathers, or canons, or by what else soever occurs in it, offered any occasion of argument against any right of maintenance, *jure divino*, of the ministers of the gospel; beseeching your Lordships to receive this ingenuous and humble acknowledgment, together with the unfeigned protestation of my grief, for that through it I have so incurred both his Majesty's and your Lordships' displeasure conceived against me on behalf of the Church of England.

JOHN SELDEN."

That Selden was deficient in moral courage, by his conduct in this particular, is as evident as the tyranny of the court and the church. But as Mr. Roscoe very properly observes, "the nerves of the martyr and of the patriot are not found in every frame; nor can it justly be made the subject of peculiar reproach, that the learning of Selden was not accompanied by the courage of Hampden." Numerous answers to Mr. Selden's History were sent forth by the clergy, which Selden was only prevented from refuting by the express personal declaration of James, that if he or any of his friends should write against them, he would instantly throw them into prison!

Selden, in part, redeemed his reputation, by the course he adopted in parliament, in which he obtained a seat at the close of the reign of James the First. He joined the popular side, and resisted with firmness the arbitrary designs of the Stuarts. Along with the leaders of that party, he was cast into the Tower; and by his whole conduct evinced that a change had been wrought in his character by the companionship of such men as Coke, Hollis, and Ellyot. In the year 1654, the weak frame of Selden yielded to the pressure of age. Shortly before his death, he called to his side his friends, the Primate Usher and Dr. Langbaine, and told them, "that he had his study full of books and papers, of most subjects in the world; yet at that time he could not recollect any passage wherein he could rest his soul, save out of the Holy Scriptures, wherein the most remarkable passage that lay most upon his spirit was *Titus* ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.

Selden is the only one of the eminent British lawyers we can call to mind, who never received an appointment from the government. He never held an office under the crown. His reputation is the fruit of his own head and his own hands. No sounding title emblazons his name—it is not enrolled in the aristocratic list of British peers—but the plain appellation of John Selden has been transmitted to future ages, with a lustre derived from his talents and his learning, which no earthly honours or titles could ever have imparted. He was 70 years old at his death.

The name of *Sir Matthew Hale* should occupy the very highest niche in the temple of legal renown. Not only as a lawyer was he pre-eminent, but the difficult and trying situation of a judge was filled by him in a manner, which, while it has served as a model for his successors in his responsible situation, few have been able successfully to imitate. In one department of the law, we mean the administration of criminal justice, he has left behind him a reputation as honourable as it is of rare occurrence. Unlike many of his brethren, who have dispensed criminal justice, with the spirit of a Draco, to the unfortunate beings as often the victims of the cruel impolicy of the laws, as of their own bad passions, Hale tempered justice with mercy, and never let fall the sword of the law upon the head of the criminal, until every doubt of the guilt of the prisoner had been removed. His unwavering integrity in the discharge of the duties of his office, more than once drew upon him the displeasure of the Protector Cromwell, who frequently and most unwarrantably interfered with the due course of law. On one occasion, when he expressed to him his high displeasure at his conduct, and told him, in anger, that he was not fit to be a judge, Hale contented himself with answering, *that it was very true.*

Having lost his parents when an infant, the guardianship of

young Hale's person, and the care of his education, were intrusted to a kinsman, who being himself attached to the austere doctrines of the puritans, determined that his youthful charge should imbibe the same notions. To this circumstance it was owing, that Hale adopted a strictness both in principles and manners, which, though for a short time he abandoned them, returned upon him with full force in his maturer years. At the age of seventeen, he entered the University of Oxford, and found the temptation of the dissipations which were there thrown in his way, too strong to be resisted. He plunged with great looseness into the "abominations" of stage-plays. He indulged in the "sinfulness," of fashionable habiliments; and even went so far as to take lessons from the fencing-master. To such an extent did he carry his love for martial weapons, that he determined "to trail a pike" in the Prince of Orange's army. A mere accident changed the destinies of the future Chief Justice of England. Having gone to London on business connected with his estate, he became acquainted with the learned Serjeant Granville, by whose persuasion he was induced to study law. He entered upon his new profession with all the ardour of genius, and for a considerable period, devoted sixteen hours a day to his legal studies. This almost destroyed his powerful constitution; he afterwards reduced the quantity to eight hours; but even this, he is reported to have said, he would not advise—agreeing to the correctness of the advice contained in the doggerel verses of Coke;

"Sex horas somno, tot dabis legibus æquis,"

provided that quantity of time were devoted to the study with attention and constancy. He used to remark, that a man must use his body as he would his horse and his stomach; not tire him at once, but rise with an appetite.

Hale now ran into the other extreme of dress; he clothed himself in the meanest manner; and such was the shabbiness of his appearance, that he was once very nearly impressed as a seaman; being considered, from the meanness of his habiliments, a very fit person to serve His Majesty.

With all his austerity of principle, Hale, at times, found it extremely difficult to avoid indulging in convivial society, for which he had acquired a great fondness at the University. An incident occurred, which we shall give in the words of our author, that produced a powerful effect upon his mind.

"Having joined a party of his companions, they indulged so deeply in draughts of wine, that one of the company became insensible, and the most serious apprehensions were entertained for his life. Hale was so much affected by this accident, that retiring into another room, he fell upon his knees, and prayed earnestly to God that his friend might be restored, and that he might be himself pardoned for having been a participator in such excesses. At the same time he made a vow never more to be guilty of similar intemperance, nor again to

drink a health while he lived ; a vow which he is said to have observed with much strictness.”—p. 61.

Hale was fortunate enough to attract the notice of Noy, the attorney-general, to whose favourable opinion and exertions in his behalf, he owed much of his success in his profession. Noy directed his studies; and Hale was further lucky in securing the friendship and good offices of Selden and of John Vaughan, afterwards Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. Noy was an industrious and learned man, but withal, a strange fellow. His Will is worth noticing—it was very short and in Latin. Having bequeathed a few legacies, and left his second son one hundred marks a year, and £ 500 in money, to bring him up to his father's profession, he concluded in these words: “*Reliqua meorum omnia, primogenito meo Edvardo, dissipanda (nec melius unquam speravi ego)*”—“I leave the rest of all my goods to my first-born, Edward, to be consumed or scattered, for I never hoped better.”

Hale diverted himself by varying his studies. Natural philosophy, the mathematics, medicine and anatomy, ancient history and chronology, afforded employment and amusement for his leisure hours. Divinity was his chief delight, apart from his particular line of study. He had the enviable faculty of applying the powers of his vigorous and active mind to various subjects, “without that distraction of thought,” says his biographer, “to which persons of inferior capacity are subject.” Hale weathered the boisterous storms of the revolutions in England in the middle of the seventeenth century with singular ability; preserving throughout, his integrity, independence, and humanity. He died at the age of sixty-seven, with a fame second to that of none in his profession.

He was unhappy in his family. His sons disgraced themselves by their profligate lives, and in his old age, he himself married one of his own servants. His style of speaking was slow, and occasionally embarrassed. “His stop,” says the Honourable Roger North, “by the produce, always paid for the delay, and on some occasions he would utter sentences heroic.”

We shall detail but little of the history of the *Lord Keeper Guilford*, as the events of his career are generally known from his life written by his younger brother, the Honourable Roger North, which has been justly styled one of the most singular and characteristic pieces of biography in English literature. The distinguishing characteristic of the book, is the indescribable *naïveté* of his style, which throws over it a peculiar charm. Additional interest is given to the work by the ardent and childlike affection which the writer displays for his elder brother; and which, though at times carried perhaps too far, never fails to secure the favourable judgment of the reader.

The Lord Keeper was a man highly remarkable for his discretion, (as we shall see from a short extract hereafter,) and distinguished as a lawyer, without being very eminent. He was very modest, and for the licentious times in which he lived, remarkably moral. He received his earliest education from a school-master, a rigid Presbyterian, whose wife, a zealous independent, "used to instruct her babes in the gift of praying by the spirit." "All the scholars," says his brother, "were made to kneel by a bedside and pray; but this petit spark was too small for that posture, and was set upon the bed to kneel with his face to a pillow; and in this exercise of spiritual prayer, they had their directions from her. I have heard his Lordship say, that all he could remember of his performance, was praying for his distressed brethren in Ireland." He had the benefit of the instructions of teachers on both of the two sides which then divided the kingdom, for he afterwards was placed under the superintendence of a "cavalier master."

We have referred to the discretion for which he was renowned. The following extracts will prove it.

"He was exceeding careful to keep fair with *the Cocks of the Circuit*, and particularly with Serjeant Earl, who had almost a monopoly." "If he was concerned as counsel, he stood in great awe of the chief practisers; for they, having the conduct of the cause, take it ill if a young man blurts out any thing, though possibly to the purpose, because it seems to top them; and sometimes, if it do not take with the court, throw up, saying, *the cause was given away*, which almost blasts a young man. Therefore, when he thought he had a significant point to offer, he first acquainted the foreman with it, which was commonly well taken; and he in return would say, *move it yourself*; and then he seconded it."

The same spirit appeared in his dress.

"His youthful habits were never gay or topping the mode, like other inns of court gentlemen, but always plain and clean, and showed somewhat of firmness or solidity beyond his age. His desire was rather not to be seen at all, than to be marked by his dress. In these things, to the extreme was his aim; that is, not to be censured for a careless sloven, rather than to be commended for being well dressed."

The Lord Keeper was unfortunate in his courtships; he did not succeed in getting a wife till after the fourth attempt. As detailed by his biographer, they are extremely amusing, though too long to be all extracted. Having but one rood of ground that yielded him any profit, (which was Westminster Hall,) and unable to add, as Finch did, his bar gown, (£20,000) like most young lawyers whose present possessions are nothing, though their *expectations* are boundless, he had nothing to offer but his future hopes, which he set more value upon than cool calculating parents were pleased to attach to them. In his first suit, when he paid his addresses to the daughter of an old usurer, he was completely posed by the old man's asking him what his father intended to settle on him. North went away under pretence of consulting his parent, but, as he said, never went near "the ter-

rible old fellow" any more. He consoled himself with the assertion that if he had had a real estate to settle, he should not have stooped so low as to match with the daughter of an old usurer of Gray's Inn.

His next efforts were directed to the capture of a flourishing widow who was very rich, and the relict of one of his most intimate and dear friends. In this suit he received every encouragement from the family; the lady herself, who had five younger brothers placed before her as wooers, held them in hand, as Roger North says, giving none of them a definitive answer. Guilford did not love her much, and said he was never in his life more rejoiced than when he heard she was married—nothing but the wishes of her friends could have held him in harness so long; "for it was very grievous to him that had his thoughts upon his clients' concerns, which came in thick upon him, to be held in a course of bo-peep play with a crafty widow." And well he might be rejoiced, for he was altogether unfitted for a beau—he neither dressed nor danced, while his rivals were adroit at both. The third negotiation we will give in his brother's own words—than which, none could employ better.

"Another proposition came to his lordship by a city broker, from Sir John Lawrence, who had many daughters, and those reputed beauties, and the fortune was to be £6000. His lordship went and dined with the alderman, and liked the lady, who, as the way is, was dressed out for a muster. And coming to treat, the portion shrank to £5000; and upon that his lordship parted, and was not gone far, before Mr. broker (following) came to him and said, Sir John would give £500 more at the birth of the first child; but that would not do, for his lordship hated such screwing. Not long after this despatch, his lordship was made the king's solicitor general, and then the broker came again with news that Sir John would give £10,000. No! his lordship said, after such usage, he would not proceed if he might have £20,000. So ended that affair, and his lordship's mind was once more settled in tranquillity."

He finally married happily and respectably, without "looking out" for a wife: he became acquainted with the lady accidentally, courted and married her; though he had to borrow money from a friend to make up the sum required for a marriage settlement.

In reading the details of the "barter and sale" accompanying marriages in England, the mind becomes completely disgusted; and it is a matter of surprise that female delicacy should survive at all such mercenary negotiations. Far better poverty, with domestic affection, than riches, however great, accompanying unions of mere convenience.

We would not have the reader suppose from this, that Lord Guilford's domestic life was devoid of social endearments. Far from it; his was a disposition peculiarly fitted for such scenes—and it forms the brightest trait in his character—for his public career evinced, that in one particular, without which no man can be truly great, he was unfortunately deficient—we mean elevation

of mind. He died at the early age of forty-five. The profits of his practice had been immense. He was successively Solicitor and Attorney General, Lord Chief Justice, and Keeper of the Great Seal of England, without possessing, by any means, eminent talents, and yet he died in the very prime of his life. He is a remarkable instance of what can be effected by great industry, good management, and discretion.

The incidents of the conduct of *Lord Chancellor Jefferies*, are in themselves so disgusting, that even if he had not been damned to notoriety, we might well be excused from the nauseous detail. It is a satisfaction to know that he was never regularly a member of the profession which he disgraced. He pursued the study of the law in a mean and obscure apartment in the Inner Temple, and while yet only eighteen years of age, he assumed the gown of a barrister, and attended the assizes: this was during the prevalence of the great plague of London, and in consequence, the irregularity was not noticed. The mean tricks he resorted to, for the purpose of getting into practice, were numerous; among others, he used to sit in coffee houses, and order his man to come and tell him that company attended him at his chamber; at which, says Roger North, he would huff and say, "let them stay a little, I will come presently," and thus made a show of business.

His conduct on Sydney's and Baxter's trials is well known, forming, as it does, a part of the history of England, and of those prosecutions in which so much of the best blood of that country was poured out in copious libations to liberty. The exclamation, however, of Sydney, on receiving sentence from the mouth of Jefferies, may well bear repetition:—

"Then, O God! O God! I beseech thee to sanctify these sufferings unto me, and impute not my blood to the country, nor the city through which I am to be drawn; let no inquisition be made for it; but if any, and the shedding of blood that is innocent, must be avenged, let the weight of it fall only upon those that maliciously prosecute me for righteousness' sake." "I pray God work in you," said Jefferies, "a temper fit to go into the other world, for I see you are not fit for this." "My Lord," replied Sydney, "feel my pulse, (holding out his hand) and see if I am disordered: I bless God, I was never in better temper than I am now."

His progress through the western counties of England on his so called judicial duties, after the unsuccessful issue of Monmouth's rebellion, is famous in the history of blood, murder, treachery, and bribery; for he was deeply dyed with each and all of them.

"Stained," says Mr. Roscoe, "with the blood of the aged, the weak, and the defenceless, Jefferies returned to the capital, to claim from the hands of the master he had so faithfully and acceptably served, the reward due to his singular merits. That reward was immediately conferred upon him, and on the 28th of September he received the great seal, and was appointed Lord High Chancellor."

It is hard to say which was worse, the master or the man.

At the Revolution the popular fury was turned towards Jefferies, and had he been apprehended, he would have been torn in pieces by an indignant people. He was, however, put in the Tower for safe keeping, where a disease to which he had been subject, increased by his fears, soon put an end to his existence. We shall extract our author's short, but masterly sketch of his character.

"The deep and indignant feelings which cruelty and oppression excite, render it difficult to form a cool and impartial opinion of the character of Jefferies. In all the essential qualities of mind which a judge ought to possess, he seems to have been totally deficient. Unprincipled, cruel, irascible, and impatient, he stained the pure fountains of justice with blood and with corruption. No sentiment of integrity, no feeling of mercy ever found a place in his bosom. To these qualities he added a brutal levity of conduct, strangely unbecoming the judicial character. His acquirements, as a lawyer, were of a mean order; and it is not dealing too harshly with him to adopt the censure of Mr. Justice Foster, and to pronounce him 'the very worst judge that ever disgraced Westminster Hall.'

"The ease with which those who are conversant with courts of justice learn to disregard the sufferings of others, and the faculty, which too often follows, of turning those sufferings into ridicule, are but modifications of those brutal qualities which in Jefferies appeared in their full perfection. It may, perhaps, tend in some degree, to prevent the growth of those callous and inhuman feelings, to observe them in the odiousness of their complete development, and to remark the execration and abhorrence which they never fail to excite in every heart of common sensibility. It is a salutary lesson to see the memory of Jefferies descending to posterity darkened with the indignant reproaches of each succeeding age, and weighed down by an ever-increasing weight of infamy. To affix to his polluted name an additional stigma, to brand his dishonoured memory with a fresh mark of reprobation, is an office grateful to humanity."—pp. 134, 135.

Jefferies was industrious in accumulating this load of infamy; for he died at the early age of forty-one.

We turn with pleasure from the contemplation of a character which excites only the feelings of honest indignation, to some passages in the life of the accomplished *Somers*, whose least claim to notice is found in the circumstance of his having been Lord High Chancellor of England. Like many of those illustrious men, who have, in the most aristocratic country upon earth, broken down all the barriers to their advance into the upper region of nobility, by the force of their talents and virtues, Lord Somers was of comparatively humble origin. He did not confine himself to the study or practice of his profession; but embarked in politics, not with the views or spirit of a time-serving politician, but animated with the ardour of a patriot. His active energies and his pen, were enlisted in the service of his country. She needed the exertions of all good patriots in her cause. The tyranny of the court, which finally led to the glorious Revolution of 1688, was then in active exercise—and to Somers is justly due, a large share of the praise which was so richly earned by the revolutionists of Great Britain. It would

be hard to find Somers's equal as a constitutional lawyer; certainly he is second to none in that country. His pen is distinguishable in all the best political productions of the day; in parliament, of which he was a most eminent member, his talents were exercised in the composition of the noble remonstrances which were sent forth against the tyranny of the government. Mr. Somers had a large part in the preparation of the famous "Declaration of Rights," and, indeed, as we have said, in all the distinguished performances of that era.

But it is not merely as a lawyer and a statesman, that the subject of this brief notice was so favourably known. He earned the equally bright, and perhaps, the more enduring and interesting distinction of a man of letters. By his advice and encouragement, the first folio edition of Milton was published; at a later period of his life, he had the merit and the honour of fostering the rising genius of Pope. The poet has said:—

"The courtly Talbot, *Somers*, Sheffield read;
Even mitred Rochester would nod his head."

He, himself, sacrificed to the Muses—his poetry displays more than ordinary power of diction, and ease of versification. Like men of refined minds, he was extremely fond of classical pursuits: and has been supposed to have been the author of a poem entitled *Dryden's Satire to his Muse*, in answer to the celebrated *Absalom and Ahithophel*. The poem is characterized by very considerable vigour—Johnson rather inclines to the opinion of Somers being the author; though Horace Walpole, and Scott, and Malone, (in their *Lives of Dryden*) express a contrary judgment. Even Swift, who hated him because they differed in politics, though he is said to have been indebted to him in early life for various benefits, admits, that his excellent understanding "was adorned by all the polite arts of learning;" Addison, a far better judge, speaks with rapture "of his solidity and eloquence, improved by the reading of the finest authors;" of his "masculine and persuasive oratory, free from every thing trivial or affected;" and of the "chastity and purity of his style, full, at the same time, of spirit and politeness." His modesty was equal to his discretion, and both were eminent.

Mr. Somers was not admitted to the bar until twenty-six years of age—he did not begin the practice of his profession till he was over thirty. It soon became very lucrative. The most famous cause in which he was employed, was the prosecution of the Bishops; which is said, more than any single event, to have hastened the Revolution. It is remarked, that the Bishops, on finding his name among the list of their legal advisers, objected to him on account of his youth and inexperience; but his friend Pollexfen secured his being retained by stating his determination to withdraw himself from their defence, unless Somers was

continued. His efforts fully sustained his friend's judgment in his behalf.

No man was more fit to sketch Somers's character, than Horace Walpole: and we shall, therefore, extract it; it is very short:—

“He was one of those divine men, who, like a chapel in a palace, remain unprofaned, while all the rest is tyranny, corruption, and folly. All the traditional accounts of him, the historians of the last age, and its best authors, represent him as the most incorrupt lawyer, and the honestest statesman; as a master orator, a genius of the finest taste, and a patriot of the noblest and most extensive views; as a man who dispensed blessings by his life, and planned them for posterity.” *Works*, Vol. i. p. 430.

He was in his sixty-seventh year, when he died.

The classical taste and acquirements, the varied accomplishments, the persuasive oratory, the conspicuous situation he occupied in politics, and the high judicial virtues of *Lord Mansfield*, have rendered his name illustrious, not only in the history of the law, but in that of his country. He was of a noble family, and highly distinguished at school and at the university. He spent some time in travelling on the continent; and on his return, went to London, commenced the study of the law, and was called to the bar in 1731. His high reputation at the university contributed much to his success in his profession; which was further enhanced by his rank, and his personal manners and appearance. He was for a considerable time, however, without deriving any profit from his business; and then, suddenly, more like enchantment than any thing else, he stepped at once into a most lucrative practice. He is reported to have said, that he never knew the difference between a total want of employment, and an income of £3000 a year. Very few can say the same.

Murray did not much associate with his professional brethren—his classical tastes and literary propensities were such as to lead him to prefer the society of men of letters. “When he first came to town,” Johnson said, “he drank champagne with the wits.” He was the intimate companion of Pope—Murray, who thought a great deal of the graces of person, used to practise speaking before a glass, while the great poet sat by in the character of a friendly preceptor. Warburton says, that Pope had all the warmth of affection for him—abundant evidence of this fact appears in his writings. Can the lover of poetry forget the lines, in which he endeavours to dissuade his friend Murray from his fruitless courtship of a lady of great wealth, and from the pursuit of fame?

“But wherefore all this labour, all this strife,
For fame, for riches, for a noble wife?
Shall one, whom native learning, birth, conspired
To form, not to admire, but be admired,
Sigh, while his Chloe, blind to wit and worth,
Weds the rich dulness of some son of earth?”

.
 And what is fame? the meanest have their day;
 The greatest can but blaze, and pass away."

The lawyer, however, was not deterred by the philosophical poet, either from devoting himself to his profession, or from plunging into the ocean of political strife, at that time peculiarly tempestuous. In the storms of that era of public commotion, in which the elder Pitt delighted to exhibit his giant strength, and when Camden lent his honest eloquence in aid of popular rights, the voice of Mansfield was constantly heard in support of the power of the administration. In his political principles, he was decidedly inclined to toryism; though, to his honour be it said, in his religious opinions he was always as decidedly tolerant. The principles of toryism he imbibed when young. Having entered the House of Commons as Solicitor General, and of course, a member of the administration, and with sentiments on the subject of politics generally known, it has been thought that they became more firmly implanted in his mind from the circumstance of his being the great mark against which Pitt directed the thunder of his eloquence. Murray stood his ground nobly in the Commons; though, at times, he quailed beneath the lightning of his opponent's eye; but when removed into the Upper House, he found there his old opponent, who was aided, too, in his assaults, by the more philosophic and argumentative Camden. It is said, that in almost all the debates in which Lord Mansfield's name appears, it is immediately followed by Lord Camden's. Indeed, to assaults, for his political sentiments, he was, during life, particularly exposed. It was a proof of his eminence, that against him, principally, of his party, these shafts were directed. They were not always repelled with the highest courage; for great self-possession and bravery were not his prominent traits of character.

To the attacks we have alluded to, Lord Mansfield particularly subjected himself, by his line of conduct in the exposition of the law of libel. The time then was in England, when antagonist principles (which even now are at work, though at present, fortunately, liberal principles have the vantage ground,) were struggling for mastery. The doctrines of libel, at that time unsettled in that country, afforded a fair ground of controversy for the advocates of the two political parties. Lord Mansfield, ably assisted by the great Buller, endeavoured to fence round his opinion with the strong barriers of precedent; and to give the sanction of antiquity and settled law to a principle which would have completely prostrated the liberty of the press. The result of the conflict is known. The sarcasm, the boldness and the fire of Junius, the masterly efforts of Chatham and Camden, and the noble struggles of Erskine, finally prevailed over even the per-

suasive oratory of Lord Mansfield; and a parliamentary declaration of what the law had been and should be, settled the point. That Mansfield was sincere in the expression of his opinions, no man can doubt—that he sometimes wavered, was owing more to political timidity than political dishonesty.

With the characteristic acuteness, (or it may be, the wisdom) of his countrymen, Mansfield declined uniformly any appointment not connected with his profession. It is thought, that he could have been, at one time, premier, had he so chosen—but satisfied with his high judicial and permanent situation, and the rank, too, which he held, in a political point of view, he did not suffer himself to be tempted even by the dazzling eminence of the post of first Lord of the Treasury. The seals, also, he more than once refused; unwilling to accept even the highest judicial station in the kingdom, when its permanency could not be guaranteed.

A discussion of the merits of Lord Mansfield's decisions, would be too technical and out of place in a review. His views are so familiar to the profession, that a sketch of his opinions would be superfluous for lawyers, and unentertaining to any one else.

Present popularity, "that relic of folly, and shadow of renown," as Lord Mansfield called it, he certainly did not attain—much less, "the mushroom popularity which is raised without merit, and lost without a crime." He never was, and never will be popular with the crowd—whether he has even attained "the applause bestowed by after-times on good and virtuous actions," we consider matter of doubt. His fame must mainly rest upon his judicial merits and virtues; and they have clothed him with a renown quite sufficient for any one man.

He married, but had no children—he lived to a good old age, dying in his eighty-ninth year; and preserving his powerful faculties to the last.

The comparatively quiet and unobtrusive lives of *Sir J. Eardley Wilmot* and *Sir Samuel Romilly*, present little that is striking, or would be interesting to the general reader. Benevolence, modesty, and deep religious feeling distinguished the character of both. Such men are not often met in high stations:

"Salt of the earth, the virtuous few,
Who season human kind."

Mr. Wilmot's life is singular, from the total absence of ambition which characterized him. Though he disliked the practice of his profession, he was much attached to it as a science, and was deeply learned in its principles. This was so well known, that judicial appointments of the very highest grade were repeatedly offered to him, and almost always declined. With great reluctance, he consented to act as one of the commissioners of the

great seal, upon the resignation of Lord Hardwicke. But the possibility of receiving the appointment of Lord Chancellor, he regarded with great apprehension. In a letter to his brother, he said: "the acting junior of the commission is a spectre I started at, but the sustaining the office alone, I must and will refuse, at all events. I will not give up the peace of my mind to any earthly consideration whatever. Bread and water are nectar and ambrosia, when contrasted with the supremacy of a court of justice." The Duke of Grafton and Lord North successively tendered it to him, but he persisted in declining the solicitations of both. He accepted the appointment of a judge, at the king's express request. On being appointed chief justice, he told one of his sons, a youth of seventeen, who attended him to his bedside; "Now, my son, I will tell you a secret worth knowing and remembering: the elevation I have met with in life, particularly this last instance of it, has not been owing to any superior merit or abilities, but to my *humility*; to my not having set up myself above others, and to an uniform endeavour to pass through life void of offence towards God and man." He used to impress upon his children a constant remembrance of their duty to God; and to say, that his heart beat uniformly with unremitting wishes, that all his children should be more distinguished for their goodness than their greatness.

Most of Sir Samuel Romilly's life was passed in endeavours to benefit his fellow creatures. His diffidence at his first setting out in life, led him to despair of success.

"I have taught myself," said he in a letter to a friend, "a very useful lesson of practical philosophy, which is, not to suffer my happiness to depend upon my success. Should my wishes be gratified, I promise myself to employ all the talents and all the authority I may acquire, for the public good—*Patriæ impendere vitam*—should I fail in my pursuit, I console myself with thinking that the humblest situation in life has its duties, which one must feel a satisfaction in discharging; that, at least, my conscience will bear me the pleasing testimony of having intended well; and that, after all, true happiness is much less likely to be found in the high walks of ambition, than in the *secretum iter et fallentis semita vitæ*. Were it not for these consolations, and did I consider my success at the bar as decisive of my future happiness, my apprehensions would be such that I might truly say, *Cum illius dici mihi venit in mentem, quo mihi dicendum sit, non solum commoveor animo, sed etiam toto corpore perhorresco*."

The pledge given in the above letter was nobly fulfilled. When Romilly did rise to eminence, he devoted himself to the important questions of parliamentary reform, and Catholic emancipation; but particularly to the great question of the amelioration of the criminal code. On this his fame rests. Upon the objects on whom criminal jurisprudence operated, and who had no voice to protest against the severities of legislative denunciations, Sir Samuel Romilly looked with the eye of pity. "To watch over the interests of this wretched and degraded portion of society, (says Mr. Roscoe) to become the friend of those against whom

every other hand was raised, and the protector of those who were abandoned even by themselves, seemed to Sir Samuel Romilly a duty which claimed his decided preference."

It is impossible here, to detail his various efforts in the cause of humanity. He neglected no opportunity to ameliorate that code which was so full of barbarisms alien to the spirit of the age. In many particulars he succeeded. In others he had the mortification of beholding the triumph of prejudice and cruelty. Subsequent legislation has adopted many of his views.

It is mournful to reflect on the close of such a life. He was tenderly attached to his wife. Death snatched her from him, when his own health was none of the strongest. This afflicting event deranged his reason and broke his heart. In the violence of phrenzy, he terminated his own existence !

One who knew him well, has said, "that his religion was like his life, pure, fervent, and enlightened. Unclouded by superstition or intolerance, it shone forth in pious gratitude to God, and in charity to all mankind."

Sir William Blackstone never did a wiser thing than when he abandoned the writing of poetry. Though he gave to the Muse a reluctant farewell, it was, in reality, a transition from poverty to wealth, from the reputation of an inditer of mongrel verses to the never-dying renown of the Commentator on the Laws of England. Indeed, it appears to us that his poetical talents have been much overrated. There is in his poetry, easy versification and considerable minuteness in description, but he was totally deficient in the invention and vigour which are essential to the poet. Several of the eminent men, whose lives are the subject of review, at different periods fancied that a poetical genius was among their qualifications; and they would, no doubt, have preferred some disparagement of their legal attainments, to any of their poetical merits. But it is a truth, however unwelcome it may be to some, that the lawyer and the poet can never be found in the same person; and that the untrammelled, discursive imagination of the one, can never coalesce with the judgment and habits of method required from the other. Let all half poets who would be lawyers, follow, if they can, the illustrious and sensible example set them by *Sir William Blackstone*.

An incident in the early life of Judge Blackstone, deserves to be recorded to his honour. The chair of civil law at Oxford was vacant, and the Duke of New-Castle consulted Murray, (then solicitor-general) on the selection of a proper incumbent. Mr. Murray warmly recommended Blackstone. Upon his introduction, the Duke, who was anxious to be informed of the political principles of the candidate, remarked that in case of any political agitation at the University, he presumed he might rely upon

Mr. Blackstone's exertions in behalf of government. "Your Grace may be assured that I will discharge my duty in giving law-lectures to the best of my poor ability;" was the reply. "And your duty in the other branch, too?" added his politic Grace. Mr. Blackstone merely bowed; and in a few days afterwards, Dr. Jenner was selected to fill the vacancy.

The appearance of Blackstone was not prepossessing; his features and figure were heavy, and his countenance morose. His temper was occasionally irritable—though, generally, in his own family, he was cheerful, agreeable, and even facetious. He was economical and very attentive to punctuality, so much so, that he could not bring himself to think well of persons who were notoriously defective in it. He was in parliament, but not much distinguished there, nor even as a judge. His reputation must rest, principally, on his Commentaries. To be sure, in that respect, "better foundation can no man lay." The reading of them has not been confined to professional men; but they have become almost as common as Don Quixote or Gil Blas. It may not be amiss to add, what such men as Lord Mansfield, Charles J. Fox, and Jeremy Bentham have said of them. The former, having been requested to point out the books proper for a student to peruse, said,

"Till of late, I could never, with any satisfaction to myself, answer that question; but, since the publication of Mr. Blackstone's Commentaries, I can never be at a loss. *There* your son will find analytical reasoning diffused in a pleasing and perspicuous style. *There* he may imbibe imperceptibly the first principles on which our excellent laws are founded; and *there* he may become acquainted with an uncouth, crabbed author, *Coke upon Littleton*, who has disappointed and disheartened many a tyro, but who cannot fail to please in a modern dress."

Fox, although he by no means esteemed Blackstone as a constitutional writer, was the author of the following panegyric on the style of the Commentaries.

"You, of course, read Blackstone over and over again; and if so, pray tell me whether you agree with me in thinking his style of English the very best among our modern writers; always easy and intelligible, far more correct than Hume, and less studied and made up than Robertson."

Again, he said in parliament,

"His purity of style, I particularly admire. He was distinguished as much for simplicity and strength, as any writer in the English language. He was perfectly free from all gallicisms and ridiculous affectations; for which so many of our modern authors and orators are so remarkable."

Jeremy Bentham, after criticising severely many of the doctrines of the Commentaries, says:

"He it is, in short, who, first of all institutional writers, has taught jurisprudence to speak the language of the scholar and the gentleman; put a polish upon that rugged science; cleansed her from the dust and cobwebs of the office, and, if he has not enriched her with that precision which is drawn only from the sterling treasury of the sciences, has decked her out, however, to advantage, from the toilet of classic erudition; enlivened her with metaphors and allusions;

and sent her abroad, in some measure to instruct, and in still greater measure to entertain, the most miscellaneous and the most fastidious societies."

Edward (afterwards *Lord*) *Thurlow* was the son of a very poor clergyman, who does not seem to have instilled any of his clerical principles into the mind of his offspring, for *Edward* was always as distinguished for the looseness of his habits as for his talents. He was asked, if the common story were correct, that he was descended from *Thurloe*, *Cromwell's* Secretary; and he gave for answer, "there were two *Thurlows* in my country—*Thurlow* the secretary, and *Thurlow* the carrier; I am descended from the latter." In the early part of his life, he was miserably poor. His father could give him no money, and he could not earn any himself. It is related as an instance of his poverty, that being anxious to reach an assize town for the purpose of putting himself in the way of practice, he arrived there by taking a horse, as he said, "upon trial." He fortunately got a case, and acquitted himself so well in it, that he at once emerged into notice. His first cause, however, brought a duel on his hands with a *Mr. Stewart*; who, in speaking of it afterwards, observed, "that *Mr. Thurlow* advanced, and stood up to him like an elephant."

Thurlow owed his first prosperity to the friendship, (which, in some way or other, he had procured) of the famous *Dutchess of Queensberry*. His advance was rapid. His politics may be judged of by a single sentence.—"Treason and rebellion are properly and peculiarly the native growth of America." He, of course, supported *Lord North* throughout his stormy career; and was raised by him to the peerage, and to the post of *Lord Chancellor*. At the coming in of the *Rockingham* administration, it was supposed that the *Chancellor* would leave office with the rest of his friends; but he retained it by the express personal requisition of the king, who was much attached to him. It was believed, until lately, that this attachment was warmly returned by the grateful *Thurlow*; and the impression was strengthened by the famous speech made by him in the *House of Lords*, on the question of the formation of a regency in consequence of the king's unfortunate illness. The climax of his loyalty was exhibited in his celebrated declaration, in the same speech, "that his debt of gratitude to his majesty was ample, for the many favours he had graciously conferred upon him; which, when he forgot, might God forget him!" Subsequent disclosures show, that at this very time, negotiations were going on, through *Sheridan*, between the *Chancellor* and the *Prince of Wales*. *Fox* disliked *Thurlow* so much, that that, coupled with some belief on the part of the latter, of the king's probable recovery, broke off the treaty. *Thurlow*, on one occasion, inadvertently betrayed to his colleagues the secret of an interview with the *Prince*, by carrying to the council His Royal Highness's hat instead of his own.

The whigs were, of course, much provoked on their failure to get into power: and the sarcasm of Fox, the wit of Sheridan, and the elaborate oratory of Burke, were all levelled at Thurlow. He repelled their assaults with his customary boldness—knowing, as he did, that they were too honourable to betray him. Burke, in alluding to the passage we have above quoted, remarked, “that the other house were not yet, perhaps, recovered from that extraordinary burst of the pathetic, which had been exhibited the other evening; they had not yet dried their eyes, or been restored to their former placidity, and were unqualified to attend to new business. The tears shed in that house, on the occasion to which he alluded, were not the tears of patriots for dying laws, but of lords for their expiring places. The iron tears which flowed down Pluto’s cheek, rather resembled the dismal bubbling of the Styx, than the gentle murmuring streams of Aganippe.”

His obstinacy was extreme; even when he was a member of the Rockingham administration, he opposed strenuously many of the favourite measures of the other ministers. On the questions taken on two bills, in which the ministry felt themselves so deeply interested, that Fox and Burke usually took their station on the foot of the throne while the debates were proceeding in the Lords, Thurlow divided in the minority.

In consequence of the debates we above alluded to, on the Regency question, Thurlow lost the confidence of Pitt, who began to suspect him. Misunderstandings occurred, which the temper of the two parties was not fitted to heal. The Chancellor adopted his old plan of opposing the acts of his colleagues; till at last, Mr. Pitt told the king, that it was impossible for him and Thurlow to serve together—so the sovereign was forced to dismiss him, and thus ended his public career.

It is said, that Thurlow was indebted for much of his law knowledge to Hargrave, who was well paid for his services. Cradock says, in his *Memoirs*, that a free-speaking companion of his told him, “I met the great law lion this morning, going to Westminster; but he was so busily reading, in the coach, what his provider had supplied him with, that he took no notice of me.” Vol. i. p. 79.

His character has been variously drawn by friends and enemies. Though he was haughty, overbearing, immoral, and rude, he certainly possessed great talents, and was eminent as a judge. Bishop Watson says:—

“The Chancellor Thurlow was an able and upright judge; but as the Speaker of the House of Lords, he was domineering and insincere. It was said of him, that in the cabinet he opposed every thing, proposed nothing, and was ready to support any thing. I remember Lord Camden’s saying to me one night, when the chancellor was speaking, contrary, as he thought, to his own conviction:

'there, now,' I could not do that; he is supporting what he does not believe a word of.'" *Life of Bishop Watson*, p. 221.

His rudeness he always indulged in amongst the great; seldom with his inferiors. He swore very much, without regard to time or place. When, at the commencement of the long vacation, he was about quitting the court, without taking the usual leave of the bar, a young barrister, in allusion to the habit, exclaimed to his companion, loud enough for the Chancellor to hear, "he might, at least, have said, d——n you!" Thurlow heard the remark, and returning, politely made his bow.

He was fond of all kinds of conviviality, nay, of dissipation, and sometimes found a companion in Pitt, at that time the premier. Sir Nicholas Wrexall, in his *Memoirs*, relates:—

"That returning by way of frolic, very late at night, on horseback, to Wimbledon, from Addiscombe, the seat of Mr. Jenkinson, near Croydon, where the party had dined, Lord Thurlow then Chancellor, Pitt, and Dundas, found the turnpike-gate, situate between Tooting and Streatham, thrown open. Being elevated above their usual prudence, and having no servant near them, they passed through the gate at a brisk pace, without stopping to pay the toll, regardless of the remonstrances or the threats of the turnpike man, who, running after them, and believing them to belong to some highwaymen who had recently committed some depredations on that road, discharged the contents of his blunderbuss at their backs. Happily, he did no injury." Vol. i. p. 527.

John Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, was pronounced by Burke, on the authority of those, who, he said, settle every thing else, to be first in his profession. Probably, as an advocate, no man held as high, certainly, none a higher rank than he. Eloquent, witty, ready, ingenious, learned—he was all that could be desired in a lawyer. For seven or eight years, he was almost entirely without clients; when an old practitioner, being attacked with a fit of the gout, placed his brief in Dunning's hands; and he acquitted himself so ably, that his practice rapidly increased. His reputation was fully established by his argument in the famous cause of the general warrants, which, in fact, laid the foundation of his fortunes.

During his early career, he was the intimate friend of Mr., afterwards Lord Kenyon, and of Horne Tooke. They were accustomed to dine together, during the vacation, at a little eating house near Chancery lane, for a very small sum of money—they were all needy. "As to Dunning and myself," said Horne Tooke, "we were generous, for we gave the girl who waited on us, a penny a piece; but Kenyon, who always knew the value of money, sometimes rewarded her with a half-penny, and sometimes with a promise."

Dunning entered into public life as a whig; and uniformly remained faithful to his principles and his party. When they got into power, he secured a pension and a peerage, which, however, he did not long enjoy. The death of a son broke his spirits; and his health, from that time, rapidly declined. In parliament,

he was highly distinguished as an orator; and was one of Lord North's most powerful opponents. His language was remarkably pure and elegant—his fluency astonishing; and when he was in perfect health, really melodious. It was said by one, with whom he was no favourite, that Dunning neither delighted nor entertained his hearers, but subdued them by his powers of ratiocination, which had rarely been exceeded.

It is related by Wraxall, in his *Memoirs*, that a short time before Lord Ashburton's decease, he and Mr. Wallace, a very highly distinguished lawyer, met by accident in the same inn at Bagshot. "The one on his way down into Devonshire, and the other returning thence to London; both conscious that their recovery from the disorders under which they laboured, was desperate, they expressed a strong mutual wish to enjoy a last interview with each other. For that purpose, they were carried into the same apartment, laid down on two sofas nearly opposite, and remained for a long time in conversation; they then parted, as men who would not hope to meet again in this world."

With all his great qualities, Dunning indulged a weakness which has unfortunately been found in many great men. He prided himself upon what he least of all possessed;—beauty of person. He did not labour under any absolute deformity of shape or limb; but he was peculiarly ugly in face and figure—mean and abject in his appearance. Yet he considered his person with extraordinary predilection. He was fond of viewing his face in the glass, and never passed his time with more satisfaction, than when he was dressing himself. An amusing anecdote is told, of the manner in which this vanity of his was wounded most sorely: the effect, too, of the scene, being heightened by the circumstance of the person, who was the cause of his mortification, being herself totally free from any intention of hurting his feelings upon this most sensitive point. An old woman administered the bitter dose. The object of Dunning, in his cross-examination, was to invalidate the evidence as to the identity of a party: and he went about his task with much gentleness.

"'Pray, my good woman,' he said, 'are you very well acquainted with this person?'"

"'Oh yes, your worship, very well indeed.'"

"'Come, now, what sized man is he? Is he short or tall?'"

"'Quite short and stumpy, Sir; almost as small as your honour.'"

"'Humph! What kind of nose has he?'"

"'What I should call a snubby nose, Sir; much such a one, just for all the world, as your own, Sir, only not quite so cocked up like.'"

"'Um. His eyes?'"

"'Why, he has a kind of cast in them, Sir; a sort of squint. They are very like your honour's eyes.'"

"'Psha! you may go down, woman.'"

Dunning was not remarkable for his courteous conduct to his

professional brethren, and he once received for it a punning rebuke from the Attorney General, Lee. He was relating to him that he had just completed the purchase of some good manors in his native county. "What a pity it is," said Lee, "that you have no good manners in Westminster Hall."

He was the friend and the patron of Sir William Jones, who has left a most warm and beautiful panegyric of his benefactor. He said, in the fervour of his grateful feelings, that the name of John Dunning was one to which no title could add lustre; and that when he should also resign his life to the great giver of it, he desired no other decoration of his humble grave-stone, than the honourable truth:

"With none to flatter, none to recommend,
Dunning approved and marked him as a friend."

Far other claims, however, to distinction, were possessed by the accomplished linguist and elegant scholar who penned the above panegyric, than his modesty would permit him to suppose. Our author very truly observes, that the fame of *Sir William Jones* as a lawyer, has been almost forgotten in his reputation derived from his extensive and elegant acquirements as a scholar. For the foundation of his education, he was indebted to the sagacity and care of an affectionate mother; and, probably, from the plan she pursued, of requesting him, whenever he asked for information upon any point, *to find it out by reading*, he derived his great taste for all kinds of learning. Before he was twenty-one years of age, he was acquainted, besides his own, which he had thoroughly studied, with the following languages—Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, and Persic. Afterwards, the list mounted to twenty-eight. His ambition to distinguish himself was very great. He says, in a letter to a friend:—

"My friends, companions, relations, all attacked me with urgent solicitations to banish poetry and oriental literature, for a time, and apply myself to oratory and the study of the law; in other words, to become a barrister, and pursue the track of ambition. Their advice was, in truth, conformable to my own inclinations; for the only road to the highest stations in this country, is that of the law, and I need not add, how ambitious and laborious I am."

He accordingly studied law—at the commencement of his studies, he thus speaks of his profession:—

"I have just begun to contemplate the stately edifice of the laws of England:

"The gathered wisdom of a thousand years,"

if you will allow me to parody a line of Pope. I do not see why the study of the law is called dry and unpleasant; and I very much suspect, that it seems so to those only, who would think any study unpleasant which required a great application of the mind, and exertion of the memory."

He was then twenty-four years of age.

When called to the bar, he acquired considerable practice. On one occasion, he was engaged to defend a man who was indicted

for the singular offence of alarming the neighbourhood, by a report that a hostile ship of war was approaching. He gives the following spirited account of the defence he made :—

“ The prosecutors were two magistrates, (one of whom was an Indian,) who were angry at *having been made fools of*, a point, however, which they could not easily have proved, inasmuch as they were fools already made. I defended the prosecuted man with success, and mingled in my speech many bitter reflections on the state of this country at the time of the alarm, and on the attempt, because the English laws were not relished in India, to import the Indian laws into England, by imprisoning and indicting an honest man, who had done no more than his duty, and whose only fault was fear; of which, both his prosecutors were equally guilty.”

Through Dunning’s influence he got a judicial appointment in India, which enabled him to perfect two favourite projects—to get married; and to prosecute with increased chance of success his Asiatic researches. In that country he died—after reaping a rich harvest of successful exertion. His character and his learning are too well known to require any prolonged notice. But, as Dr. Parr has sketched his portrait in three lines, we will give what he says of him: “ To exquisite taste, and learning quite unparalleled, Sir William Jones is known to have united the most benevolent temper, and the purest morals.”

He determined, when he was somewhat over thirty, to *limit* his studies. Some idea may be formed of his acquirements, and of the resolute industry with which he pursued them, from the following memorandum :—

“ *Resolved*, To learn no more *rudiments* of any kind; but to perfect myself in, first, twelve languages, as the *means* of acquiring accurate knowledge of

I. History.

1. Man.

2. Nature.

II. Arts.

1. Rhetoric. 2. Poetry. 3. Painting. 4. Music.

III. Sciences.

1. Law. 2. Mathematics. 3. Dialectics.

“ N. B. Every species of human knowledge may be reduced to one or other of these divisions. Even *law* belongs partly to the history of man, partly, as a science, to dialectics.

“ The twelve languages are, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, German, English.—1780.”

The events of *Lord Erskine’s* career as a lawyer, are too various to be touched upon at any length, at this time. We have already approached the limit we had assigned ourselves. His life might well furnish matter for a separate theme. We may remark, however, upon the wonderful variety of his talents, and the diversified occurrences which marked his course. In the first place, he entered the navy as a midshipman, and by the friendship of his commander, acted for some time as a lieutenant. In the eighteenth year of his age, seeing but little chance of promotion, he tried the army, as an ensign, and accompanied his regiment to Minorca, where he remained for the space of three

years. At this early age, and with no adequate means of support, he exhibited the imprudence, which was the striking failing in his character, of marrying a young lady who accompanied him to Minorca. While with his regiment, he usually read prayers, and actually, on several occasions, preached for the soldiers. By the advice of his mother, when he returned home, he studied the law under the directions of Mr. Buller, afterwards the famous judge of that name. At the same time, he became a member of Trinity College, Cambridge; and took the degree there, to which, as a nobleman's son, he was entitled; and by that means saved two years in the time necessary to be devoted to previous preparation for the bar. He was twenty-eight years of age when he commenced practice; and by a fortunate acquaintance with a Captain Baillie, against whom an information for a libel, at the instigation of Lord Sandwich, the first Lord of the Admiralty, was prayed for, he was employed by him to undertake his defence. Mr. Erskine, on that occasion, addressed to the court, over which Lord Mansfield then presided, from one of the back benches, an animated and brilliant argument, that at once gained for him a reputation, probably without an equal in the annals of English forensic eloquence. This was at the same term at which he was admitted. And from that moment he rose to a height which has never been exceeded by any one in his profession. On more than one occasion, he found the nautical information which he had picked up during his short service in the navy, of great use to him. It would detain us too long to give even a sketch of his argument on the motion for a new trial in the Dean of St. Asaph's case, which Mr. Fox pronounced the finest argument in the English language, and which our author calls the most perfect union of argument and eloquence ever exhibited in Westminster Hall; much less to attempt an abstract of his other speeches. All the bright passages, indeed, of Erskine's career, are derivable from his noble efforts at the bar. They contain a record of all his feelings and opinions on questions of constitutional law, and of popular rights. He was ever their firm and bold advocate. One of his finest traits, was his noble and praiseworthy independence as a lawyer. He at all times and at all hazards asserted the dignity, independence, and integrity of the English bar, without which, he said, impartial justice, the most valuable part of the English Constitution, could have no existence.

Though comparatively feeble in his efforts in parliament, he was unwavering in his politics, and constant in his adhesion to his party. By this course, he was always respected in that body, though it was certainly not the proper theatre for the exhibition of his great abilities.

On more than one occasion, he was tempted by his enthusi-

asm to use an expression, which certainly nothing but the very highest state of excitement, both of speaker and of hearers, would tolerate or could excuse. On the trial of Lord George Gordon, in arguing upon the construction of certain words imputed to him, after he had worked up himself and his audience to a high pitch of feeling, he exclaimed, "I say, by *God*, that man is a ruffian, who shall, after this, presume to build upon such honest, artless conduct as a proof of guilt." And, again, in the House of Lords, upon a popular question, in which he felt great interest, he concluded by saying, "For my own part, I shall never cease to struggle in support of liberty. In no situation will I desert the cause; I was born a free man, and, by *God*, I will never die a slave!"

If we had space, we should delight to extract his beautiful advocacy of the confidence which ought to exist in private intercourse, uttered on Frost's trial; and his splendid defence of Warren Hastings's conduct, and argument on the necessity of governing barbarous nations *by fear*, contained in his defence of Stockdale. In the same speech, he delivered his sentiments on the subject of religion, in a manner which did credit to his head as well as his heart. One short extract we cannot refrain making, from a statement rendered by him of the reason which induced his conduct in a particular instance that had subjected him to some censure, as it places his character in so amiable a light. He had been employed as counsel for the "Proclamation Society," to institute a prosecution against a man by the name of Williams, for publishing a blasphemous pamphlet; and he had succeeded in procuring his conviction. Before the period arrived for passing the judgment of the court, Mr. Erskine suggested to those who had employed him, the propriety of abandoning any application for the further punishment of the man, who had already been subjected to considerable imprisonment. The Society did not accede to his suggestion, and Mr. Erskine returned their retainer and declined being further concerned for them. His reasons we give in his own words:—

"Having convicted Williams, and before he had notice to attend the court to receive judgment, I happened to pass one day through the Old Turnstile, from Holborn, in my way to Lincoln's Inn Fields, when in the narrowest part of it, I felt something pulling me by the coat, when, on turning round, I saw a woman at my feet bathed in tears, and emaciated with disease and sorrow, who continued almost to drag me into a miserable hovel in the passage, where I found she was attending upon two or three unhappy children in the confluent small-pox, and in the same apartment, not above ten or twelve feet square, the wretched man whom I had convicted, was sewing up little religious tracts, which had been his principal employment in his trade; and I was fully convinced that his poverty and not his will had led to the publication of this infamous book, as without any kind of stipulation for mercy on my part, he voluntarily and eagerly engaged to find out all the copies in circulation, and bring them to me to be destroyed.

"I was most deeply affected with what I had seen, and feeling the strongest

impression that he offered a happy opportunity to the prosecutors of vindicating, and rendering universally popular, the cause in which they had succeeded; I wrote my opinion to that effect, observing, (if I well remember) that mercy being the grand characteristic of the Christian religion, which had been defamed and insulted, it might be here exercised, not only safely, but more usefully to the objects of the prosecution, than by the most severe judgment, which must be attended with the ruin of this helpless family.

"My advice was most respectfully received by the Society, and I have no doubt honestly rejected, because that most excellent prelate, Bishop Porteus, and many other honourable persons, concurred in rejecting it; but I had still a duty of my own to perform, considering myself not as counsel for the Society, but for the Crown."

Mr. Erskine, much to his credit, we think, took the course we have already mentioned. The latter years of his life were not passed in public—they were, unfortunately, embarrassed by pecuniary difficulties. One occasion, however, called out his almost expiring energies, and he gave to the cause of the Greeks, the aid of his honoured, and almost forgotten name. He died at the age of seventy-three.

We could give no more than detached and general notices of the lives and characters of the eminent men which have been depicted with ability by Mr. Roscoe. Enough, however, has been said, to convince the students of that profession which those illustrious individuals so highly adorned, of the paramount necessity of perseverance and close application; and to console them with the reflection, that *these* are generally crowned with success. Many, nay, most of them rose from humble stations, to the highest dignities in their native country—and were, for years, toiling in the rugged path of learning, and of honourable competition, before success attended their exertions. This is, necessarily, the case with all the severe sciences. Their votaries spend the best years of their lives in arduous, most commonly obscure efforts for advancement; but then, perhaps, it may be even in the close of life, comes the harvest of respect and renown, and what is far better, when that shall terminate, a never-dying fame.

ART. II.—*The Working Man's Companion.—The Results of Machinery—namely, Cheap Production and Increased Employment, exhibited: being an Address to the Working Men of the United Kingdom.* American Edition: Philadelphia: Carey & Hart: 1831.

It seems to be a very evident proposition, that the possessor of great power—power to be exerted for the good of many, and to act upon various and complicated interests and relations, should be intelligent. In this country, the people rule, not by the in-

direct and often tardy influence of public opinion, but directly, tangibly and constantly, with an authority acknowledged and supported by the very form of the government. There are two things necessary for the establishment and success of a free government;—first, that the people should know their rights—and secondly, that they should have intelligence enough to exercise them wisely and temperately, for the good of the whole. The thing to be feared in a monarchy or aristocracy is, that the selfishness of those who possess power may lead them to sacrifice the interests and happiness of the mass to their own aggrandizement. The thing to be feared in a republic where the people govern, is, that the ignorance and passions of the mass may lead them to the adoption of measures not conducive to the good of themselves—and it may be doubted which is the worse, the tyranny of selfishness, or the tyranny of ignorance. Now, it is very obvious, that the only thing necessary to the perfection of a republic is—that the people should be enlightened. The people possessing the power, it is contrary to the known principles of human nature to suppose, that they will not exercise it in the adoption of such measures as they suppose most beneficial to themselves; the only danger is, that they may be mistaken. It is, therefore, only necessary, that they be sufficiently well educated to understand the nature and bearing of public measures—for if they know which is best—they will choose which is best. Education then—education of the mass of the people, is the great instrument for the improvement of the condition of man, and is absolutely necessary to raise him to that situation in which his noble faculties can be fully developed and exercised, and he can enjoy the dignity and happiness worthy a being so splendidly gifted. For what avails it, that the enlightened and the scientific, forming, as they necessarily do, so small a portion of the human race, discovering the true relations of society, and the real sources of happiness and improvement, propose measures based upon those discoveries, if they to whom they are proposed, and who have the power of rejection, cannot comprehend their reason or appreciate their utility. And how greatly must the advance of society be retarded, when those who are to act—who are to apply a truth when discovered, if called upon to give up hoary prejudice, and error venerable from the associations of antiquity, cannot always be convinced by demonstration, and never can, by any thing short of it.

Thus it is, that the advance of political and politico-economical knowledge has been slower than that of any other; that a truth is sometimes discovered in one age, and acted upon in the next, and that nations most renowned for their learning and civilization—and for their progress in the arts and sciences, commit the greatest blunders in this. A discovery in medicine or mechanics,

is addressed only to the educated—who know how to detect and appreciate its value, who understand its bearings and its object—and who instantly adopt it, if it is worthy of adoption. A truth, in politics or political economy, before it can be applied in practice, before it can be acted upon, and produce the benefit it is fitted to produce, must first convince and receive the assent of the mass of the people, that is, of the uneducated, whose minds cannot always comprehend the reasons upon which it is founded, and who therefore, are slow to perceive the benefits which are capable of being derived from it. And it is well that this assent—this conviction is necessary—for in it consists the first great requisite for human happiness and exaltation—and the blessings of liberty are cheaply purchased even by this inconvenience.

The remedy for this inconvenience, is universal education. As soon as the people generally, are so far enlightened as to understand the benefits of education, and the nature of knowledge—politics and political economy will cease to be considered as subjects which may be understood without methodical study—and as matters which are so easy and simple as not to require the aid of systematic classification and technical arrangement. It has been well said, that although it requires years of apprenticeship to make a shoemaker—every one thinks himself born a statesman; so, many a man supposes that he is able and entitled to discuss the bank, the tariff, and every other question of political economy which may arise, who would think it presumptuous to give an opinion upon a point of law, medicine, or chemistry, without having studied those sciences.

The science of political economy, like other sciences, is a collection of general truths and principles, deduced from an extensive and accurate observation and collation of facts—not the limited experience of a single individual—but the extended experience of nations; not the facts of a single district or of one age, imperfectly observed and falsely reasoned from by an unformed mind—but facts from all countries and many centuries, diligently and minutely analyzed and compared, and the principles and truths deduced by many able men, whose minds, stored with various knowledge, accustomed to investigation, and trained to the art of reasoning, were devoted intensely, for years, to the subject. But there seems at the present day, even among persons sufficiently enlightened upon other matters, a great rage for what is called “practical knowledge”—a term difficult to define, but which, from the way in which it is generally used, appears to be synonymous with intuitive knowledge.

The professors of this species of knowledge, term themselves “practical men,” and seem to be of opinion that there is not *any* thing in heaven or earth not circumscribed within the limits of their philosophy. What they *see*, they believe—the facts of

their own experience, the events which are passing around them, are the data upon which they build *their* theories; and their imperfect and confused deductions, from scanty and inaccurately observed facts, are by the vanity of ignorance preferred to the discoveries of science, and the conclusions of reason. "Practical knowledge" is, by these philosophers, opposed to theoretical knowledge. Theoretical appears, in their vocabulary, to mean any thing that is written in a regular methodical manner—and practical knowledge, the information gained, and the conclusions drawn from individual observation, and from reading newspapers and speeches in Congress.

It ought to be more generally known, that theory is nothing more than the conclusions of reason from numerous and accurately observed phenomena, and the deduction of the laws which connect causes with effects;—that practice is the application of these general truths and principles to the common affairs and purposes of life; and that science is the recorded experience and discoveries of mankind, or, as it has been well defined, "the knowledge of many, orderly and methodically digested and arranged, so as to become attainable by one."

Every man who observes a phenomenon, and attempts to account for it, or draws a conclusion from its occurrence, is guilty of theorizing. The "practical man," however, goes no further than the fact before him—he gives a reason for its occurrence, if he can, which not being capable of further application, and not comprehending any other facts, even if it be correct, is comparatively useless. The scientific man, not content with observing one fact, collects many, and by discovering their points of resemblance, and tracing the chain of causes and effects, arrives at a general principle or law, capable of extensive application and varied usefulness.

A "practical man" sees the lid forced off from a vessel of water, when the water is heated; if he attempts to give a reason, he says, that it was because the steam could not escape, and he resolves the next time to leave it a vent. The philosopher, from this phenomenon, is led to the examination of others, and through a train of investigation and discovery which terminates in the steam-engine.

The "practical man" goes to market in the morning, and always finds as many commodities as he wishes to purchase. If he thinks about so ordinary an occurrence, he supposes, very justly, that the owners of the commodities come to market because they expect to meet purchasers, and that they sell their goods, because they prefer having his money. A scientific man, from this phenomenon, and from a careful analysis of it and analogous facts, discovers the true principles which regulate demand and supply, with all their important results.

A "practical man" is told by his neighbour that he intends to withdraw from the business in which he is engaged, and invest his capital in another, where he has good reason to expect more profit. He commends the prudence of his friend, and perhaps looks closer to his own affairs. The scientific man, upon being told the like thing, meditates a little more deeply, and reasoning from particulars to generals, arrives at length at the conclusion that the industry of a country will be most productive when least interfered with.

The "practical man," if he happens to live near a manufactory, upon the introduction of an improvement in machinery, whereby the work formerly performed by six men can now be done by two, sees a number of poor labourers thrown out of employment, and a number of families reduced to want. He is induced to suppose that labour-saving machinery is an evil, and productive of poverty and wretchedness—and if he is a passionate man as well as a practical one, he thinks the workmen would serve their employers right by destroying the machines. The scientific political economist, on the contrary, from the examination and comparison of many facts, and from a train of comprehensive and accurate reasoning, is convinced, that notwithstanding the partial and transient evil caused by their introduction, every improvement in machinery by which the cost of production is diminished, is a permanent advantage to *all* classes of society.

But it is not by the prejudices of the ignorant, and the efforts of misguided and uneducated reason alone, that the advance of accurate knowledge on the subject of national economy is retarded. Where reason is exerted at all, sound argument and convincing proof, if they can only obtain a hearing, will in the end be triumphant. But the passions of the multitude are sometimes aroused; deceived by appearances which they cannot comprehend, goaded by distress which is the result partly of their own ignorance and imprudence, and partly of the necessary organization of society, it is not wonderful that being unable to understand the true cause of their hardships, they should believe that to be the real which is the apparent one, and that feeling themselves miserable and believing themselves oppressed, want and indignation united should sometimes drive them to desperation.

This has not unfrequently occurred in England, where the distress generally immediately consequent upon the introduction of improvements in machinery, has sometimes excited the labourers to such a degree that social order and the rights of private property were disregarded, and the restraints of the law trampled upon by the ignorant fury of a mob.

It is upon occasions such as these, when the effects of ignorance are to destroy the blessings of security and order, and to overturn the whole fabric of society, that we feel the advantages of

knowledge. With the benevolent view of affording those advantages, the little volume whose title we have placed at the head of this article, was published. It is generally ascribed to Lord Brougham, and is not unworthy of the greatness of his intellect, or the variety and extent of his learning. Its object is to demonstrate the real effects of improvements in machinery, and to show how entirely all the blessings and comforts of civilized life are dependant upon it. It is addressed to "the working men of the united kingdom," and is written in a clear, plain, and familiar style, adapted to the minds which it is intended to enlighten—but it contains so much valuable, and to the generality of readers, curious information upon a subject of universal interest—so much clear, sound, and accurate reasoning, and opens such important views of the prospects of society and the sources of its improvement, that it cannot be read by any one without much pleasure and much instruction.

When we survey the complicated organization of civilized society, the busy multitudes of a populous nation pursuing their various avocations in harmony and order—their vast undertakings, their great achievements—their numerous transactions and various interests, and the regularity of their operation—their wealth, their power, their luxury; and compare the situation of such a community with that of a tribe of savages, few in number, thinly scattered over a vast tract of desolate and uncultivated territory, dwelling in rude huts unfurnished with the conveniences of life, scantily clothed with the skins, and half fed with the flesh of the wild beasts which their whole time is occupied in pursuing,—exposed, unprotected, to the inclemencies of the weather, without government, or social order, or knowledge—toiling only to supply the lowest and most obvious animal wants—living only to gratify the coarsest animal appetites—debased, degraded, miserable—the reflection does not instantly occur to every mind, that the difference between the civilized community and the savage tribe, is caused by machinery alone, and that deprived of it, the wealthiest and most flourishing nation would speedily be reduced to the situation of a wretched and barbarous horde.

And yet this is strictly true. What constitutes the difference between the member of a civilized community, and the wandering child of the forest? The possession of a cultivated mind, and of the conveniences and comforts which minister in the greatest degree to his physical enjoyment. The civilized man has knowledge—knowledge of the nature and properties of the material objects which surround him, and of the means by which they may be rendered subservient to his use—knowledge of the past—of the actions of his species for many centuries, from which he draws conclusions which form rules of conduct for the

future—knowledge of the mechanism of his own body, of its faculties and its diseases, by which he is enabled to preserve his health or to alleviate the pangs of sickness—knowledge of the powers and operations of his own mind, from which he learns what he can attempt with prospects of success, and the means calculated to increase his individual happiness. From this knowledge springs his power over the material world, and the brute creation, and his superiority over those of his own species who possess it not. Hence come also, the pleasures of taste, the aspirations of ambition, the exalted enjoyments of intellectual superiority and exertion, and all the refined delights of civilized and social life. And how was this knowledge, which forms the best and richest treasure of the human race, because it is the source of every other blessing, obtained? By the patient investigation and diligent study of a small portion of mankind, devoted in successive ages to its acquisition. But how were these men enabled thus to devote their time to such labours? For it is evident that they must have devoted nearly all their time, and that if they had been obliged to toil in procuring for themselves the necessities of life, in supplying their animal wants by their own labour, they would have had little left for other occupations. The answer is, by machinery, which, by increasing the productive powers of industry, supplies the wants of the *whole* community by means of the labour of a portion of it, and supplies those wants infinitely better and more abundantly, than the labour of the whole community could do without its aid. It is thus that leisure is afforded to some, for the cultivation of their minds, and for the acquisition and increase of that knowledge upon which the prosperity of all depends. If in addition to this, we add the reflection, that the present improved state of knowledge, and its diffusion among all classes, are caused solely by the art of printing, we shall need nothing more to convince us, that the possession of knowledge, of a cultivated mind, which distinguishes the civilized man from the savage, in as marked a manner as the possession of reason at all does the human being from the brute, results from machinery alone. But to this knowledge thus resulting from the labours of a portion of the community, enabled by the productive powers of machinery to devote their time to its acquisition—machinery itself—simple, feeble, and inartificial in its first advances, owes its innumerable applications and improvements.

The first steps being conquered, improvement was rapid, and as the increase of wealth and population necessarily kept pace with augmented productive powers of industry—a greater number of the community were constantly relieved from the necessity of labour, and enabled to devote their minds to the pursuits of science. Accurate observation, diligent and extensive research,

and sound induction, became, at length, the characteristics of philosophy, which being directed to the attainment of a knowledge of the properties and laws of matter, has already discovered and performed so much, that the commonest necessities of life are now the production of the most complicated and wonderful inventions, the condition of the humble peasant in point of solid comfort and even luxury superior to that of the wealthiest noble three centuries ago, the conveniences and splendour of the rich, such as the monarchs of old never imagined even in their wildest dreams, and the common and daily spectacles of life, of a character that would have startled our ancestors as the work of supernatural agency. Let any one who enjoys, even in a moderate degree, the advantages of fortune, look around him and see which of the luxuries or conveniences which constitute the difference between himself and the poorest and most wretched of his species, he could obtain without the assistance of machinery. He lives in a spacious and commodious house, itself an elaborate machine, filled with innumerable contrivances to promote ease and save labour. His table is covered with wholesome and dainty food, which is either produced at home by the assistance of machines, or brought from foreign lands by other machines the most complicated and wonderful. This food he conveys to his mouth by means of various implements produced by machinery, which render the process of eating cleanly, agreeable, and refined. He clothes himself with garments of various material and texture, which are soft, pliable, and beautiful—warm or cool—all the products of complicated machinery. Does he want knowledge? He goes to his shelves where stand in many a glittering row, numerous ingenious little machines, filled with the wisdom of experience and the lore of centuries, ever ready to inform, to delight, to improve his mind. Does he wish to travel? The steam-engine propels a floating edifice, filled with every comfort and convenience for his accommodation, with ease and rapidity against wind and tide, or whirls with winged speed its long and ponderous train over the iron highway. In all his avocations, in all his pursuits of business or pleasure, he uses machines, and deprived of them, he would be helpless, degraded, and miserable.

But it is said by some, that notwithstanding the improvements in machinery, poverty still exists, and the poor are still wretched. True—but this wretchedness is not caused by machinery, it is chiefly the effect of ignorance, vice, and imprudence, and would exist in a much greater degree, were it not that machinery, by producing commodities of all kinds in infinitely greater abundance, and with much less labour than they could be produced without it, and by producing many commodities which could not be produced without it at all, places within the reach even of the

poorest, a thousand comforts which were unknown to the rich in less civilized ages, and furnishes the humble cottage, if industry, neatness, and sobriety preside over it, with every necessary for substantial enjoyment. It is this effect of improvements in machinery which is dearest to the philanthropist. Poverty, destitution of the comforts of life, experience and reason teach us, must be generally accompanied by ignorance, degradation and vice. Self-respect, intelligence, sobriety, and virtue, are produced by the possession of these comforts. The lowest orders of society ordinarily mean the poorest—and the highest, the richest. Sensual excess, want of intelligence, and moral debasement, distinguish the former—knowledge, intellectual superiority, and refined, social, and domestic affections, the latter. The different classes of society rank in general estimation according to the means which they severally possess of supplying themselves most easily with the comforts and luxuries of life; and we find it every where true, that in proportion as mankind are relieved from the necessity of exerting bodily labour for the supply of their wants, they will exert mental labour,—that the possession of comfort, convenience, and leisure, is generally followed by intellectual development and moral exaltation. If this be true, whatever tends to add to the comforts of the poor man, to enable him to supply his wants, and to procure the innocent enjoyments of life with a smaller amount of labour, tends also to raise his condition in the scale of society, to improve him intellectually and morally, and to make him a happier and more useful member of the community. Now, this is the precise tendency of every improvement in machinery. It lessens the cost of production; it makes that cheap which was formerly dear, and thereby either places within reach of the poor, commodities which before could be purchased only by the rich, or gives to them at a cheaper rate those comforts which they already possess—thus leaving them the means of extending the sphere of their enjoyments. It is thus that machinery has already improved the condition of all who possess it. If it gives to the rich luxury, it gives to the poor comfort, and those things which are now called the *necessaries* of life, are thus called, because machinery has made them so abundant and so cheap, that they have become universal, and are enjoyed both by rich and poor; they were once considered luxuries. Our author, addressing the working classes, thus sums up the advantages of machinery to them.

“This increase of comfort, some of you may say, is a question that more affects the rich than it affects us. This again is a mistake. The whole tendency of the improvements of the last four hundred years, has not only been to lift the meanest of you, in regard to a great many comforts, far above the condition of the rich four hundred years ago, but absolutely to place you, in many things, upon a level with the rich of your own day. You are surrounded, as we have constantly shown you throughout this book, with an infinite number of com-

forts and conveniences which had no existence two or three centuries ago ; and those comforts and conveniences are not used only by a few, but are within the reach of almost all men. Every day is adding something to your comfort. Your houses are better built—your clothes are cheaper—you have an infinite number of domestic utensils, whose use even was unknown to your ancestors—you can travel cheaply from place to place, and not only travel at less expense, but travel ten times quicker than the richest man could travel two hundred years ago. Above all, you are not only advancing steadily to the same level in point of many comforts with the rich, but you are gaining that knowledge, which was formerly their exclusive possession. Keep fast hold of that last and best power ; and you will learn what your true individual interest is, in every situation in which you can be placed : you will learn now, that it is useless in any way to struggle against that progress of society, whose tendencies are to make all of us more comfortable, more instructed, more virtuous, and therefore more happy."

That the situation of all classes of society is infinitely improved in every respect since the introduction of the modern improvements in machinery, may be clearly illustrated by comparing some of the conveniences and sources of comfort which every one possesses at the present day, with those possessed by our ancestors. What industrious poor man need be without a tight, warm, well-ventilated house, a good bed, convenient furniture, a variety of comfortable clothing—woollen, linen, and cotton, and plenty of wholesome food ? At least in this happy land, where the causes are not operating which produce so much poverty and wretchedness in other countries, these blessings may be obtained by every one. Let us now look at the condition of the mass of the people in respect to the advantages we have enumerated, some centuries ago. An old writer gives the following account of the improvements in the building and furniture of houses in his time.

"Neither do I speak this reproach of any man, as God is my judge, but rather I do rejoice to see how God has blest us with his good gifts, and to behold how that, in a time where all things are grown to such excessive prices, we do yet find the means to obtain and achieve such furniture as heretofore has been found impossible. There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remain, who have noted three things to be marvellously altered in England within their sound remembrance. One is the multitude of chimneys lately erected, whereas in their young days there were but two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm, the religious houses and manor houses of their lords always excepted, and peradventure some great personage. But each made his fire against a rare domet in the hall where he dined, and dressed his meat. The second is the great amendment in lodging : for, said they, our fathers and ourselves have lain full oft on straw pallets, covered only with a sheet, under coverlets of dog's waine and hop harlots (I use their own terms) and a good round log under their head as a bolster. If it were so that the father or good man of the house had a mattress or flock bed, and thereon a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself as well lodged as the lord of the town. Pillows, said they, are thought fit only for sick women ; as for servants, if they had any sheet above them it was well, for seldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canvass and rased their hardened hides. The third thing they tell of is the exchange of trene platters (so called from tree, wood) into pewter, and wooden spoons into silver or tin ; for so common were all sorts of trene vessels in those times, that a man could hardly find four pieces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a salt) in a good farm-house."—*Holingshead's Chron.*

It is hardly necessary to say how differently every labouring man is lodged at the present day, or to remark upon the numerous and convenient household utensils with which every cottage, however humble, is filled. The clothing of both poor and rich, upon which so much of our comfort and refinement depends, is now produced entirely by machinery, and that it is of various texture and material, and so cheap as to be within the reach, in great variety, even of the poorest, is owing to some modern inventions which lessen the labour and cost of producing it. In 1750, before Arkwright had invented his machine for spinning cotton, a cotton dress was a luxury which the wealthy could alone enjoy. Cotton was then spun and wove by the hand, and therefore with much labour; it was thus very dear; it is now spun and wove by machinery which produces a great quantity with little labour; it is therefore cheap, and forms a cleanly, healthy, and agreeable article of dress for all classes, particularly for women, thereby elevating and improving their condition. The same observations apply to wool, which is a material universally used in clothing, the cheapness and general use of which depend altogether upon late improvements in machinery. In 1589, the stocking machine was invented by William Lea, a clergyman; before that time, stockings, and those very bad ones, were a luxury confined to the rich—the poorest now consider them a necessary part of dress.

One valuable quality of improvements in machinery is, that their benefits must be diffusive and pervading. They owe their existence to extensive demand. The price men are willing to pay for the gratification of their desires, forms the motive and the reward of the invention. Every improvement in machinery which diminishes the cost of production, increases the demand for the article produced—by giving many the power of purchasing, who before had the desire to possess it, but were not able to pay the price demanded. Demand for any commodity does not mean merely the desire to possess it, for that is universal and indefinite; but this desire united to the power of paying an equivalent in exchange. Every poor man, as he walks the streets, desires to possess the various rich and elegant articles which he sees in the shops; but that is not demand until the wish to possess be accompanied by the power of purchasing. The tendency of improvements in machinery is, by making commodities cheaper, to make this power of purchasing more and more general, or in other words, to increase demand. This is all very clear—there is a certain demand for cloth, for example, which costs six dollars a yard:—that is, there are a certain number of persons in the community who desire to consume a certain quantity of cloth, and are willing and able to pay six dollars per yard for it. There is also a certain demand for cloth which costs three dol-

lars per yard, which means that there are a certain number of persons willing and able to pay that price. It is evident that every one would be glad to get cloth at the former price, who cannot afford to buy it—and that those who purchase at the latter price, do so, not because they do not *desire* cloth of a better quality, but because they are not able to pay for it. Suppose an improvement in machinery to be introduced, by which the cloth which formerly cost six, can now be sold for three dollars. It is evident that all those who formerly purchased at six, will now purchase in larger quantities at three, and that those who formerly purchased cloth of an inferior quality at three dollars, will now be glad to get it twice as good at the same price. The demand is thus more than doubled, and the comforts of the poorer classes increased.

Such are the effects of machinery—it increases the comfort and convenience of all; it tends to elevate the condition of the poor, and to exalt and ennoble the character of man. It does all the drudgery, all that requires mere brute force, leaving to man the higher task of exerting chiefly his mind, and by that exertion surrounding himself with the sources of ease and refinement. How grand would be the spectacle of a nation whose inhabitants were all abundantly supplied with every article of comfort, luxury, and taste, by machinery alone, and whose whole time should be occupied in the pursuit and enjoyment of that happiness which springs from the exercise and improvement of the mind, the enjoyment of the social and domestic affections, and the refined pleasures of taste! Such a state of society is indeed impossible, but the nearer we can approach to it the better: the direct tendency of every improvement in machinery is to bring us nearer to it than before, and by producing abundantly with little labour, to require from man the exertion of his mind which ennobles him, rather than the corporeal drudgery which degrades him.

“And who can doubt,” says our author, “whether instead of a state of society where the labourers were few and wretched, wasting human strength, unaided by art, in labours which could be better performed by wind, and water, and steam—by the screw and the lever—it would not be better to approach as nearly as we can to a state of society where the labourers would be many and lightly tasked, exerting human power in its noblest occupation, that of giving a direction by its intelligence to the mere physical power which it had conquered? Surely, a nation so advanced as to apply the labour of its people to occupations where a certain degree of intelligence was required, leaving all that was purely mechanical to machines and to inferior animals, would produce for itself the greatest number of articles of necessity and convenience, of luxury and taste, at the cheapest cost. But it would do more. It would have its population increasing with the increase of those productions: and that population employed in those labours alone which could not be carried on without that great power of man, by which he subdues all other power to his use—his reason.”

The general improvement in the condition of man, the ad-

vancement of society in civilization, knowledge, numbers, and happiness, which has been caused by machinery, would be sufficient to convince most men of its importance to mankind, and to make them wish for its still greater improvement. They would look to the past and compare it with the present, and seeing that the numerous population, the pervading comfort and knowledge and happiness, the superior accommodation, and the intellectual and moral advancement of the present day are the results of improvements in machinery—that the direct and obvious tendency of these improvements is to advance still further the condition of man, by surrounding him with new conveniences, and by relieving him more and more from the necessity of exerting bodily labour for the supply of his wants—the philanthropist of enlarged mind would need no further argument. He would judge that the causes which had already produced so much general good, would, if they continued to operate, produce still more. Even if it were proven to him that this cause of general and lasting benefit was also frequently the cause of particular and transient evil, he would say that the happiness of the mass is to be secured even at the expense of hardship to a few, and that the advancement of society and the interests of posterity are not to be abandoned, because the means of their promotion produce in their operation some short-lived distress. There are some, however, who do not take so liberal a view of the subject; who, reasoning only from a few facts occurring in a short space of time, and neglecting, for the most part, a careful analysis of the facts which they do observe, think that they see in the wretchedness generally existing among the labourers who are thrown out of employment by the introduction of an improvement in machinery, a triumphant argument against any invention by which the necessity for human labour is diminished. These superficial observers say, that when the demand for any commodity is fully supplied, any improvement in machinery by which the commodity is produced at a cheaper rate, only supplies this demand at a lower price, and benefits the consumers indeed so far, but at the expense of the labourers, who are reduced to the greatest distress by being thrown out of employment. This argument is founded on a very obvious fallacy, for the discovery of which it is only necessary to understand the true nature of demand, which means, as we before observed, the desire to possess accompanied by the power of purchasing. The amount which a man will give for any article is the evidence and measure of his demand; an invention, therefore, which furnishes a commodity at a cheaper rate, not only supplies the old demand for it at a lower price, but creates a new demand by placing the commodity produced within the power of purchasing of many who before had the desire to possess it but were without that power. It thus

not only benefits those who formerly consumed the commodity at a high price, but also all those who desired to consume before, but were not able to pay the high, and are able to purchase at the reduced price. It is perfectly evident, therefore, that the only way of supplying the wants of the people, is by increasing the demand for all sorts of commodities, which can only be done by producing them with so little labour that they can be sold at a cheap rate, and yet afford to the producer the ordinary profits of capital. Now the wants of mankind are unbounded; those of the poorest equal those of the richest; the great object of government and a system of society is to supply those wants as plentifully as possible; if machinery were to go on improving for a thousand years as rapidly as it has done for the last hundred, it would never supply them: there is no fear of its improving too fast, and it would be a happy thing for mankind if all their wants could be converted into demands, for then the condition of all, in point of comfort, ease, and convenience, would be equal to that of the richest now.

The objection usually urged against improvements in machinery, is, that the poor are deprived of employment. It is true, that at the introduction of an invention which produces the same quantity with less labour than was before required, some of the labourers are thrown out of employment—but this though a serious evil is a transient one, and not for a moment to be weighed against the permanent advantages which result from the improvement to the community generally, and particularly to the labourers themselves. The commodity is not only furnished to them in common with others at a cheaper rate, but the lasting effect of every improvement in machinery is, increased employment. This can be proved by innumerable facts—and is a conclusion which might be arrived at by *à priori* reasoning. It has been shown that by the cost of production being diminished the price is diminished; the price being diminished, the demand is increased; if the demand is increased, in order to supply that demand, a proportionably greater quantity of the commodity must be produced, and to produce this augmented supply, a greater number of labourers is required. It has generally been found in practice that the increased demand consequent upon diminished price has been so great, that many more labourers were required to supply it even with the improved machines, than were required to supply the old demand with the old machines, although they required more labourers to work them.

It was to combat and refute the objection that improvements in machinery deprive the poor of employment, and to show that their permanent effect is to give them increased employment, that "The Results of Machinery" was written. The truth of this position the author shows by proof so clear as to be intelli-

gible to the commonest mind, and perfectly unassailable by the brightest. The proof consists of the history of the most important of those inventions in every branch of art and industry which have supplied civilized man with the means of comfort and happiness. In all, the facts clearly show that every improvement by which the cost of production has been diminished, has, besides adding to the comfort of all classes, increased the demand for the labour of the working classes.

We need not do more than refer the reader to the work itself for the illustrations in detail, which will be found curious and instructive, containing much knowledge, important, though not generally possessed—and inculcating sound doctrines upon a subject interesting to all, about which erroneous ideas are very prevalent. We cannot, however, refrain from giving one or two extracts. The art of printing illustrates perhaps as strongly as any other, the two great effects of improvements in machinery—cheap production and increased employment.

“It is about three hundred and fifty years since the art of printing books was invented. Before that time, all books were written by the hand. There were many persons employed to copy out books, but they were very dear, although the copiers had small wages. A Bible was sold for thirty pounds in the money of that day, which was equal to a great deal more of our money. Of course, very few people had Bibles or any other books. An ingenious man invented a mode of imitating the written books by cutting the letters on wood, and taking off copies from the wooden blocks by rubbing the sheet on the back; and soon after, other clever men thought of casting metal types or letters, which could be arranged in words, and sentences, and pages, and volumes; and then a machine, called a printing-press, upon the principle of a screw, was made to stamp impressions of these types so arranged. There was an end, then, at once, to the trade of the pen-and-ink copiers; because the copiers in types, who could press off several hundred books while the writers were producing one, drove them out of the market. A single printer could do the work of at least two hundred writers. At first sight this seems a hardship, for a hundred and ninety-nine people might have been, and probably were, thrown out of their accustomed employment. But what was the consequence in a year or two? Where one written book was sold, a thousand printed books were required. The old books were multiplied in all countries, and new books were composed by men of talent and learning, because they could then find numerous readers. The printing-press did the work more neatly and more correctly than the writer, and it did it infinitely cheaper. / What then? The writers of books had to turn their hands to some other trade, it is true; but type-founders, paper-makers, printers and book-binders, were set to work, by the new art or machine, to at least a hundred times greater number of persons than the old way of making books employed. If the pen-and-ink copiers could break the printing-presses, and melt down the types that are used in London alone at the present day, twenty thousand people would at least be thrown out of employment to make room for two hundred at the utmost; and what would be even worse than all this misery, books could only be purchased, as before the invention of printing, by the few rich, instead of being the guides, and comforters, and best friends, of the millions who are now within reach of the benefits and enjoyments which they bestow.”

The history of the cotton manufactory affords also a very forcible proof of the soundness of our author's views.

"At the time that Arkwright commenced his machinery, a man named Hargrave, who had set up a less perfect invention, was driven out of Lancashire, at the peril of his life, by a combination of the old spinners by the wheel. In 1789, when the spinning machinery was introduced into Normandy, the hand-spinners there also destroyed the mills, and put down the manufacture for a time. Lancashire and Normandy are now, in England and France, the great seats of the cotton manufacture. The people of Lancashire and Normandy had not formerly the means as we have now, of knowing that cheap production produces increased employment. There were many examples of this principle formerly to be found in arts and manufactures; but the people were badly educated upon such subjects, principally because studious and inquiring men had thought such matters beneath their attention. We live in times more favourable for these researches. The people of Lancashire and Normandy, at the period we mention, being ignorant of what would conduce to their real welfare, put down the machines. In both countries they were a very small portion of the community that attempted such an illegal act. The weavers were interested in getting cotton yarn cheap, so the combination was opposed to their interests; and the spinners were chiefly old women and girls, very few in number, and of little influence. Yet they and their friends, both in England and France, made a violent clamour; and but for the protection of the laws, the manufactories in each country would never have been set up. What was the effect upon the condition of this very population? M. Say, in his "*Complete Course of Political Economy*," (that is, the science which teaches how the wealth of a people may be best advanced,) states, upon the authority of an English manufacturer of fifty years' experience, that in ten years after the introduction of the machines, the people employed in the trade, spinners and weavers, were more than forty times as many as when the spinning was done by hand. It was calculated, in 1825, that the power of twenty thousand horses was employed in the spinning of cotton; and that the power of each horse yielded, with the aid of machinery, as much yarn as one thousand and sixty-six persons could produce by hand. If this calculation be correct, and there is no reason to doubt it, the spinning machinery of Lancashire alone produced, in 1825, as much yarn as would have required twenty-one million three hundred and twenty thousand persons to produce with the distaff and spindle. This immense power, which is nearly equal to the population of the United Kingdom, might be supposed to have superseded human labour altogether in the production of cotton yarn. It did no such thing. It gave a new direction to the labour that was formerly employed at the distaff and spindle; but it increased the quantity of labour altogether employed in the manufacture of cotton, at least a hundred fold. It increased it too, where an increase of labour was most desirable. It gave constant, easy, and not unpleasant occupation to women and children. In all the departments of cotton-spinning, and in many of those of weaving by the power-loom, women and children are employed. There are degrees, of course, in the agreeable nature of the employment, particularly as to its being more or less cleanly. But there are extensive apartments in large cotton factories, where great numbers of females are daily engaged in processes which would not soil the nicest fingers, dressed with the greatest neatness, and clothed in materials (as all women are now clothed) that were set apart for the highest in the land a century ago. And yet there are some who regret that the aged crones no longer sit in the cottage chimney, earning a few pence daily by their rude industry at the wheel!"

We must here close our notice of this instructive little work. It forms the first of a series called "*The Working Man's Companion*," which has reached the third number, published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, each number explaining and illustrating in a plain and familiar manner some subject of political economy, particularly interesting to the working classes. We hope the series will

be continued. The diffusion of knowledge of this kind is of the greatest importance to the interests of society. Ignorance of the principles of national economy is lamentably general even among the educated; few persons seem to be aware that they have been systematized into a science, whose truths are capable of proof and practical application; yet the subject is of the deepest interest to every member of society—for, to use the language of an agreeable writer, “if it concerns rulers that their measures should be wise, if it concerns the wealthy that their property should be secure, the middling classes that their industry should be rewarded, the poor that their hardships should be redressed, it concerns all, that Political Economy should be understood. If it concerns all that the advantages of a social state should be preserved and improved, it concerns them, likewise, that Political Economy should be understood *by all*.”

ART. III.—*Tour in England, Ireland, and France, in the years 1828 and 1829; with Remarks on the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, and Anecdotes of Distinguished Public Characters.—In a Series of Letters.—By a GERMAN PRINCE.* Four Volumes: London: 1832.

It is an observation which every one must have made at that period of his life, when, “with satchel and shining morning face,” he crept “like a snail, unwillingly to school,” that those of his companions who were the fondest of teasing and playing tricks on their comrades, were the least disposed themselves to endure with equanimity the “tit for tat” entailed upon them by their malicious propensities—a characteristic not often much diminished by the progress of years, unless the sufferings occasioned by it in boyhood have left potent and salutary impressions, verifying in a measure the Shakspearian axiom with regard to the uses of adversity. This idiosyncrasy also, we are fain to opine, may be remarked in nations as well as in individuals, judging, at least, from the conduct of our amiable fellow-speakers of the English language on the other side of the Atlantic. Who is more ready to sneer at and throw ridicule on foreign institutions and manners; who makes it more a point to disparage every thing that falls under his notice in a foreign land, than an Englishman? What books of travels are so stuffed with prejudice, ill nature, and misrepresentation, serious and ludicrous, as those which daily issue from the British press, and owe their ephemeral existence to the very circumstance of their want of truth, by serving up a dainty repast to the appetite for national calumny

and ridicule among the reading public of the Island, especially if the United States constitute the material of the dish? And what community are so wroth at any audacious stranger who has the presumption to give utterance in print to impressions at all unfavourable with regard to aught appertaining to them, as the worthy people of the same famous isle?

Ex uno—from one instance, judge of the rest. When the renowned production of that egregious “bit of womankind” yeleft Trollope, made its appearance in London, with what avidity was it seized upon by the Quarterly Review, and how desperate was the earnestness with which that periodical strained to inspire the belief that here was the work which had long been the *desideratum* in regard to this country—the result of the unbiassed observations of an English *lady* on the domestic manners of the Americans—when the reviewer, in all probability, would not have been delighted beyond all reasonable bounds at the honour of entertaining the *lady* in his drawing-room, and must have been satisfied, from her own avowal, that she had enjoyed no opportunities of receiving correct opinions, even supposing her capable, in other respects, of forming them, on the topics which she treats! With what ecstasy was the wormwood of the *lady* dipped into the gall of the critic, and concocted into a potion which it was doubtless presumed would act on the American stomach with the effect of vitriolic acid, whilst Hyblean honey itself would not pass over the palate of Mr. Bull with a sweeter and more soothing influence! But when the work whose title we have placed at the head of this article, was ushered, in a London dress, into the light of day, “my conscience!”—as Baillie Nicol was wont to ejaculate, no quarter whatever was given to the poor author, “thorough illustrious” as his title affirms him to be, though a spirit was manifested which would have taken exquisite pleasure in beholding him quartered, after he had undergone the operation of hanging. One might suppose that the reviewer was actuated by feelings of the bitterest personal hatred against the object of his venom, engendered by some insult or injury of the most rankling description. Every epithet to be found in the vocabulary of Billingsgate, is applied to the Prince in the coarsest style. He is denounced either directly or by implication, as an impertinent ignoramus who is indebted to his imagination for his facts, and whose opinions are as absurd as his statements are false—as an impudent intruder who billets himself upon the hospitality of English families, and requites their kindness by the vulgarest calumnies—as a low rake who is in constant pursuit of the vilest dissipation, which he boasts of with unblushing composure—as a profane blasphemer who makes a practice of reviling every thing that is sacred—in short, as a coxcomb, a liar, a scoundrel, a blackguard, and an infidel. Every trifling

unmeaning phrase and word, which reckless malice aided by a prurient fancy, can distort into an obnoxious signification, is seized upon for that purpose, without the least regard to decency or conscience. In the whole course of our periodical reading, we have never encountered an article so well calculated to furnish a handle against the practice of reviewing. If all the dictates of decorum and truth may be rejected with impunity by a reviewer, in the way in which they have been discarded by the writer in the Quarterly, then this species of literature would justly be reprobated as an absolute nuisance of the most pernicious kind.

And all this does the unfortunate traveller endure, at the hands of the person who has made the notable discovery, that "a Prince may not be a gentleman," in a manner which renders it very evident that gentleman and reviewer are not invariably convertible terms, (a discovery, by the way, which we did not expect the Quarterly would ever make, even in this era of reform,) because he has refused to perceive the resemblance of a cloud to a weasel or a whale, indiscriminately, at the bidding of those whom he visited, and to denominate, in echo of themselves, their rudeness, high breeding, their coldness, dignity, their cringing, civility—in other words, because he will not concede, without reserve, their claim to have arrived at the ultimatum of human perfectibility, although he is any thing but niggardly in the quantity or quality of the encomium which he bestows. In reading the Quarterly's comments, we could not help asking ourselves, is this the same journal which has so often and so fiercely laughed us to scorn, for exhibiting ill humour at the gibes and censures inflicted upon us by book-making tourists? It remains, indeed, to be seen whether we cannot bear *good-natured* ridicule, and *just* blame, with due equanimity, and endeavour to turn them to a profitable account. As yet our irritation has proceeded from the spirit of malevolence and misrepresentation pervading the volumes which have been published concerning us in London. For our own parts, we should rejoice to meet with a work respecting this country, written in as candid and gentlemanly a tone, and as free from wilful falsehood, and in fact, from serious mistake, as are the letters of *Prince Pückler-Muskau*.

But it is impossible to satiate the more than anacondaic appetite of an Englishman for national praise. He may quiz Brother Jonathan for his "pretty considerable" attachment to his respectable Uncle Samuel, and ridicule his frog-eating neighbours for their bombastic vapouring about "la Grande Nation," as much as he pleases; it is yet an irrefragable fact, that he is more deeply imbued with the spirit of *nationality*, than the inhabitant of any other portion of the globe. His vanity in reference to "Old England," can never be brought to a "*jam satis*;" however strenuous an effort be made to occasion a surfeit; it swallows

every aliment, however nauseous or indigestible, which may be provided, "as if increase of appetite did grow by what it feeds on." He can perceive nothing awry in aught connected with the object of his complacent affection—specks are wholly invisible to his eyes, and blotches of a magnitude too great to require the employment of a telescope, are beauty spots commanding universal admiration.

"Illic prævertatur, amatorem quod amicæ
Turpia decipiunt cæcum vitia, aut etiam ipsa hæc
Delectant; veluti Balbinum polypus Hagnæ."

And wo to the individual who dare insinuate that his vision is not perfectly clear; that he does not behold things in their real light; that the polypus is a polypus, and a downright deformity—as well might the unlucky wight attempt to rob the tigress of her young, or muzzle the unshackled monarch of the forest. The crime is unpardonable—the punishment must be exemplary.

We do not complain of this; it is natural, perhaps inevitable. The "sea encircled" country of Alfred, of Shakspeare, of Bacon, of Newton, has for too long a time occupied the loftiest station, in almost every way, among the nations of the earth, not to have inspired its inhabitants with a degree of veneration and love approximating very closely to infatuation. What we may complain of is, that whilst they are unconscious of the beam in their own eyes, they are constantly animadverting upon the mote in those of the people of other lands; making it a subject of satire and reprehension in a spirit of egotism and uncharitableness. It is doubtless an easy matter to be blind to one's own imperfections—*γυμνὰς ἡ τῆς οὐσίας* is the most intractable of all precepts—but no one, on that account, is justifiable or excusable in "casting the stone" at his neighbour whenever an opportunity of throwing it occurs.

It is not, of course, our province here to refute in detail, the slanders which have been heaped on our author in consequence of his fearlessness and impartiality, though he has been so hardly dealt with by the Coryphæus of toryism, that it would not be altogether quixotic in an American to splinter the lustiest lance he could grasp in his defence. But we may be allowed to specify a few instances of the refined wit, the gentility, the dignity, the love of justice, which shed so rich and brilliant a lustre over those pages of the Quarterly, which have been devoted to the volumes on our table. It is meet and proper that our fellow-citizens should be rendered sensible how wrongly they have acted in ever demurring to the dicta either about themselves or others, of so complete a pink of courtesy, so exquisite a glass of fashion, so perfect a pattern of truth, as the trimestral potentate of the west end of London is demonstrated to be by the article in question.

In the very outset we were disgusted, we might even say, shocked, by an attempt at ridicule, which, really, seemed to us almost sacrilegious, for the "universal" Goëthe himself is the object of it; and this because he has honoured the Letters of his countryman with a highly commendatory notice, parts of which have been translated and prefixed to the English edition of the work. We are as ready as any one of the tribe can be, to combat for the dignity of the critic, and to claim for him much more elevated titles than the fears or malice of the other species of *penned* animals will concede, but we must confess, that when he approaches the name of a being like the immortal German, it should ever be in a manner indicative of a consciousness of the Empyrean superiority of one of the monarchs of Parnassus, even when his design is to animadvert. "The pride and ample pinion" which give the Jovian eagle the privilege of

"Sailing with supreme dominion,
Through the azure depths of air,"

should secure the glorious bird from the outrage of being hawk'd at, and none but a mousing owl would make an attempt of the kind. The way, too, in which the reviewer endeavours to jeer the man who at the moment was the patriarch of European literature, is as paltry as the effort itself is reprehensible. It is by calling him sneeringly, "Meinherr von Goëthe," as school-boys try to exhibit their wit by affixing the familiar epithets of Mr. and Mrs. to Jupiter and Juno, and the other mythological deities.

After this and other precious attempts at wit, the reviewer proceeds to serious accusations against the traveller. He charges him with having "impudently *intruded* himself on Lady Eleanor Butler and Miss Ponsonby, and quizzed them and their pretty cottage in a style which, all the circumstances considered, one might almost be tempted to call brutal." When we encountered this unequivocal assertion respecting the visit of the Prince to the ladies in question, and compared it with the text of his letters, we could hardly believe that our copy of them was of the right edition; yet its admirable printing and "getting up," admits of no doubt as to its being the genuine London impression. Those respectable spinsters, it is well known, were recluses of a singular order, who by their "retiracy" from the fashionable world of the English metropolis some fifty years ago, in a picturesque cottage of North Wales, acquired more distinction and eclat, than they ever would have obtained by remaining members of the most exclusive circles of ton. Singularity, in this world, is by far the surest passport to fame. As they had very innocently located themselves on the high road to Holyhead, where there was any thing but a "plentiful lack" of travelling, a pilgrimage to their abode of friendship and romance—especially after it was discovered that the good maidens had not lost

all their interest in the proceedings of this mundane sphere, from the minuteness of the interrogations they put to every guest, and the pleasure with which the visit was received—became a matter of religious duty to every passer by, who had any pretensions to personal consequence. It may therefore be imagined, that there was nothing very “intrusive” in the Prince’s sending his card to them, as he was journeying through Wales, and on “immediately receiving a gracious invitation to breakfast,” appearing before them *in propria persona*. With regard to the “quizzing,” against which the reviewer has fulminated his anathema, we had better allow the Prince to speak for himself, by transcribing the whole of his “brutal” remarks about “the pretty cottage,” and the “amiable spinsters.”

“Passing along a charming road, through a trim and pretty pleasure-ground, in a quarter of an hour I reached a small but tasteful gothic cottage, situated directly opposite to Dinas Bran, various glimpses of which were visible through openings cut in the trees. I alighted, and was received at the door by the two ladies. Fortunately I was already prepared by hearsay for their peculiarities; I might otherwise have found it difficult to repress some expression of astonishment. Imagine two ladies, the eldest of whom, Lady Eleanor, a short robust woman, begins to feel her years a little, being now eighty-three; the other, a tall and imposing person, esteems herself still youthful, being only seventy-four. Both wore their still abundant hair combed straight back and powdered, a round man’s hat, a man’s cravat and waistcoat, but in the place of ‘inexpressibles,’ a short petticoat and boots: the whole covered by a coat of blue cloth, of a cut quite peculiar—a sort of middle term between a man’s coat and a lady’s riding-habit. Over this, Lady Eleanor wore, first, the grand cordon of the order of St. Louis across her shoulder; secondly, the same order around her neck; thirdly, the small cross of the same in her button-hole, and, ‘pour comble de gloire,’ a golden lily of nearly the natural size, as a star—all, as she said, presents of the Bourbon family. So far the whole effect was somewhat ludicrous. But now, you must imagine both ladies with that agreeable ‘aisance,’ that air of the world of the ‘ancien regime,’ courteous and entertaining, without the slightest affectation; speaking French as well as any Englishwoman of my acquaintance; and above all, with that essentially polite, unconstrained, and simply cheerful manner of the good society of that day, which, in our serious hard-working age of business, appears to be going to utter decay. I was really affected with a melancholy sort of pleasure in contemplating it in the persons of the amiable old ladies, who are among the last of its living representatives; nor could I witness without lively sympathy the uninterrupted, natural and affectionate attention with which the younger treated her somewhat infirmer friend, and anticipated all her wants. The charm of such actions lies chiefly in the manner in which they are performed—in things which appear small and insignificant, but which are never lost upon a susceptible heart.

“I began by saying that I esteemed myself fortunate in being permitted to deliver to the fair recluses the compliments with which I was charged by my grandfather, who had had the honour of visiting them fifty years ago. Their beauty indeed they had lost, but not their memory: they remembered the C—C—very well, immediately produced an old memorial of him, and only expressed their wonder that so young a man was dead already. Not only the venerable ladies, but their house, was full of interest; indeed it contained some real treasures. There is scarcely a remarkable person of the last half century who has not sent them a portrait or some curiosity or antique as a token of remembrance. The collection of these, a well furnished library, a delightful situation, an equable, tranquil life, and perfect friendship and union—these have been their pos-
s-

sions; and if we may judge by their robust old age and their cheerful temper, they have not chosen amiss."

We suppose the "brutal quizzing" is discoverable in the remark, that "the whole effect was somewhat ludicrous," or, peradventure, in the shocking vituperation which follows that phrase. Alas!

"All seems infected that the infected spy,
As all seems yellow to the jaundiced eye."

But this tremendous crime of the Prince, is a mere peccadillo in comparison with another act of depravity for which he is soon afterwards arraigned by the "second Daniel," who has sat in judgment on his transgressions. Among the visits to the country seats of English gentlemen, of which he gives very graphical and interesting accounts, is one to "K— Park," the residence of "Colonel —:" blanks which the Quarterly fills up, so as to inform us that Kenmell is the name of the park, and Hughes of its possessor. The following are our author's observations on the occasion:—

"Towards evening I arrived at the house of my worthy Colonel, a true Englishman, in the best sense of the word. He and his amiable family received me in the friendliest manner. Country gentlemen of his class, who are in easy circumstances (with us they would be thought rich), and fill a respectable station in society; who are not eager and anxious pursuers of fashion in London, but seek to win the affection of their neighbours and tenants; whose hospitality is not mere ostentation; whose manners are neither 'exclusive' nor outlandish; but who find their dignity in a domestic life polished by education and adorned by affluence, and in the observance of the strictest integrity;—such form the most truly respectable class of Englishmen. In the great world of London, indeed, they play an obscure part; but, on the wide stage of humanity, one of the most noble and elevated that can be allotted to man. Unfortunately, however, the predominance and the arrogance of the English aristocracy is so great, and that of fashion yet so much more absolute and tyrannous, that such families, if my tribute of praise and admiration were ever to fall under their eye, would probably feel less flattered by it, than they would be if I enumerated them among the leaders of 'ton.'"

It seems that the Colonel has since become a titled man, and in reference to the extract just quoted, the reviewer ejaculates thus: "Little did his highness think that a few short months only would elapse, before the brow of his '*worthy Colonel*,' filling a respectable station in society, would be encircled with a baronial coronet; little did he imagine that his 'country gentleman,' who 'played an obscure part' in London, was so soon to be converted into one of the 'leaders of ton,' from amongst whom he had so flatteringly excluded him; little did he think that his hospitable friend was destined so soon to adorn the British peerage as LORD DINORBEN." What an overwhelming burst! It is extremely probable, that the Prince had not all these "thinkings" and "imaginings" about his host, or else he, doubtless, would not have taken him as a specimen of the class to which he

wished to pay a well deserved tribute, at the same time that he bestowed on the individual the lofty eulogium to which we suppose he is entitled. If he be a person of the character portrayed, he must assuredly have experienced much greater irritation at the manner in which he is alluded to by the reviewer, than by the remarks of the Prince, especially when he came to the scandalous style in which a female member of his family is dragged before the public, by a revolting and totally unjustifiable interpretation of a portion of the letter. The Prince mentions that during his stay at Kenmell, he walked out one morning with "the charming little Fanny, the youngest daughter of the house, who is not yet 'out,'" who accompanied him for the purpose of showing the park and garden, and her dairy and aviary. They were detained so long by sight seeing, as not to return in time for breakfast—"the children's gardens were to be visited, and a sort of summer house, and Heaven knows what; in short, we were too late, and got a scolding; Miss Fanny exclaimed, with true English pathos, 'we do but row, and we are steer'd by fate,' in the words of our proverb, *Der mensch denkt Gott lenkt*: Yes, indeed, thought I, the little philosopher is right: things always turn out differently from what one intends, even in such small events as these." Would it be deemed possible for any grossness of imagination to discover aught of evil in the relation of this simple incident? And does it not seem incredible that a responsible journal should have the hardihood to deduce from such premises the right of using language like this: "what 'the little philosopher' meant by her pathetic exclamation, we cannot, of course, divine; nor what his Highness alludes to as an *event*; but the story, as his Highness has here printed and published it, may serve as a caution to Lord Dinorben, how he suffers the familiar visits of princes, and subjects himself to the jokes of such illustrious personages as feel themselves privileged, in return for the honour they confer upon him by their presence, to laugh at his 'want of 'ton,' and ridicule the kindnesses which 'people of his class' are so apt to bestow." Even supposing the Prince to be sufficiently reprehensible to merit these denunciations, Lord Dinorben, without doubt, would still consider himself egregiously indebted to the generous benevolence of the reviewer, in giving his name in full to enlighten the multitude to whom the blanks in the text would have kept him invisible. At all events, in this country, we should have found it no easy matter to unmask the person designed, without the friendly assistance of our contemporary.

This is one instance, out of twenty, of the paltry manner in which the reviewer has endeavoured to fasten the vilest label on "his Highness," by violent distortions of unexceptionable phraseology. He seems to take a peculiar and grovelling delight in

ferreting out an intrigue wherever a female is mentioned, no matter of what condition; nor does he scruple, when the words, even, will not admit of the perversion desired, to alter their place, and change the context for the purpose of accomplishing his end. In an equally satisfactory way he convicts the Prince of all the other formidable misdemeanors which we have enumerated in a preceding page; but our readers must be as disgusted as we are ourselves at so disgraceful a record.

The Edinburgh Review has, also, by no means deluged the princely traveller with compliments. It finds fault enough with him, and much more than justice or courtesy would warrant; but its article—though so morose in the vein as to induce the belief that the critic must have been born in October, if an old German prophecy recorded by the Prince be correct:—

“Ein Junge geboren im Monat October
Wird ein Critiker, und das ein recht grober;”

which in the version of the translator, means,

A boy born in the month of October
Will be a Critic, and a right surly one—

is yet written in a dignified and serious tone, totally different from the ribaldry and pertness of its London compeer. It is in consequence much more likely to operate to the prejudice of the Prince than the other, which indeed is very well calculated to produce a feeling in his favour.

In opposition to these two unkindly notices, the Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Reviews contain, each, a paper respecting the work, of an extremely courteous and laudatory character. The editor of the former journal, it is true, disclaims the responsibility of the article which it embraces, intimating a persuasion on his own part, that the volumes are not the lucubrations of a German Prince as they purport to be, but an indigenous production. This, however, is a surmise wholly unsupported by any evidence, whilst the proof afforded of the truth of what the title-page asserts, is abundant and conclusive. In all probability, the conjecture arose from the excellence of the translation, which the Edinburgh Reviewer informs us is the work of a lady: it is one of the very best versions that have ever fallen into our hands. It might well be mistaken for an original, so entirely exempt is it from that stiffness, inaccuracy, and foreign turn of expression and thought, which characterize almost every attempt to “do into English” the literature of other lands. The writer in the other periodical mentioned, has taken the London Quarterly severely to task for the article on which we have commented, rebuking its spirit and falsity in no measured, but richly merited terms. Enough, however, of reviewers; it is full time to introduce our readers more immediately to the reviewed.

Prince Pückler-Muskau, on whom these letters have been so

generally fathered as to leave little doubt respecting the fact of the parentage, is a German nobleman and a subject of Prussia, who is still in the land of the living. We mention the latter circumstance because the work is published as that of a deceased person, by a supposititious editor, for the sake of concealing the legitimate authorship—a figment, however, so slightly contrived, as to indicate no great anxiety to prevent it from being pierced. He is evidently a man of no common order; but one whose accomplishments and talents entitle whatever he says to respectful attention. As an observer, he manifests singular shrewdness and quickness of apprehension; his reflections on what he notes, are sagacious and apposite, and if not of invariable correctness, always ingenious and plausible, whilst the opinions which he expresses on matters and things in general, as they chance to be elicited from him in the desultory course of epistolary correspondence, indicate a mind of diversified powers, equally conversant with literature and art, as well as an intimate acquaintance with society and the world. The transparency of his intellect, is, however, occasionally somewhat dimmed by the misty exhalations of a German imagination; but these are not always to be deprecated, as they now and then operate on his judgments, as a hazy atmosphere does upon the golden beams of the orb of day, lending them an agreeable variety of tinge, and a pleasing indistinctness of hue, which compensate for the want of a perfect illumination. In his propensity for roaming, he seems to be akin to the famous Ithacan, and his travels have not served merely the object of gratifying a restless curiosity and morbid appetite for varied novelty. They may be said to have verified the dictum of Bacon, that “travel in the younger is a part of education,” from the beneficial effects which they appear to have produced on both his head and his heart; and in the prosecution of them, it might be affirmed that he practically followed, to a considerable extent, the wise and salutary counsels which the same illustrious teacher of his race has afforded in his Essay on “Travel.” His knowledge of books is not confined to those of his vernacular tongue, but embraces the literature of the principal countries of Europe, and apparently, also, that which is denominated classical *par excellence*; and his reading is turned by him to a profitable account. The information, however, which he displays, is not of the most profound kind; nor do his faculties strike as much for their solidity and depth, as for brilliancy and variety. In disposition we should judge him to be vivacious, affectionate, and generous, rather volatile, perhaps, and capricious, and somewhat given to self-indulgence and egotism—in character high-toned and honourable—in temperament enthusiastic, but irresolute, with an infusion of sentimentalism and romance, of a kind well adapted to act as an *ignis fatuus* to his reason, and a source of hypo-

chondriacal disquietude of soul. One thing, at all events, we can confidently assert; it would be difficult to find a more pleasant companion within the two covers of a book.

The Letters which he has indited about the United Kingdom, are addressed to his wife, under the *nom de guerre* of Julia, and constitute four of the most entertaining, interesting, and we may add, instructive volumes, which it has been our good fortune to encounter for some time past. They are replete with pleasant narrative, admirable description, sagacious and pointed remark, mixed up with a quantum of amusing anecdote, playful humour and irony, piquant satire which never degenerates into coarseness, ingenious criticism, and curious philosophy—the whole invested with a mantle of gentlemanly ease, which adds doubly to the effect. They are written in a genuine epistolary style, as if they were *bonâ fide* intended for no other eyes than those of the lady to whom they are directed—a merit which can be claimed by very few of the publications entitled Letters from this and that part of the globe, of which the London press is so prolific. Most travellers of the present day, opining with the Latin poet, that, “*scire tuum nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter*,” and deeming it, in consequence, their bounden duty to favour the world with a communication of what they have seen and heard in the course of their wanderings, write always to the public, and with the fear of the public ever before their eyes. But in the epistles of this Prince, there is an absence of all starchness and studied merit; they exhibit no appearance of effort; no attempt to pass “the flaming bounds of space and time,” except in some of the metaphysical speculations, which are not altogether free from pretension; no desire to make a display of ponderous learning about any and every matter, or to garnish with exordiums and perorations, the most insignificant descriptions and stories. He writes, in short, with the perfect *abandon* of unrestrained intercourse with an intimate friend.

The grave and the gay, the trifling and the severe, are blended together with very little order, just as the mood happens to be uppermost. Not unfrequently, the reader, whilst interested in some animated narrative, or laughing at some ludicrous picture, all at once finds himself immersed in ethics or metaphysics. Like Sir Arthur Wardour and Isabella, in the famous scene of the Antiquary, whilst enjoying an exhilarating prospect, the waves rush fearfully upon him before he is conscious of danger, and unless an escape be speedily effected by turning over a certain number of pages, he runs considerable risk of being drenched with not the clearest of liquids; for the current of the Prince’s ideas on various abstract questions, is certainly not entitled to challenge the crystal as its emblem. He may, however, have a notification of the approach of peril, by consulting the “head-

ings" of each page, which give an idea of its subject-matter. For instance, when at page 264 he is entertained by an account of Master Burke, let him not deem himself safe, but regard the top of the next, where he will behold "free will" in large capitals; let him then by all means take to flight, until he meet with a less formidable sign. But to give a certain nameless gentleman his due, we must acknowledge that all the Prince's disquisitions are not deserving of such treatment, some of them being well worthy of perusal and even of study, from the soundness and beauty of the philosophy they inculcate.

With regard to religion, the notions which he promulgates, partake of the Utopian traits of his character. He recommends a system of purification and reformation that should entitle him to the undying honour of being enrolled among the sweeping and cleaning associates of the illustrious Hudibras, who deputed themselves, according to the veracious chronicler and encomiast of their deeds,

"As if religion were intended
For nothing else but to be mended ;"

and his reasonings on the subject are not remarkable for cogency of logic, or strictness of philosophy. He does not discriminate between *perversion* and *tendency*, and forgets, in his speculations, the irretrievable infirmity of human nature, which taints, and, until the arrival of the millenium, must continue to taint with its inherent foulness, every thing, however pure and perfect, with which it can come in contact. But his religious views are far from being of the dark complexion which is ascribed to them by the writer in the London Quarterly. Although he certainly does appear to disclaim a fixed belief in any one system of faith, yet there is nothing in his remarks to startle the most sensitively religious mind. To defend these opinions is assuredly not our desire—our only wish is to exonerate him from the imputation of blasphemy and impiety, so charitably cast upon him by the Reviewer. We should, indeed, be very loth to undertake the advocacy of the assertion, that a definite creed is not indispensable for the well-being of man. This doctrine, if it may so be termed, seems to us totally irreconcilable with the belief in a Saviour who has inculcated by example and precept the manner in which all men should toil for their eternal welfare. His labours, his sufferings, his death, would be useless, if after he had established by them a religion intended to regulate the conduct of mankind, every one should be at liberty to follow the fallible dictates of his own weak reason; and Omnipotent wisdom can do nothing without an adequate object. An individual, therefore, who is so unfortunate as not to possess a decided belief—who is tossed about on the wide and perilous sea of uncertainty—is, without doubt, one greatly to be pitied; he wants the main

safeguard of virtue, the only sure means of attaining the end for which he was created; but if he utters nothing derogatory to religion in general, and is always respectful, often even fervent, in his allusions to the Deity, he is not to be stigmatized and reviled as if he were the fool who said unto himself, "there is no God."

The political principles which are expressed in these volumes, are decidedly of a liberal cast, although it might seem to be the Prince's trade to be an uncompromising aristocrat and royalist, as it was that of the famous Frederick. Our purpose, however, is not to favour our readers with an insight into his opinions "*de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*," of which, by the way, he himself is most philanthropically generous. There are very few "mortal mixtures of earth's mould," whose views on all or most matters, are worthy of being disclosed for the benefit of their brethren of the human family. They must, indeed, be "lights of the world," as well as "demigods of fame," who can radiate effulgence in every direction, and the Prince, whatever be his lustre, from which we are not at all disposed to detract, is yet by no means a luminary whose magnitude and splendour would authorize us to number him amid the orbs of that dazzling galaxy. Our principal object is to transfer to our pages some of the impressions which he records with respect to the people and country of England, as it is a long time since we have been presented with the result of the observations of an accomplished foreigner, fitted both by character and opportunities to judge upon the condition of that land in which we naturally continue to take the deepest interest, in spite of the causes of alienation which subsist. It is here, also, that the chief value of his letters is to be found. He excels in hitting off national character—in seizing with a bold hand its prominent features, as well as catching the minor and more evanescent peculiarities of customs and manners, and exhibiting them in piquant and vivid colours. He does not, to be sure, pretend to furnish an elaborate and finished picture, or to display a profound and extensive knowledge of the nature and effects of the institutions of Great Britain. All that he does, is to record the observations as they arise in his mind, about whatever chances to strike his notice; in other words, to give a running commentary on the history of his adventures. Of course, as he takes no especial pains to ascertain the perfect justness of his information and opinions, he not unfrequently falls into errors both of fact and of inference, but none of his mistakes seem imputable to a propensity for wilful misrepresentation. Although it cannot be denied that his prejudices are not in favour of England, nevertheless, on the whole, he may exact, with unhesitating confidence, the praise of fairness and impartiality.

One great charm of his letters, is the manner in which he lets

us into his own character, by his unreserved self-examinations and disclosures respecting himself, by which he occasions as great an interest to be taken in the hero as in the adventures. This is an important point gained for the writer of a book of travels, there being an attraction in personal narrative, when we are not indifferent to the individual, that compensates even for a deficiency of intrinsic interest in the story. Without doubt, there is a considerable surplus of egotism in the Prince's allusions to himself, but there is nothing in his vanity of a description to alienate or disgust; on the contrary, though we may often be inclined to smile at his conceit, his frankness, generally speaking, creates a decided feeling in his favour. We are disposed, also, to forgive a good deal on the ground of his writing to a wife, in corresponding with whom, one may be allowed to talk much more of one's self, than when holding communion with the public.

His first letter from London is dated the 5th of October, 1826. The sojourn which he made in the great metropolis, "off and on," was of nearly two years duration, during which he occupied himself as it might be imagined a gentleman of his taste and pursuits, with access to the highest circles, and adequately supplied with the indispensable, however "filthy," article of lucre, would do. Society, amusements, sight-seeing, every thing that could attract and interest an intelligent and inquisitive stranger, caused his residence to be as agreeable and profitable to himself, maugre various subjects of complaint, as the diurnal account of it which he gives to his fair correspondent, must have proved to her, and to all who did not peruse it in a spirit of bitter prejudice.

On his arrival, he was struck with the improvement which has been effected in the appearance of the city, by the "gigantic designs" of Mr. Nash, and declares that it wore, for the first time, "the air of a seat of government, and not of an immeasurable metropolis of shopkeepers, to use Napoleon's expression." At the same time, he justly ridicules the preposterous taste of the architect as exhibited in the buildings, which impart to Regent street, and the "terraces" facing Regent's park, so gingerbread an aspect. On the other hand, the landscape-gardening part of the park, which also originated with Mr. Nash, is eulogized by him as faultless; so that on the whole, this gentleman has no right to be discontented with his treatment. "If ever London," says the Prince, "has the quays, and St. Paul's Church is laid open, according to the ingenious project of Colonel French, she will excel all other cities in magnificence, as much as she does in magnitude." Does not the following description of London hotels, with the reservation of the pecuniary part, in-

aspire one with a longing for taking there, "mine ease in mine own inn."

"What would delight you here is the extreme cleanliness of the houses, the great convenience of the furniture, and the good manners and civility of all serving people. It is true that one pays for all that appertains to luxury (for the strictly necessary is not *much* dearer than with us,) six times as high; but then one has six times as much comfort. In the inns every thing is far better and more abundant than on the Continent. The bed, for instance, which consists of several mattresses laid one upon another, is large enough to contain two or three persons; and when the curtains which hang from the square tester supported on substantial mahogany columns, are drawn around you, you find yourself as it were in a little cabinet,—a room, which would be a very comfortable dwelling for a Frenchman. On your washing-table you find—not one miserable water-bottle, with a single earthen or silver jug and basin, and a long strip of a towel, such as are given you in all hotels and many private houses in France and Germany; but positive tubs of handsome porcelain, in which you may plunge half your body; cocks which instantly supply you with streams of water at pleasure; half a dozen wide towels; a multitude of fine glass bottles and glasses, great and small; a large standing looking-glass, foot-baths, &c., not to mention other anonymous conveniences of the toilet, all of equal elegance.

"Every thing presents itself before you in so attractive a guise, that as soon as you wake you are allured by all the charms of the bath. If you want any thing, the sound of your bell brings either a neatly dressed maid-servant, with a respectful curtesy, or a smart well-dressed waiter, who receives your orders in the garb and with the air of an adroit valet; instead of an uncombed lad, in a short jacket and green apron, who asks you, with a mixture of stupidity and insolence, 'Was schaffen's Ihr Gnaden?' (What is it, Your Honour?) or 'Haben Sie hier jeklingelt?' (Was it *you*, here, that rung?), and then runs out again without understanding properly what is wanted. Good carpets cover the floors of all the chambers; and in the brightly polished steel grate burns a cheerful fire, instead of the dirty logs, or the smoky and ill-smelling stoves to be found in so many of our inns.

"If you go out, you never find a dirty staircase, nor one in which the lighting serves only to make darkness visible. Throughout the house, day and night, reign the greatest order and decency; and in some hotels every spacious set of apartments has its own staircase, so that no one comes in contact with others. At table, the guest is furnished with a corresponding profusion of white table linen, and brilliantly polished table utensils; with a well-filled 'plat de ménage', and an elegance of setting out which leaves nothing to wish for. The servants are always there when you want them, and yet are not intrusive: the master of the house generally makes his appearance with the first dish, and inquires whether every thing is as you desire;—in short, the best inns afford every thing that is to be found in the house of a travelled gentleman, and the attendance is perhaps more perfect and respectful. It is true, the reckoning is of a piece with the rest, and you must pay the waiters nearly as much as you would a servant of your own. In the first hotels, a waiter is not satisfied with less than two pounds a-week for his own private fees. Such gifts or vails are more the order of the day in England than in any other country, and are asked with the greatest shamelessness even in the churches."

We must also take the liberty of extracting his account of those unique institutions—the *ne plus ultras* of convenience and luxury—the famous "Club Houses" of London, more especially, as he has inserted into it some capital strictures on English manners. There, indeed, a stranger may find a compensation for the annoyances of his isolated situation. When in the morning of a drizzling, foggy, blue-devil day, such as those only, who have

visited the emporium of mists and smoke, can picture to themselves in all its horrors, he takes his seat in the richly furnished and admirably arranged library, with every species of literary food spread out before him, from the most substantial fare of the classical shelves, down to the lightest and most epicurean *bonnes bouches* arrayed in tempting order on the "periodical" tables, with a certainty of varying the nature of his occupations by an encounter with agreeable society, and of being able to obtain every gratification of the calls of appetite which a perfect *cuisine* can afford, provided in that exquisite style of cleanliness and propriety, peculiar to England—when, we say, he lolls in an easy chair with all these concomitants, external and internal, of luxurious lounging, the atmosphere of the place appears so thoroughly impregnated with the sense of comfort, that every breath which he inhales, seems to diffuse throughout his entire system, that feeling of complacent satisfaction which is among the most delicious of sensations for any period of time. The dismal aspect of things without, imparts tenfold enhancement to the enjoyment within, and he hugs himself in an emotion of self-gratulation, which, at the moment, extorts from him a blessing on his stars for conducting him to London, as heartfelt as the exclamations of another character which he is frequently induced to bestow upon them, on the same account. But Mr. Rogers must excuse us, we have no more space for an indulgence of the "Pleasures of Memory," however enticing his recommendations. Give ear, or rather eye, to the Prince, ye whom it may concern.

"In the absence of society, the various Clubs, (to which, contrary to former custom, a stranger can now gain admittance,) are a very agreeable resource. Our ambassador introduced me into two of them,—the United Service Club, into which no foreigners are admitted except ambassadors and military men,—the latter of the rank of staff-officers: and the Travellers' Club, into which every foreigner of education, who has good introductions, is admitted; though every three months he is made to undergo the somewhat humiliating ceremony of requesting a fresh permission, to which he is held with almost uncivil severity.

"In Germany, people have as little notion of the elegance and comfort of Clubs, as of the rigorous execution of their laws which prevail here.

"All that luxury and convenience, without magnificence, demand, is here to be found in as great perfection as in the best private houses. The stairs and rooms are covered with fresh and handsome carpets, and rugs (sheep-skins with the wool nicely prepared and dyed of bright colours) are laid before the doors to prevent drafts: marble chimney-pieces, handsome looking-glasses (always of one piece,—a necessary part of solid English luxury), a profusion of furniture, &c. render every apartment extremely comfortable. Even scales, by which to ascertain one's weight daily—a strange taste of the English—are not wanting. The numerous servants are never seen but in shoes, and in the neatest livery or plain clothes; and a porter is always at his post to take charge of great-coats and umbrellas. This latter article in England deserves attention, since umbrellas, which are unfortunately so indispensable, are stolen in the most shameless manner, be it where it may, if you do not take particular care of them. This fact is so notorious, that I must translate for your amusement a passage from a newspaper, relating to some Society for the encouragement of virtue, which

was to award a prize for the most honourable action. 'The choice,' continues the author, 'was become extremely difficult; and it was nearly determined to give the prize to an individual who had paid his tailor's bill punctually for several years; when another was pointed out, who had twice sent home an umbrella left at his house. At this unheard-of act,' adds the journalist, 'the company first fell into mute wonder that so much virtue was still found in Israel; but at length loud and enthusiastic applause left the choice no longer doubtful.'

"In the elegant and well-furnished library there is also a person always at hand to fetch you the books you want. You find all the journals in a well-arranged reading-room; and in a small room for maps and charts, a choice of the newest and best in their kind. This is so arranged that all the maps, rolled up, hang one over another on the wall, thus occupying but a small space; and each is easily drawn down for use by a little loop in the centre. A pull at a loop at the side rolls up the map again by a very simple piece of mechanism. The name of each country is inscribed in such large letters on the mahogany staff on which the map is rolled, that it may be read with ease across the room. By this contrivance a great number of maps may be hung in a very small closet, and when wanted, may be found and inspected in a moment, without the slightest trouble, or derangement of the others.

"The table,—I mean the eating,—with most men the first thing, and with me not the last,—is generally prepared by a French cook, as well and as cheaply as it is possible to have it in London. As the Club provides the wines, and sells them again to each member, they are very drinkable and reasonable. But 'gourmands' must ever miss the finest wines, even at the best tables in London. This arises from the strange habit of the English (and these people, too, stick faster to their habits than an oyster to its shell,) of getting their wines from London wine-merchants, instead of importing them from the places where they grow, as we do. Now these wine-merchants adulterate the wine to such a degree, that one who was lately prosecuted for having some thousand bottles of port and claret in his cellars which had not paid duty, proved that all this wine was manufactured by himself in London, and thus escaped the penalty. You may imagine, therefore, what sort of brewage you often get under the high-sounding names of Champagne, Lafitte, &c. The dealers scarcely ever buy the very best which is to be had in the native lands of the several wines, for the obvious reason that they could make little or no profit of it; at best they only use it to enable them to get off other wine of inferior quality.

Excuse this wine-digression, which to you, who drink only water, cannot be very interesting; but you know I write for us both, and to me the subject is, I confess, not unimportant. '*Gern führe ich Wein im Munde.*'

"But let us back to our Clubs.

"The peculiarity of English manners may be much better observed here, at the first 'aboard,' than in the great world, which is everywhere more or less alike; whereas the same individuals, of whom it is in part composed, show themselves here with much less restraint. In the first place, the stranger must admire the refinement of convenience with which Englishmen sit: it must be confessed that a man who is ignorant of the ingenious English chairs, of every form, and adapted to every degree of fatigue, indisposition, or constitutional peculiarity, really loses a large share of earthly enjoyment. It is a positive pleasure even to see an Englishman sit, or rather lie, in one of these couch-like chairs by the fire-side. A contrivance like a reading-desk attached to the arm, and furnished with a candlestick, is so placed before him, that with the slightest touch he can bring it nearer or further, push it to the right or the left, at pleasure. A curious machine, several of which stand around the large fire-place, receives one or both of his feet; and the hat on his head completes this enchanting picture of superlative comfort.

"This latter circumstance is the most difficult of imitation to a man brought up in the old school. Though he can never refrain from a provincial sort of shudder when he enters the brilliantly lighted saloon of the Club-house, where dukes, ambassadors and lords, elegantly dressed, are sitting at the card-tables, yet if he wishes to be 'fashionable' he must keep on his hat, advance to a party

at whist, nod to one or two of his acquaintances; then carelessly taking up a newspaper, sink down on a sofa, and, not till after some time, 'nonchalantly' throw down his hat (which perhaps has all the while been a horrid annoyance to him); or, if he stays but a few minutes, not take it off at all.

"The practice of half lying instead of sitting; sometimes of lying at full length on the carpet at the feet of ladies; of crossing one leg over the other in such a manner as to hold the foot in the hand; of putting the hands in the arm-holes of the waistcoat, and so on,—are all things which have obtained in the best company and the most exclusive circles: it is therefore very possible that the keeping on the hat may arrive at the same honour. In this case it will doubtless find its way into Paris society, which, after being formerly aped by all Europe, now disdains not to ape the English,—sometimes grotesquely enough,—and, as is usual in such cases, often outdoes its original.

"On the other hand, the English take it very ill of foreigners if they reprove a waiter who makes them wait, or brings one thing instead of another, or if they give their commands in a loud or lordly tone of voice; though the English themselves often do this in their own country, and much more in ours, and though the dining-room of the Club is in fact only a more elegant sort of 'restauration', where every man must pay his reckoning after he has dined. It is regarded not only as improper, but as unpleasant and offensive if any one reads during dinner. It is not the fashion in England; and, as I have this bad habit in a supreme degree, I have sometimes remarked satirical signs of displeasure on the countenances of a few Islanders of the old school, who shook their heads as they passed me. One must be on one's guard, generally, to do things as little as possible unlike the English, and yet not to try to imitate them servilely in every thing, for no race of men can be more intolerant. Most of them see with reluctance the introduction of any foreigner into their more private societies, and all regard it as a distinguished favour and obligation conferred upon us.

"But of all offences against English manners which a man can commit, the three following are the greatest:—to put his knife to his mouth instead of his fork; to take up sugar or asparagus with his fingers; or, above all, to spit anywhere in a room. These are certainly laudable prohibitions, and well-bred people of all countries avoid such practices,—though even on these points manners alter greatly; for Marshal Richelieu detected an adventurer who passed himself off for a man of rank, by the single circumstance of his taking up olives with his fork and not with his fingers. The ridiculous thing is the amazing importance which is here attached to them. The last-named crime is so pedantically proscribed in England, that you might seek through all London in vain to find such a piece of furniture as a spitting-box. A Dutchman, who was very uncomfortable for the want of one, declared with great indignation, that an Englishman's only spitting-box was his stomach. These things are, I repeat, more than trivial, but the most important rules of behaviour in foreign countries almost always regard trivialities. Had I, for example, to give a few universal rules to a young traveller, I should seriously counsel him thus:—In Naples, treat the people brutally; in Rome, be natural; in Austria, don't talk politics; in France, give yourself no airs; in Germany, a great many; and in England, don't spit. With these rules, the young man would get on very well. What one must justly admire is the well-adapted arrangement of every thing belonging to the economy of life and of all public establishments in England, as well as the systematical rigour with which what has once been determined on is unalterably followed up. In Germany, all good institutions soon fall asleep, and new brooms alone sweep clean; here it is quite otherwise. On the other hand, every thing is not required of the same person, but exactly so much, and no more, as falls within his department. The treatment of servants is as excellent as their performance of their duties. Each has his prescribed field of activity; in which, however, the strictest and most punctual execution of orders is required of him, and in any case of neglect the master knows whom he has to call to account. At the same time, the servants enjoy a reasonable freedom, and have certain portions of time allotted to them, which their master carefully respects. The whole treatment of the serving classes is much more decorous, and combined

with more 'égards', than with us; but then they are so entirely excluded from all familiarity, and such profound respect is exacted from them, that they appear to be considered rather as machines than as beings of the same order. This, and their high wages, are no doubt the causes that the servants really possess more external dignity than any other class in England, relatively to their station.

"In many cases it would be a very pardonable blunder in a foreigner to take the valet for the lord, especially if he happened to imagine that *courtesy* and a good address were the distinguishing marks of a man of quality. This test would be by no means applicable in England, where these advantages are not to be found among the majority of persons of the higher classes; though there are some brilliant exceptions, and their absence is often redeemed by admirable and solid qualities.

"In the men, indeed, their arrogance, often amounting to rudeness, and their high opinion of themselves, do not sit so ill; but in the women, it is as disgusting and repulsive, as, in some other of their countrywomen, the vain effort to ape continental grace and vivacity.

"I once before praised the admirable spirit of adaptation and arrangement which pervades all establishments here. As a sample, I will give you the organization of the card-room in the Travellers' Club-house. This is not properly a gaming club, but, as its name denotes, one expressly for travellers. Such only can become actual members of it as have travelled a certain prescribed number of miles on the Continent, or have made yet more distant expeditions. In spite of this, one does not perceive that they are become less English, which, however, I do not quarrel with. At the Travellers' Club, then, short whist and *ecarté* are played very high, but no hazard.

"In our Casinos, 'Resourses', and so on, a man who wishes to play must first laboriously seek out a party; and if the tables are full, may have to wait hours till one is vacant. Here it is a law that every one who comes may take his seat at any table at which a rubber has just ended, when he who has played two consecutive rubbers must give up his place. It is pleasant, too, to a man who has lost, and fancies that the luck goes with the place, to quit it and seek better fortune in another.

"In the centre of the room stands a 'bureau' at which is posted a clerk, who rings whenever a waiter is wanted; brings the bill; and, if any contested point occur, fetches the classical authorities on whist; for never is the slightest offence against the rules of the game suffered to pass without the infliction of the annexed punishment. This is rather annoying to a man who plays only for amusement; but yet it is a wise plan, and forms good players. The same clerk distributes the markers to the players. To obviate the great annoyance of meeting with a bad payer, the Club is the universal payer. Actual money does not make its appearance, but every man who sits down to play receives a little basket of markers of various forms, the value of which is inscribed upon them, and which the clerk enters in his book; as often as he loses, he asks for more. Each player reckons with the clerk, and either proves his loss, or, if he has won, delivers up the markers. In either case he receives a card containing a statement of the result, and the duplicate of the reckoning in the account-book.

"As soon as any one is indebted more than a hundred pounds, he must pay it in the following morning to the clerk; and every man who has any demands can claim his money at any time.

"None but a nation so entirely commercial as the English can be expected to attain to this perfection of methodizing and arrangement. In no other country are what are here emphatically called 'habits of business' carried so extensively into social and domestic life; the value of time, of order, of despatch, of inflexible *routine*, nowhere so well understood. This is the great key to the most striking national characteristics. The quantity of material objects produced and accomplished—the *work done*—in England, exceeds all that man ever effected. The causes and the qualities which have produced these results have as certainly given birth to the dulness, the contracted views, the *routine* habits of thought as well as of action, the inveterate prejudices, the unbounded desire for, and deference to, wealth, which characterize the mass of Englishmen."

Not long after the Prince's arrival, the Newmarket races took place, and, of course, he favoured them with his "thorough-illustrious" presence. In riding thither, he was struck anew with the beauty of the country, and the extraordinary neatness and elegance of every place through which the road lay. He is, on all occasions, enthusiastic in his allusions to most of the characteristics of English scenery, as will be seen anon, whilst he justly animadverts on the fatiguing monotony of its perfection.

"These fertile and well-cultivated fields; these thousands of comfortable and pretty farm-houses and cottages scattered over every part of the country; this incessant stream of elegant carriages, well-mounted horsemen, and well-dressed foot passengers, are peculiar to England. The beautiful picture has but one fault,—it is all too cultivated, too perfect; thence always and everywhere the same, and consequently, in the long run, wearisome:—indeed I can even conceive that it must become distasteful in time, like a savoury dish of dainties to the stomach of a sated man. This may explain the great taste of the English for travelling on the Continent. It is just so in life,—the thing men can the least bear is undisturbed good fortune, and it may be doubted whether father Adam would not have died of ennui in paradise."

The picture which he draws of the racing, betting, "black-legging," and "sharpering," of this grand national festival, is in his most animated and graphic style. We must transcribe a portion of it.

"At a certain distance from the goal, about a hundred paces to the side, stands another white post called the betting-post. Here the bettors assemble, after they have seen the horses saddled in the stables at the beginning of the course, thoroughly examined into all the circumstances of the impending race, or perhaps given a wink to some devoted jockey. The scene which ensues would to many appear the most strange that ever was exhibited. In noise, uproar, and clamour, it resembles a Jews' synagogue, with a greater display of passion. The persons of the drama are the first peers of England, livery-servants, the lowest 'sharpers' and 'black-legs';—in short, all who have money to bet, here claim equal rights; nor is there any marked difference in their external appearance. Most of them have pocket-books in their hands, each calls aloud his bet, and when it is taken, each party immediately notes it in his book. Dukes, lords, grooms, and rogues, shout, scream, and halloo together, and bet together, with a volubility and in a technical language out of which a foreigner is puzzled to make any thing; till suddenly the cry is heard, 'The horses have started!' In a minute the crowd disperses; but the bettors soon meet again at the ropes which enclose the course. You see a multitude of telescopes, opera-glasses and eye-glasses, levelled from the carriages and by the horsemen, in the direction whence the jockeys are coming. With the speed of the wind they are seen approaching; and for a few moments a deep and anxious silence pervades the motley crowd; while a manager on horseback keeps the course clear, and applies his whip without ceremony to the shoulders of any intruder. The calm endures but a moment;—then once more arises the wildest uproar; shouts and lamentations, curses and cheers, re-echo on every side, from Lords and Ladies, far and wide. 'Ten to four upon the Admiral!' 'A hundred to one upon Madame Vestris!' 'Small Beer against the field!' &c. are heard from the almost frantic bettors: and scarcely do you hear a 'Done!' uttered here and there, when the noble animals are before you—past you—in the twinkling of an eye; the next moment at the goal, and luck, or skill, or knavery, have decided the victory. The great losers look blank for a moment; the winners triumph aloud; many make 'bonne mine à mauvais jeu,' and dart to the spot, where the horses are unsaddled and the jockeys weighed, to see if some irregularity may not yet give

them a chance. In a quarter of an hour the same scene begins anew with other horses, and is repeated six or seven times. 'Voilà les courses de Newmarket !'

"The first day I was gifted with such a prophetic vision, that twice, by the mere exercise of my proper observation and judgment, I betted upon the winner at the saddling, and gained a considerable sum. But I had the usual fate of play,—what I won that day I lost the next, and as much more to boot. Whoever is a permanent winner here, is sure of his game *beforehand*; and it is well known that the principles of many of the English nobility are remarkably wide and expansive on this head."

In conclusion, he gives a caution with respect to the Club at the race ground: "It is purely a gambling club, which a man should beware of in England, more than in any other country."

Whilst at Newmarket, he made the acquaintance of a rich merchant's family, who resided at their country-seat in the neighbourhood, from whom he received an invitation to spend a day or two with them, which he accepted. He repaired thither, accompanied by a noble Hungarian friend, who had been the medium of his introduction.

"We found a pretty numerous company, consisting of the master and mistress of the house, both of middle age, their eldest married daughter with her husband, two younger daughters, a neighbouring Baronet with his pretty wife, and her very pleasing but very melancholy sister, Miss ———, a much courted lady who frequently moves in higher circles, three gentlemen not remarkable for any thing, the son of the house, and lastly, a London beau of the second class,—a study of an aspiring City Dandy.

"The Baronet had served in Germany, and had, as he told us, obtained the cross of Maria Theresa. He did not wear it because he thought the thing very well for a young man, but not at all suitable to the quiet country gentleman's life he now led. He was a simple, kind-hearted man, who appeared to have been invited to meet us as best acquainted with the Continent. We however preferred taking lessons in English manners of his wife and her sister.

"According to this system of manners, as it appeared, a visit from two 'Noblemen,' (even foreign ones, though these are full fifty per cent. under natives,) was an honour to a house of the 'volée' of our hosts. We were therefore amazingly 'fêtés'; even the Dandy was—as far as the rules of his 'métier' permitted—civil and obliging to us. It is an almost universal weakness of the noble in England, to parade an acquaintance with the noble: the noble do the same with regard to the 'fashionable' or 'exclusive'; a peculiar caste, an *imperium in imperio*, which exercises a still more despotical power in society, and is not influenced by rank, still less by riches, but finds the possibility of its maintenance only in this national foible.

"It is therefore a great delight to the English of the middle classes to travel on the Continent, where they easily make acquaintance with people of rank, of whom they can talk as of intimate friends when they come home. A merchant's wife once gave me a specimen of this: 'Do you know the Queen of ———?' said she. I replied that 'I had had the honour of being presented to her.' 'She is a great friend of mine,' added she,—exactly as if she had been talking of her husband's partner's wife. She immediately exhibited, among the numerous trinkets which hung about her, a portrait of the Queen, which, as she said, Her Majesty had given her.

"It was very likely true, for her daughter produced a letter from Princess ———, a married daughter of the Queen, containing the most confidential communications concerning her marriage and domestic affairs, which has probably been made to serve for some time as 'cheval de parade' to gratify the vanity of the possessor."

From the letter narrating this visit to "Julia," we must make another extract.

"It requires a considerable fortune here to keep up a country-house; for custom demands many luxuries, and, according to the aspiring and imitative manners of the country, as much (in the main things) at the shopkeeper's house, as at the Duke's;—a handsomely fitted-up house, with elegant furniture, plate, servants in new and handsome liveries, a profusion of dishes and foreign wines, rare and expensive dessert, and in all things an appearance of superfluity,—'plenty' as the English call it. As long as there are visitors in the house, this way of life goes on; but many a family atones for it by meager fare when alone: for which reason nobody here ventures to pay a visit in the country without being invited, and these invitations usually fix the day and hour. The acquaintances are generally numerous; and as both room and the time allotted to the reception of guests are small, one must give place to another. True hospitality this can hardly be called; it is rather the display of one's own possessions, for the purpose of dazzling as many as possible. After a family has thus kept open house for a month or two, they go for the remainder of the time they have to spend in the country, to make visits at the houses of others; but the one hospitable month costs as much as a wealthy landed proprietor spends in a whole year with us.

"As you never were in England, I must say a few words on the routine of an English dinner, which, as I have said, is, '*à peu de chose près*', everywhere alike.

¶ You like the details of daily life, and have often told me that you feel the want of them in most books of travels, and yet that nothing gives you a more lively conception of a foreign country. You must therefore forgive me if I go into trifles.

"The gentlemen lead the ladies into the dining-room, not as in France, by the hand, but by the arm; and here, as there, are emancipated from the necessity of those antiquated bows, which even in some of the best society in Germany, are exchanged every time one hands out a lady. On the other hand, there is a most anxious regard to rank, in the midst of all which the strangest blunders are made as to that of foreigners. I execrated mine to-day, as it brought me to the head of the table; while my friend very cleverly slipped himself in between the pretty sisters. When you enter, you find the whole of the first course on the table, as in France.

"After the soup is removed, and the covers are taken off, every man helps the dish before him, and offers some of it to his neighbour; if he wishes for any thing else, he must ask across the table, or send a servant for it;—a very troublesome custom, in place of which, some of the most elegant travelled gentlemen have adopted the more convenient German fashion of sending the servants round with the dishes.

"It is not usual to take wine without drinking to another person. When you raise your glass, you look fixedly at the one with whom you are drinking, bow your head, and then drink with great gravity. Certainly many of the customs of the South Sea Islanders, which strike us the most, are less ludicrous. It is esteemed a civility to challenge any body in this way to drink; and a messenger is often sent from one end of the table to the other to announce to B—— that A—— wishes to take wine with him; whereupon each, sometimes with considerable trouble, catches the other's eye, and goes through the ceremony of the prescribed nod with great formality, looking at the moment very like a Chinese mandarin. If the company is small, and a man has drunk with every body, but happens to wish for more wine, he must wait for the dessert, if he does not find in himself courage enough to brave custom.

"At the conclusion of the second course comes a sort of intermediate dessert of cheese, butter, salad, raw celery, and the like; after which ale, sometimes thirty or forty years old, and so strong that when thrown on the fire it blazes like spirit, is handed about. The tablecloth is then removed: under it, at the best tables, is a finer, upon which the dessert is set. At inferior ones, it is placed

on the bare polished table. It consists of all sorts of hot-house fruits, which are here of the finest quality, Indian and native preserves, stomachic ginger, confitures, and the like. Clean glasses are set before every guest, and, with the dessert plates and knives and forks, small fringed napkins are laid. Three decanters are usually placed before the master of the house, generally containing claret, port, and sherry, or madeira. The host pushes these in stands, or in a little silver wagon on wheels, to his neighbour on the left. Every man pours out his own wine, and if a lady sits next him, also helps her; and so on till the circuit is made, when the same process begins again. Glass jugs filled with water happily enable foreigners to temper the brandy, which forms so large a component part of English wines. After the dessert is set on, all the servants leave the room: if more is wanted the bell is rung, and the butler (*Haushofmeister*) alone brings it in. The ladies sit a quarter of an hour longer, during which time sweet wines are sometimes served, and then rise from table. The men rise at the same time, one opens the door for them, and as soon as they are gone, draw closer together; the host takes the place of the hostess, and the conversation turns upon subjects of local and every day interest, in which the stranger is pretty nearly forgotten, and must content himself with listening to what he can take very little part in. Every man is, however, at liberty to follow the ladies as soon as he likes,—a liberty of which Count B— and I very quickly availed ourselves. We had the singular satisfaction of learning that this was in accordance with the latest mode, as much drinking is now ‘unfashionable.’ Accordingly the Dandy had already preceded us. We found him with the ladies, who received us in a ‘salon,’ grouped around a large table on which were tea and coffee. When the whole company was re-assembled, all fell off into groups, according to their pleasure. Some entertained themselves with music; here and there a couple whispered in the recess of a window; several talked politics;—the Dandy alone remained solitary: sunk into a large easy chair, he had laid his elegantly shod right foot over his left knee, and in that attitude became apparently so absorbed in Madame de Staël’s ‘*Allemagne*’ that he took not the slightest notice of any one present.”

As a *pendant* to the account of the dinner, we may copy from another part of the work, a picture of “an Englishman dining” in a coffee-room, with some accessory circumstances, which Hogarth himself could not surpass.

“Living at inns affords one a good opportunity of observing the middle class. Every man here shows himself as he is, and seems to feel himself alone. I have already told you that English travellers of this class (I include all the inhabitants of the three kingdoms who have English manners and habits) usually pass their time, when not out of doors, in a common room called the coffee-room. In the evening this coffee-room is lighted with lamps; candles are carried, if called for, to the gentlemen who sit at the separate little tables. It has often surprised me that in a country in which luxury and refinement on all the wants of life are so universal, even in the best provincial inns (and often in London) tallow candles are commonly used. Wax candles are an unwonted luxury; and if you ask for them, you are treated with redoubled civility, but your bills are also doubled throughout.

“It is very diverting to observe the perfect uniformity with which all behave, as if machines out of one workshop. This is particularly observable in their eating: though placed at separate tables, and no individual taking the slightest notice of any other, they all seem to have exactly the same usages, exactly the same gastronomic tastes. Nobody eats soup, which, unless bespoken beforehand, is not to be had. (This is the reason, by-the-by, for which my old Saxon servant left me. He declared that he could not exist any longer in such a state of barbarism—without soup!) A large joint of roast meat is commonly carried from one to another, and each cuts off what he likes. This is accompanied by potatoes or other vegetables, boiled in water; and a ‘*plat de ménage*’ filled with

saucers is placed on every table; beer is poured out, and there, in a common way, ends the dinner. Only the luxurious eat fish before the meat.

"But now follows the second stage:—the tablecloth is removed; clean plate, and knife and fork laid; wine and a wine-glass, and a few miserable apples or pears, with stony ship-biscuits, are brought: and now the diner seems to begin to enjoy tranquillity and comfort. His countenance assumes an expression of satisfaction; apparently sunk in profound meditation, leaning back in his chair and looking fixedly straight before him, he suffers a sip of wine to glide down his throat from time to time, only breaking the death-like silence by now and then laboriously crunching his rocky biscuits.

"When the wine is finished, follows stage the third—that of digestion. All motion now ceases: his appetite being satiated, he falls into a sort of magnetic sleep, only distinguishable from the natural by the open eyes. After this has lasted for half an hour or an hour, all at once it ceases; he cries out, as if under the influence of some sudden possession, 'Waiter, my slippers;' and seizing a candle, walks off gravely to his chamber to meet his slippers and repose.

"This farce acted by five or six men at once has often amused me more than a puppet-show; and I must add, that with the exception of the incident of the slippers, pretty nearly the same scene is represented in the first clubs of the metropolis. I scarcely ever saw an Englishman read at dinner; I am not sure that they don't think it an act of indecorum—perhaps of impiety—like singing or dancing on a Sunday for instance. Perhaps, however, it is only a rule of dietetics converted by time into a law which no vivacity of temper can break through.

"Englishmen who do not belong to the aristocracy, and are not very rich, usually travel without a servant by the mail or stage-coach, which deposits them at the inn. The man who waits on strangers to the coach, cleans their boots, &c., has the universal appellation 'Boots.' It is, accordingly, 'Boots' who brings your slippers, helps you to pull off your boots, and then departs, first asking at what time you will have, not as in Germany, your coffee, but your hot water to shave. He appears with it punctually at the appointed hour, and brings your clothes cleanly brushed. The traveller then hastens to dress himself and to return to his beloved coffee-room, where the ingredients of breakfast are richly spread upon his table. To this meal he seems to bring more animation than to any other, and indeed I think more appetite; for the number of cups of tea, the masses of bread and butter, eggs, and cold meat, which he devours, awaken silent envy in the breast, or rather in the stomach, of the less capable foreigner. He is now not only permitted, but enjoined (by custom, his gospel) to read. At every cup of tea he unfolds a newspaper of the size of a table-cloth. Not a single speech, crim con, murder or other catastrophe invented by the 'accident maker' in London, escapes him.

"Like one who would rather die of a surfeit than leave any thing uneaten which he had paid for, the systematic Englishman thinks that having called for a newspaper he ought not to leave a letter of it unread. By this means his breakfast lasts several hours, and the sixth or seventh cup is drunk cold. I have seen this glorious meal protracted so long that it blended with dinner; and you will hardly believe me when I assure you, that a light supper followed at midnight without the company quitting the table.

"On this occasion several were assembled; and I must remark, generally, that when that is the case, a very different scene is exhibited. The wine instead of producing the lethargic reverie I have described, makes them rather too talkative. Something of the kind occurred to day. Five or six travellers were very jovial, and having carried this a little too far, a violent quarrel arose among them, which, after long continued noise and confusion, ended, strangely enough, in their all falling foul of the waiter and pushing him out at the door. Upon this the host was forced to come in and to beg pardon for the poor fellow, who was perfectly innocent. Not one of the men who were eating at their solitary tables took the slightest notice of this affray, but stared straight before them just as indifferently as if nothing were going on.

"Soon, however, one of them who had begun his dinner very late gave us a new scene. He was dissatisfied with the mutton they had brought him, and de-

sired the waiter to tell the cook she was a d—— b——. On receiving this communication, the Irishwoman lost all respect for the author of so sensible an insult; tore herself out of the arms of her companions who vainly attempted to hold her at the dining-room door, darted with doubled fists on the offender, and overwhelmed him with such a torrent of truly national epithets, that he turned pale and left the field, roaring 'my slippers' as loud again as usual, and without further attempt at resistance, hastily retreated to his chamber in the third story; for, as you know, the bed-rooms here are always under the roof, 'comme au Colombier.'"

When the fashionable season commenced in London, our Prince was whirled about with the rest, in that dizzy round which is denominated pleasure, and, at the same time, was very punctual in sending his correspondent a record of all that he heard and observed in the gay world. The detail forms a *mélange* of a most entertaining and poignant description, of which we shall transfer as much to our pages, as may be compatible with our limits. In doing so, we shall take no pains to preserve any order, but make our excerpts at random, as they happen to be located in the letters, which are desultory enough.

"In consequence of the opening of parliament, society begins to be more lively, though London 'en gros' is still empty.

"The most elegant ladies of the first circles now give small parties, access to which is far more difficult to most Englishmen than to foreigners of rank; for the despotism of fashion, as I have already told you, rules in this land of freedom with iron sceptre, and extends through all classes in a manner we on the Continent have no conception of.

"But without indulging too early in general observations, I will describe to you my own way of life in London.

"I rise late; read, like a half-nationalized foreigner, three or four newspapers at breakfast; look in my 'visiting-book' what visits I have to pay, and either drive to pay them in my cabriolet or ride. In the course of these excursions, I sometimes catch the enjoyment of the picturesque; the struggle of the blood-red sun with the winter fogs often produces wild and singular effects of light. After my visits are paid, I ride for several hours about the beautiful environs of London, return when it grows dark, work a little, dress for dinner, which is at seven or eight, and spend the evening either in the Theatre or at some small party. The ludicrous 'roué,'—at which one hardly finds standing-room on the staircase,—where one pushes and is pushed, and is kept for hours in a hot-house temperature,—have not yet commenced. In England, however, except in a few diplomatic houses, you can go nowhere in an evening except on special invitation.—In these small parties there is not much 'gêne', but general conversation has no place: each gentleman usually singles out a lady who peculiarly interests him, and does not quit her for the whole evening. Many fair ones are thus frequently left sitting alone, without an opportunity of speaking a word; they however do not betray any dissatisfaction, even by a look or gesture, for they are of a very passive nature.—Every body of course speaks French, as with us, 'tant bien que mal,' but this continued 'gêne' annoys the ladies so much after a time, that a man has no little advantage who can speak English tolerably.

"You see this life is pretty much a 'far niente', though not a very sweet one to my taste, for I love society only in intimate circles, and attach myself with difficulty,—indeed now scarcely at all,—to new acquaintances. The ennui, which seizes me in such an indifferent state of mind, is too clearly written on my undiplomatic face not to extend to others as contagiously as yawning. Here and there I find an exception:—to-day for instance I made the acquaintance of Mr. Morier, the clever and very agreeable author of Hadji Baba; and of Mr.

Hope, the imputed author of *Anastasius*, a work of far higher genius. This book is worthy of Byron : many maintain that Mr. Hope, who is rather remarkable for his reserve than for any thing poetical in his appearance, cannot possibly have written it. This doubt derives considerable force from a work which Mr. Hope formerly published on furniture, the style and contents of which certainly contrast strangely with the glowing impassioned *Anastasius*, overflowing with thought and feeling. An acquaintance of mine said to me, 'One thing or the other : either *Anastasius* is not by him, or the work on furniture.' But matter so different brings with it as different a style ; and, as I observed Mr. Hope, perhaps with involuntary prepossession, he appeared to me no ordinary man. He is very rich, and his house full of treasures of art, and of luxuries which I shall describe hereafter. His furniture theory, which is fashioned on the antique, I cannot praise in practice :—the chairs are ungovernable ; other trophy-like structures look ridiculous, and the sophas have such sharp salient points in all directions, that an incautious sitter might hurt himself seriously."

The ideas of the Prince's "acquaintance," with respect to Mr. Hope's authorship, would be, doubtless, still more confused by a knowledge of the philosophical work, so different in its character from the two other productions of that gentleman's pen, which was, not very long ago, issued from the press with his name. Mr. Hope was an extraordinary man, and though it may be generally true, that

"One science only can one genius fit,
So wide is art, so narrow human wit,"

yet there have been exceptions enough to the remark, to render it perfectly easy to believe that his was the mind from which emanated all the works in question, however various in matter and style.

"Mr. Rothschild had long ago invited me to visit him at his country-house, and I took advantage of a disengaged day to drive out with my friend L—— to dine there. The royal banker has bought no ducal residence, but lives in a pretty villa. We found some Directors of the East India Company, and several members of his own family and faith, whom I liked very much. I extremely respect this family for having the courage to remain Jews. Only an idiot can esteem a Jew the less for his religion, but renegades have always a presumption against their sincerity, which it is difficult to get over.

"There are three cases in which I should unconditionally allow Jews to change their religion. First, if they really believe that only Christians can be saved ; secondly, if their daughters wish to marry Christians, who will have them on no other terms ; thirdly, if a Jew were elected King of a Christian people,—a thing by no means impossible, since men far below the rank of Jewish barons, and notorious for the absence of all religion, have frequently ascended the throne in these latter days.

"Mr. R—— was in high good humour, amusing, and talkative. It was diverting to hear him explain to us the pictures around his dining-room, (all portraits of the sovereigns of Europe, presented through their ministers,) and talk of the originals as his very good friends, and, in a certain sense, his equals. 'Yes,' said he, 'the —— once pressed me for a loan, and in the same week in which I received his autograph letter, his father wrote to me also with his own hand from Rome to beg me for Heaven's sake not to have any concern in it, for that I could not have to do with a more dishonest man than his son. 'C'était sans doute très Catholique ;' probably, however, the letter was written by the old ——, who hated her own son to such a degree, that she used to say of him,—every body knows how unjustly,—'He has the heart of a t—— with the face of an a——.'"

"The others' turn came next.

"He concluded, however, by modestly calling himself the dutiful and generously paid agent and servant of these high potentates, all of whom he honoured equally, let the state of politics be what it might; for, said he, laughing, 'I never like to quarrel with my bread and butter.'

"It shows great prudence in Mr. R—— to have accepted neither title nor order, and thus to have preserved a far more respectable independence. He doubtless owes much to the good advice of his extremely amiable and judicious wife, who excels him in tact and knowledge of the world, though not perhaps in acuteness and talents for business."

"I went to the theatre with Mrs. ———, wife of the well-known minister and member of parliament, and accompanied her after the play to the first genuine rout I have attended this time of my being in England,—what is more, too, in a house in which I was entirely a stranger. It is the custom here to take your friends to parties of this sort, and to present them, then and there, to the mistress of the house, who never thinks you can bring enough to fill her small rooms to suffocation: the more the better; and for the full satisfaction of her vanity, a 'bagarre' must arise among the carriages below; some must be broken to pieces, and a few men and horses killed or hurt, so that the 'Morning Post' of the following day may parade a long article on the extremely 'fashionable soirées' given by 'Lady Vain,' or 'Lady Foolish'.

"In the course of the evening I made a more interesting acquaintance than I expected on the staircase, (I could get no further,) in Lady C—— B——, who has some reputation as an authoress. She is the sister of a Duke, and was a celebrated beauty.

"The next morning I called on her, and found every thing in her house brown, in every possible shade,—furniture, curtains, carpets, her own and her children's dresses, presented no other colour. The room was without looking-glasses or pictures, and its only ornaments were casts from the antique. . . .

After I had been there some time, the celebrated bookseller C—— entered. This man has made a fortune by Walter Scott's novels, though, as I was told, he refused his first and best, Waverley, and at last gave but a small sum for it. I hope the charming Lady C—— B—— had better cause to be satisfied with him. I thought it discreet to leave her with her man of business, and made my bow."

"The affairs of Portugal are now much discussed in all circles; and the Marquis P—— read us the just printed English Declaration to-night, in a box at the French theatre. Politics are here a main ingredient of social intercourse; as they begin to be in Paris, and will in time become in our sleepy Germany; for the whole world has now that tendency. The lighter and more frivolous pleasures suffer by this change; and the art of conversation as it once flourished in France, will perhaps soon be entirely lost. In this country I should rather think it never existed, unless perhaps in Charles the Second's time. And, indeed, people here are too slavishly subject to established usages; too systematic in all their enjoyments; too incredibly kneaded up with prejudices; in a word, too little vivacious, to attain to that unfettered spring and freedom of spirit, which must ever be the sole basis of agreeable society. I must confess that I know none more monotonous, nor more persuaded of its own pre-excellence, than the highest society of this country,—with but few exceptions, and those chiefly among foreigners, or persons who have resided a good deal on the Continent. A stony, marble-cold spirit of caste and fashion rules all classes, and makes the highest tedious, the lower ridiculous. True politeness of the heart and cheerful 'bonhomie' are rarely to be met with in what is called society; nor, if we look for foreign ingredients, do we find either French grace and vivacity, or Italian naturalness; but at most, German stiffness and awkwardness concealed under an iron mask of arrogance and 'hauteur'.

"In spite of this, the 'nimbus' of a firmly anchored aristocracy and vast wealth, (combined with admirable taste in spending it, which no one can deny them,) has stamped the Great World of this country as that, 'par excellence'.

of Europe, to which all other nations must more or less give way. But that foreigners individually and personally do not find it agreeable, is evident by their rarity in England, and by the still greater rarity of their desire to stay long. Every one of them at the bottom of his heart thanks God when he is out of English society; though personal vanity afterwards leads him to extol that uninspiring foggy sun, whose beams assuredly gave him but little 'comfort' when he lived in them.

"Far more loveable, because far more loving, do the English appear in their domestic and most intimate relations; though even here some 'baroque' customs prevail;—for instance, that sons in the highest ranks, as soon as they are fledged, leave the paternal roof and live alone; nay actually do not present themselves at their fathers' dinner table without a formal invitation. I lately read a moving instance of conjugal affection in the newspaper: The Marquis of Hastings died in Malta; shortly before his death he ordered that his right-hand should be cut off immediately after his death, and sent to his wife. A gentleman of my acquaintance, out of real tenderness, and with her previously obtained permission, cut off his mother's head, that he might keep the skull as long as he lived; while other Englishmen, I really believe, would rather endure eternal torments than permit the scalpel to come near their bodies. The laws enjoin the most scrupulous fulfilment of such dispositions of a deceased person; however extravagant they may be, they must be executed. I am told there is a country house in England, where a corpse, fully dressed, has been standing at a window for the last half century, and still overlooks its former property."

"Almack's balls in London are the resort of people of the highest rank during the season, which lasts from April to June; and five or six of the most intensely fashionable ladies (Princess L—— among the number), who are called Patronesses, distribute the tickets. It is an immense favour to obtain one; and, for people who do not belong to the very highest or most modish world, very difficult. Intrigues are set on foot months beforehand, and the Lady-patronesses flattered in the meanest and most servile manner, to secure so important an advantage; for those who have never been seen at Almack's are regarded as utterly unfashionable—I might almost say disreputable; and the would-be-fashionable English world naturally holds this to be the greatest of all possible calamities. So true is this, that a novel was lately written on this subject, which contains a very fair delineation of London society, and has gone through three editions. On nearer observation, however, one sees that it betrays more of the ante-chamber than of the 'salon',—that the author is one, as the Abbé de Voisenon said, 'qui a écouté aux portes'."

"How admirably well-informed the English are concerning foreigners is seen in a passage in this novel, in which the wife of a foreign ambassador, born, however, in England, is extremely facetious on the ignorant Londoners who assigned a higher rank to a German Prince than to her husband the Baron, whose title was far nobler. 'But the word Prince,' adds she, 'whose nullity is well known to every body on the Continent, dazzled my stupid countrymen. 'C'est bien vrai,' says a Frenchman, 'un Duc cirait mes bottes à Naples, et à Petersbourg un Prince Russe me rasait tous les matins.' As the English generally mis-spell and misquote foreign words and phrases, I strongly suspect that a slight mistake has crept in here, and that it ought to be printed, 'un Prince Russe me *rasait* tous les matins.'"

"You may partly conceive the burlesque effect such a fashionable novel produces on people in the middling society of London, who are continually groping in the dark after 'le bel air', are consequently in perpetual terror and agony, lest they should betray their unacquaintance with the great world, and thus generally make themselves exquisitely ludicrous. I had a very amusing example of this a few weeks before the publication of the book in question.

"I was invited, with several other foreigners, to dine with a very rich . . . Among them was a German Prince, who had visited at the house before, and, luckily for the farce, a German Baron also. When dinner was announced, the Prince advanced, as usual, to the lady of the house to hand her out, and was not a little amazed when she turned her back upon him with a

slight curtesy, and took the arm of the most agreeably surprised Baron. A laugh, which I really found it impossible to suppress, almost offended the good Prince, who could not explain to himself the extraordinary behaviour of our hostess; but, as I instantly guessed the cause, I soon helped him out of his wonderment.

"Regardless of rank, he now took the prettiest woman of the party; while I, for my part, made haste to secure ———, that I might be sure of an amusing conversation during dinner. The soup was hardly removed, when I expressed to her as politely as I could, how much her nice tact and exact knowledge of the usages of even foreign society had surprised me. 'Ah,' replied she, 'when one has been ——— so long, one becomes thoroughly acquainted with the world.' 'Certainly,' replied I, 'especially in ———, where you have all that sort of thing in black and white.' 'You see,' said she, speaking rather low, 'we know well enough that 'a foreign Prince' is nothing very great, but to a Baron we give the honour due.' 'Admirably distinguished!' exclaimed I, 'but in Italy you must be on your guard, for there 'barone' means a rascal.' 'Is it possible?' said she: 'what a strange title!' 'Yes, madam, titles on the Continent are mysterious things; and were you the Sphinx herself, you would never fathom the enigma.' 'May I help you to some fish?' said she. 'With great pleasure,' answered I, and found the turbot, even without a title, excellent.

"But, to return to Almack's:—The oddest thing is, that one of these tickets, for which many English men and women struggle and strive, as if for life and death, are, after all, to be paid for with the sum of ten shillings; for Almack's are neither more nor less than balls for money. 'Quelle folie que la mode!' We are sometimes forced to conclude that our planet is the mad-house of the solar system."

The stranger who is ambitious of the glorious privilege of setting his foot within the sacred precincts of Almack's—unless it be once, merely to gratify curiosity—must, indeed, pay dearly for his whistle, even supposing him able to procure tickets without difficulty. A half guinea expended for the purpose of being either suffocated or squeezed to death, in a room of ordinary appearance, where the crowd is so dense, that, like our national hero, "Yankee Doodle," who "could not see the town, there were so many houses," one cannot see the ball, there are so many people, might certainly be laid out in some more profitable and pleasant manner. As far as Almack's is concerned, it is certainly much more agreeable to be one of the excluded than excluders, or—to use the magic word—"exclusives." The following is the Prince's account of his first inspection of the far famed rendezvous of "ton."

"The first Almack's ball took place this evening; and from all I had heard of this celebrated assembly, I was really curious to see it: but never were my expectations so disappointed. It was not much better than at Brighton. A large bare room, with a bad floor, and ropes around it, like the space in an Arab camp parted off for the horses; two or three small naked rooms at the side, in which were served the most wretched refreshments; and a company into which, spite of the immense difficulty of getting tickets, a great many 'Nobodies' had wriggled; in which the dress was generally as tasteless as the 'tournure' was bad; this was all. In a word, a sort of inn-entertainment—the music and the lighting the only good things. And yet Almack's is the culminating point of the English world of fashion.

"This overstrained simplicity had, however, originally a motive. People of real fashion wished to oppose something extremely cheap to the monstrous 'faste' of the rich 'parvenus,' while the institution of Lady-patronesses, without whose

approbation no one could be admitted, would render it inaccessible to them. Money and bad company (in the aristocratical sense of the word,) have, however, forced their way; and the only characteristic which has been retained is the unseemly place, which is not unlike the 'local' of a shooting ball in our large towns, and forms a most ludicrous contrast with the general splendour and luxury of England."

With regard to the dancing, his Highness affirms, that "nowhere do people jump about more awkwardly; and a man," he continues, "who waltzes in time, is a real curiosity."

Is the applicability of the ensuing extract, restricted to England?

"Before I left Brighton I was forced to be present at a musical 'soirée', one of the severest trials to which foreigners in England are exposed. Every mother who has grown-up daughters, for whom she has had to pay large sums to the music-master, chooses to enjoy the satisfaction of having the youthful 'talent' admired. There is nothing therefore but quavering and strumming right and left, so that one is really overpowered and unhappy: and even if an Englishwoman has the power of singing, she has scarcely ever either science or manner. The men are much more agreeable 'dilettanti', for they, at least, give one the diversion of a comical farce. That a man should advance to the pianoforte with far greater confidence than a David, strike with his forefinger the note he thinks his song should begin with, and then 'entonner', like a thunder-clap, (generally a note or two lower than the pitch,) and sing through a long 'aria' without rest or pause, and without accompaniment of any sort, except the most wonderful distortions of face,—is a thing one must have seen to believe it possible, especially in the presence of at least fifty people. Sometimes the thing is heightened by their making choice of Italian songs; and, in their total ignorance of the language, roaring out words which, if they were understood by the ladies, would force them to leave the room. It did not appear to me that people constrained themselves much in laughing on these occasions: but such vocalists are far too well established in their own opinion to be disturbed by that,—once let loose upon society, they are extremely hard to call off again."

Letter XIV. gives an insight into the most envied mansion in London—Devonshire House.

"It would be too tiresome if I sent you a daily list of the parties I go to: I shall only mention them when any thing strikes me as remarkable; and perhaps hereafter, if I feel the inclination and the power, I shall give you a general 'aperçu' of the whole. The technical part of social life—the arrangements for physical comfort and entertainment—is well understood here. The most distinguished specimen of this is the house of the Duke of D——, a king of fashion and elegance.

"Very few persons of rank have what we, on the Continent, call a palace, in London. Their palaces, their luxury and their grandeur, are to be seen in the country. The Duke of D—— is an exception;—his palace in town displays great taste and richness, and a numerous collection of works of art. The company is always the most select; and though here, as every where, too numerous, is rendered less oppressive by the number of rooms: still it is too much like a crowd at a fair. The concerts at D—— House, particularly, are very fine entertainments, where only the very first talent to be found in the metropolis is engaged, and where perfect order combined with boundless profusion reigns throughout. Among other things, the arrangement of the suppers and 'buffets', which are excellent in such crowded parties, is most recommendable. In a separate room is a long table, with the most delicate and choice refreshments of every kind, so placed that it is accessible to the guests only on one side. Behind it stand maid servants, in a uniform of white gowns and black aprons, who give every body what he asks for, and have room enough to do their ministering

conveniently : behind them is a door communicating with the 'offices', through which every thing needful is handed to them without disturbance to the company;—the disagreeable procession of troops of men-servants balancing great trays and pushing about the 'salons' with them, always in danger of discharging their contents, cold or warm, into the laps or pockets of the company, is thus avoided.

"The supper is served at a later hour, by male attendants, in another room, which communicates with the kitchen. The waiting is far better, with much fewer people, than on the Continent, and accomplished without the least confusion.

"I must observe, by the by, as to '*bonne chère*', that the very best in the world is to be found at the first tables in London : they have the best French cooks and the best Italian confectioners, for the very simple reason that they pay them best. I am told there are cooks who receive twelve hundred a year here —To merit, its crown!

"Sometimes, after concert and supper, at two in the morning dancing begins, and one drives home by sunlight. This suits me admirably, for you know I always had the taste of Minerva's bird. In such a night-morning I often enjoy a drive in the Park ; for, thank Heaven ! Spring is visibly coming, and the tender green of the young leaves and the pink almond blossoms peep forth over the garden-walls and amid the dark net-work of the swelling branches."

"His Grace" does not make less show abroad than he does at home, according to the picture drawn by the Prince, of his exhibition at Doncaster races.

"The most distinguished equipage was that of the Duke of Devonshire, and I describe his train to you as a notice for M—. The Duke's party were seated in a full-bodied carriage drawn by six horses, the harness and hammercloth of moderate richness, and the coachman in intermediate livery, flaxen wig, and boots. The carriage was escorted by twelve outriders; namely, four grooms mounted on horses of different colours, with light saddles and bridles, four postillions on carriage-horses exactly like those in the carriage, with harness-reins, and postillions' saddles; lastly, four footmen in morning jackets, leathern breeches and top-boots, with saddle-cloths and holsters embroidered with the Duke's arms. The order of the train was as follows : first, two grooms; then two postillions; then the carriage with its six beautiful horses which the coachman drove from the box, a postillion riding the leader. On the left rode a footman; another somewhat further back on the right; behind the carriage two more postillions, then two grooms, and lastly, two more footmen. The little fellow who rode the leader was the only one in full state livery—yellow, blue, black, and silver, with a powdered wig—rather a theatrical dress, with the arms embroidered on his left sleeve."

The Prince was struck with the fondness for high play, especially among the ladies, which he observed in most companies.

"The crowding to the '*écarté*' table, which is almost out of fashion at Paris, is incessant; and the white arms of the English beauties appear to great advantage on the table-covers of black velvet embroidered with gold. But if their arms are dangerous, their hands are still more so, '*car les vieilles surtout trichent impitoyablement*'. There are some old maids whom one meets in the first society who make a regular trade of play, so that they carry off fifty pounds at a stroke without changing a feature. They have small parties at their own houses, which are as like '*tripots*' as possible."

He also noticed the fact, that "in no country can the admirer of '*le moyen âge*,' '*fair, fat, and forty*,' meet more women in high preservation than in England; even still more mature years do not obliterate all pretensions."

In relation to his sentiments respecting English ladies, we may make some extracts, without saying any thing about their correctness, which could not invariably be defended.

"My morning calls were useful, for they procured me three tickets for the next Almack's; and I prevailed upon one of the most rigorous and dreaded of Patronesses to give me a ticket for a little obscure 'Miss' of my acquaintance—an immense 'faveur!' I was, however, obliged to manoeuvre and entreat a long time to obtain it. The young lady and her party nearly kissed my hands, and behaved as if they had gained the great prize in the lottery.

"After Almack's, there is no way of approaching an English lady so good as politics. There has been nothing to be heard lately, whether at dinner or at the Opera, nay even at balls, but Canning and Wellington from every pretty mouth; nay, Lord E—— complained that his wife disturbed him with politics at night. She frightened him by suddenly calling out in her sleep, 'Will the Premier stand or fall?'"

"To-day I walked nearly the whole day long with some young ladies. Young Englishwomen are indefatigable walkers, through thick and thin, over hill and dale—so that it requires some ambition to keep up with them."

"Without seeking, I found this evening something very agreeable; for I was presented by the Dutchess of Clarence to her mother, the Dutchess of Meiningen; a most amiable woman, of true German character; whom neither years nor rank have been able to rob of her 'naïf' natural manners—perhaps the surest proof of a pure and lovely mind. This worthy mother of an honoured daughter must be a welcome guest to the English, who are much attached to their future Queen, and accordingly they pay her the greatest attentions. Pity, that high as well as low are generally too deficient in grace of manners, or felicity of address, to be able to act the drama of society on such occasions, so as to render the whole a pleasing or elegant spectacle! A drawing-room and a presentation at Court here are as ludicrous as the levée of a *Bürgermeister* of the ancient Free Imperial cities of our fatherland; and all the pride and pomp of aristocracy disappears in the childish 'embarras' of these 'ladies,' loaded—not adorned—with diamonds and fine clothes. In 'negligé,' and when they move at ease in their own houses and their accustomed circle, young Englishwomen often appear to great advantage; in 'parure' and large parties, scarcely ever; for an uncontrollable timidity, destructive of all grace, so paralyses even their intellectual powers, that a rational conversation with them would certainly be a most difficult matter to obtain.

"Of all the women of Europe, I therefore hold them to be the most agreeable and 'comfortable' wives; and at the same time the most incapable of presenting themselves with grace, address, or presence of mind, and the least fitted to embellish society. In this judgment the praise manifestly far outweighs the censure."

"It is remarkable, that in no country does one meet half so many old maids as in England; and very frequently they are rich. Their excessive pride of wealth, which leads them to think no rank and greatness sufficient for them, or the exaggerated romantic notions in which they are brought up, are the causes of this phenomenon. English girls insist on being loved entirely and solely for themselves. French women make no such pretension, judging rightly enough, that this devoted affection will grow out of marriage, where there are the qualities fitted to produce it; and that where these do not exist, it will not *endure*, whatever the lover may say or believe to the contrary. The English, like true Turks, keep the intellects of their wives and daughters in as narrow bounds as possible, with a view of securing their absolute and exclusive property in them as much as possible, and in general their success is perfect. A foreigner serves as an amusement, a plaything to Englishwomen, but always inspires them with some degree of fear and reserve. It is extremely rare for them to bestow as much of their confidence upon him as upon a countryman. They regard him as a half atheist, or a superstitious worshipper of Baal, and sometimes amuse themselves with attempting to convert him. I do not speak here of the London Exclusives; they give the same result as the rubbing together of all colours—none remains."

He awards to "English women of rank," the praise that "most of them are distinguished for their taste and skill in the beautiful art of gardening." "We should fall," he continues, "into a great mistake, if we hoped that any English gardener whatever, were capable of producing such master-pieces of garden decoration as I have described to you; these all owe their existence to the genius and charming taste for the embellishment of *home*, which characterize their fair owners." What quality so desirable, so fascinating in a woman, as a "taste for the embellishment of *home*"?

"Children's balls are now the order of the day, and I went to one of the prettiest this evening at Lady Jersey's. These highborn northern children had every possible advantage of dress, and many were not without grace; but it really afflicted me to observe how early they had ceased to be children; the poor things were, for the most part, as unnatural, as unjoyous, and as much occupied with themselves, as we great figures around them. Italian peasant-children would have been a hundred times more graceful and more engaging. It was only at supper that the animal instinct displayed itself more openly and unreservedly, and, breaking through all forms and all disguises, reinstated Nature in her rights. The pure and lovely natural feeling, however, was the tenderness of the mothers, which betrayed itself without affectation in their beaming eyes, made many an ugly woman tolerable, and gave to the beautiful a higher beauty.

"A second ball at Lady R——'s presented the hundredth repetition of the usual stupid throng, in which poor Prince B——, for whose corpulence these squeezes are little adapted, fainted, and leaning on the banister, gasped for air like a dying carp. Pleasure and happiness are certainly pursued in very odd ways in this world."

The concluding remark in the above, is more true than original. It is certainly a singular psychological fact, that one of the strongest propensities of man, is to change the proper tendency of things, and bring about results diametrically opposite to what should be produced. In fact, so powerful is this element of his nature, that philosophers of all kinds, natural, ethical, and metaphysical, might torment their pericrania *ad infinitum*, to discover a distinctive appellation for the "paragon of animals," without finding one so infallibly answering their purpose, as that of "the animal which *perverts*." The other portions of the animal creation, who follow the guidance of instinct, are never guilty of an absurdity of the kind. With them the means are always conducive to the proper end; but the being who has been endowed with reason, which acts, in a measure, for itself, vindicates the independent power of that glorious faculty, by altering, in frequent instances, the course which nature has prescribed. If we look abroad upon mankind—if we, in the beautiful words of the English Pindar,

"This spacious animated scene survey,
From where the glorious orb that gives the day
His southern sons with nearer course surrounds,
To either pole, and life's remotest bounds;"

although we may be convinced of what the poet proceeds to remark:—

"How rude soe'er the exterior form we find,
 Howe'er opinion tinge the varied mind,
 To all alike, the kind, impartial Heav'n
 The seeds of truth and happiness has given,"

yet we shall also be convinced, that the generality, instead of watering and fostering those seeds in a manner to enable them to bring forth the golden, life-giving fruit of Eden, which they were intended to bear, treat them so as to induce the production of fruit such as grows on the baleful shores of the Dead Sea—however tempting and blooming without, within, noxious ashes and dust. Happiness is the end and aim of all, and the means of securing it are provided in lavish abundance, yet how few make the intended use of them! How many employ them so as to entail upon themselves the most disastrous consequences!—for nothing is more certain than that in proportion to the excellence of the tendency of any thing, is the pernicious effect of its perversion; as the Christian religion, the greatest boon bestowed by a merciful Providence on his creatures, has been the source of more turmoil and bloodshed, than any other subject on which the bad passions of human nature have exerted their influence. It is the same case in trifles, as in the most momentous concerns; the same perverting spirit is observable throughout. Go into a ball-room, and observe the ingenuity with which the pleasure that might accrue from the social disposition of man, is converted into absolute torture; behold the belles of the saloon in a state of almost constant fainting, from fatigue and tightness of stays; hear the dismal complaints of suffocation from heat and crowd, which are echoed and re-echoed, in no gentle murmurs, on every side; witness the air of languor and exhaustion that pervades the squeezed and struggling mass; and, without investigating any further, be satisfied that "man is an animal which perverts." But we have wandered from "our sheep." We continue our extracts.

"What contributes much to the 'dulness' of English society, is the haughty aversion which Englishmen (note well that I mean in their own country, for 'abroad' they are ready enough to make advances) show to addressing an unknown person; if he should venture to address them, they receive it with the air of an insult. They sometimes laugh at themselves for this singular incivility, but no one makes the least attempt to act differently when an opportunity offers.

"There is a story that a lady saw a man fall into the water, and earnestly entreated the dandy who accompanied her, and who was a notoriously good swimmer, to save his life. Her friend raised his 'lorgnette' with the phlegm indispensable to a man of fashion, looked earnestly at the drowning man, whose head rose for the last time, and calmly replied, 'It's impossible, Madam, I never was introduced to that gentleman.'

"I made the acquaintance of a man of very different manners this evening; the Persian Chargé d'Affaires, an Asiatic of very pleasant address, and whose splendid costume and black beard were only deformed, in my eyes, by the Persian peaked cap of black sheepskin. He speaks very good English, and made very acute observations on European society. Among other things he said, that though in many respects we were much further advanced than they, yet that all their

views of existence were of a firmer and more composed character; that every man reconciled himself to his lot; whereas he remarked here an incessant fermentation, an everlasting discontent, both of masses and of individuals; nay, he confessed that he felt himself infected by it, and should have great trouble, on his return to Persia, to fall back into that old happy track, in which a man who is unfortunate consoles himself, exclaiming, 'Whose dog am I then, to want to be happy?'

This indeed furnishes ample matter for reflection to the pursuers of the ideal, to which secret association I, alas! belong."

"I generally spend my evenings at Lady K——'s or Mrs. F——'s, and play écarté and whist with the men, or loo with the young ladies. These small circles are much more agreeable than the great parties of the metropolis. There, every art is understood but the art of society. Thus, for instance, musicians, artists, poets, and men of talent generally, are invited merely as fashionable decorations; to live with them, to extract enjoyment from their conversation, or from their genius, is a thing utterly unknown. All real cultivation has a political character and tendency; party spirit, and the fashionable spirit of caste, pervade all society. Hence arises not only a universal '*décousu*,' but a rigorous division of the several elements; which, combined with the naturally unsocial temper of Englishmen, must render a residence among them unpleasant to every foreigner, unless he either has access to the most intimate family circles, or can take a lively interest in political affairs.

"The happiest and the most respectable class in England is, without all doubt, the middle class, whose political activity is confined to the improvement of their own immediate province, and among whom tolerably just views and principles generally prevail. People of this unfashionable class are also the only truly hospitable, and are wholly devoid of the arrogant airs so disgusting in their superiors. They do not run after a foreigner; but if he comes in their way, they treat him with kindness and sympathy. They love their country passionately, but without any view to personal interest—without hope of sinecures, or intrigue for place. They are often ridiculous, but always deserving of respect, and their national egotism is restricted within more reasonable bounds than that of their superiors.

"It may now be said with equal truth of England as it formerly was of France, '*que les deux bouts du fruit sont gâtés*'—the aristocracy and the mob. The former unquestionably holds a most noble station: but without great moderation, *without great concessions made to reason and to the spirit of the times*, they will perhaps not occupy this station half a century longer. I once said as much to Prince E——; he laughed in my face—'*mais nous verrons*.'"

"I arrived just in time to be present at a dinner-party at the new Premier's, to which I received an invitation in Brighton.

"This distinguished man is as remarkable for the grace and charm with which he does the honours of his house, as for the eloquence with which he carries away his auditors. 'Bel esprit' and statesman by turns, he wants nothing but better health: he seemed to me very unwell and suffering. Mrs. Canning is also a very intelligent woman. I have been assured that she holds the newspaper department, *i. e.* that she reads them, and informs her husband of all the important matter they contain; nay, even that she has occasionally written articles herself."

"A curious foreigner who wishes to see all the gradations of social life, can hardly hold out a London season. More than forty invitations are now lying on my table—five or six for each day. All these fête-givers must be called upon in a morning; and, to be courteous, one must go in person. '*C'est la mer à boire*;' and yet on my way to parties I continually pass ten or a dozen houses which I don't know, where the same mass of carriages is standing before the door.

"A ball at which I was lately present was peculiarly brilliant, and was attended by some of the Royal Princes. When this is the case, the vanity of the host has introduced the fashion of mentioning it on the card: 'To meet his Royal Highness,' &c., &c., is the laughable phrase. The whole garden belonging to the house was built over, and divided into large rooms, which were hung with

draperies of rose-coloured and white muslin, ornamented with enormous mirrors and numerous chandeliers, and perfumed with the flowers of every zone."

"All sorts of equipages fare worse here than anywhere. At last night's Almack's there was such a 'bagarre' among them, that several ladies were obliged to wait for hours before the chaos was reduced to any order. The coachmen on these occasions behave like madmen, trying to force their way, and the English police does not trouble itself about such matters. As soon as these heroic chariot drivers espy the least opening, they whip their horses in, as if horses and carriage were an iron wedge; the preservation of either seems totally disregarded. In this manner one of Lady Sligo's horses had its two hind-legs entangled in such a manner in the fore-wheel of a carriage, that it was quite impossible to release them, and one turn of the wheel would infallibly have broken both. Notwithstanding this, the other coachman could hardly be prevailed on to stand still. When the crowd dispersed a little, they were forced to take out both horses, and even then it was with some difficulty they extricated the entangled one. All this time the poor animal roared like the lion in Exeter 'Change. At the same time a cabriolet was crushed to pieces, and 'en révanche' drove both its shafts through the window of a coach, from which the screams of several female voices proved that it was already full—many other carriages were damaged.

"After this description, you, dearest, with your 'poltronnerie,' will scarcely trust yourself here in a carriage. It were certainly safer to adopt the fashion of the time of Queen Bess, when all, even the most delicate court-maidens, went a visiting on horseback."

"As a sample of the necessities of a London dandy, I send you the following statement by my 'fashionable' washerwoman, who is employed by some of the most distinguished 'élégans,' and is the only person who can make cravats of the right stiffness, or fold the breasts of shirts with plaits of the right size. An 'élégant,' then, requires per week—Twenty shirts; twenty-four pocket-handkerchiefs; nine or ten pair of 'summer trowsers;' thirty neck-handkerchiefs (unless he wears black ones;) a dozen waistcoats; and stockings 'à discretion.'

"I see your housewifely soul agast. But as a dandy cannot get on without dressing three or four times a day, the affair is 'tout simple,' for he must appear—

"1st. In breakfast toilette—a chintz dressing-gown and Turkish slippers.

"2nd. Morning riding dress—frock coat, boots and spurs.

"3rd. Dinner dress—dress coat and shoes.

"4th. Ball dress, with 'pumps,' a word signifying shoes as thin as paper."

"This evening there was a concert at the tall Duke's, where every body was in raptures at old Velluti, because he sang well once upon a time. He lives here upon his ancient fame. From thence I went to one of the prettiest balls I have seen in London, at the house of a Scotch woman of rank. The largest room was entirely decorated with paper lamps made in the forms of various flowers, very tastefully grouped.

"As we got into our carriages at six o'clock, by sunshine, the ladies had a most strange appearance. No 'fraicheur' could stand this test: they changed colour like chameleons. Some looked perfectly blue, some mottled, most of them death-like, their locks hanging about, their eyes glassy. It was frightful to see how the blooming rosebuds of lamplight were suddenly changed by the sunbeams into faded withered roses."

"The anxiety with which the rich English shut up their property from the profaning eyes of the stranger, is sometimes truly amusing, but may chance to be painful. I was riding one day in the neighbourhood of London—and attracted by the sight of a fine house and grounds, I asked the porter who stood at the lodge, whether he would allow me to look at the gardens? He had many scruples, but at last he opened the gate, taking charge of my horse during the time. I might have walked about for a quarter of an hour, and was just looking at the neatly-kept pleasure-ground, when a somewhat fat personage in his shirt appeared at a window of the house; he seemed to be running about in great distress, but at last threw open the window with great vehemence, and, whilst I heard the violent ringing of a large bell, cried out to me with half-suppressed rage, 'Qui êtes

vous, Monsieur? que cherchez-vous ici?" I thought it too ridiculous to shout back the answer from such a distance, and soon found it unnecessary; for a number of servants, alarmed by the ringing of the bell, flocked together from all directions, one of whom now repeated to me the question 'ex officio.' In a few words I let the proprietor know by him that I was a foreigner who had been attracted by fondness for gardening; that I had not climbed over the wall, as he seemed to believe, but had entered through the usual entrance, where my horse was still waiting; that I was heartily sorry for having caused him such a shock in his illness, and only wished that it might have no serious consequences, at the same time assuring him of my best respects, and that I would immediately leave the forbidden garden. I soon reached my horse, and rode off laughing, for this was the gay side of the affair. About a fortnight after, I passed by chance near the same house: I approached the lodge again, and rang the bell; another man appeared; and in a mischievous fit I inquired after the health of his master, and whether I could be permitted to see the garden? 'God forbid!' was the answer, 'on no account!' I now heard from the servant, to my sincere grief, that the poor fellow, his predecessor, had been dismissed with his wife and children, though he had been in the service of the family for many years, merely for having let a stranger enter without permission. Nevertheless, this severe gentleman is one of the patent-liberals of England. What would an illiberal one have done?"

"Harrowgate is not one of the fashionable watering-places, though it seems to me far more pleasant than the most fashionable Brighton.

"An old General of eighty, who was my neighbour at dinner, interested me extremely. He had met with Frederic the Great, Kaunitz, the Emperor Joseph, Mirabeau, and Napoleon, on various occasions of his life, and told me many interesting particulars about them. He had likewise been Governor of Surinam and of the Isle of France; had commanded for a long time in India, and was now what we call General of Infantry, (next rank to a Field-Marshal.) All this would give him a high station with us:—here, no such thing; and this he remarked himself. 'Here,' said he, 'the aristocracy is every thing: without family influence, without connexion, without some person of rank by whom a man may be pushed, he may indeed attain a high rank in the army; but, except under some very peculiar circumstances, this gives him no consideration. I am only a baronet,' added he; 'yet that empty and trifling hereditary title gives me more consideration than my long services or my high military rank; and I am not called General—or, as I should be with you, '*Euer Excellenz*'—but Sir Charles.'"

"Don Miguel of Portugal is arrived, and I was presented to him this morning. Nobody was present but the 'corps diplomatique' and a few foreigners. The young Prince is not ill-looking, and indeed resembles Napoleon; but his manner was rather embarrassed. He wore seven stars, and seven great orders over his coat. His complexion is like the olive of his fatherland, and the expression of his countenance rather melancholy than otherwise. His arrival makes London alive. To night there was a soirée at the Duke of Clarence's, and to-morrow there will be a great ball as Lady K——'s. The Prince seems to be a universal favourite; and now that he is more at home here, has something very calm and gentlemanlike in his 'tournure;' though it strikes me that in the back-ground, behind his great affability, lurks more than one '*arrière pensée*.' Portuguese etiquette is so rigorous, that our good Marquis P—— is obliged to kneel down every morning when he first sees the Prince.

"I pass over yesterday's fête at Prince E——'s to tell you about this evening's pantomime, which Don Miguel honoured with his presence. He was in a more awkward predicament than the late Elector of Hessen Cassel at Berlin, when, at the opening chorus of '*Long life to the Amazon Queen*,' he got up and returned thanks.

"The people here, to whom Don Miguel had been represented as a ferocious tyrant, and who saw the formidable monster appear in the shape of a pretty young fellow, have passed from aversion to fondness, and receive the Prince everywhere with enthusiasm. So it happened to-day in the theatre: Don Miguel immediately rose with his Portuguese and English suite, and returned thanks most courteously. Shortly after, the curtain drew up, and now arose a fresh vio-

lent clapping at the beautiful scenery. Again Don Miguel rose and bowed his thanks: surprised and somewhat perplexed, the audience, however, overlooked the mistake, and greeted him with fresh cheers. But now appeared the favourite buffoon, in the person of a great ourang-outang, with all the suppleness of Mazurier. Louder than ever resounded the enthusiastic applause; and again Don Miguel arose and bowed his thanks. This time, however, the compliment was only answered by a hearty laugh; and one of his English attendants, Lord M——C——, without ceremony seized the Infant by the arm and motioned to him to resume his seat. No doubt, however, Don Miguel and the favourite actor will long remain involuntarily associated in the public mind."

"A family dinner at the great R——'s, who has been likened to the Sultan, because the one is the Ruler of all Believers, and the other the Believer in all Rulers, occurred as a variety. This man has really something very original about him. He was peculiarly merry to-day: ordered the servant to bring his new Austrian consular uniform, which 'his friend M——ch,' as he said, had sent him from Vienna; showed it to us, and even suffered himself to be persuaded to try it on before the looking-glass, and to walk about in it. And, as virtuosi when they have once begun never know when to stop, he now sent for other magnificent Court dresses, and changed his toilette several times, as if he had been on the stage;—and that with such child-like good nature and naïveté, that I could only compare such a golden hero with Henry the Fourth, found by the foreign ambassadors acting as horse to his little son.

"It was, 'au reste,' rather droll to see how this otherwise serious tradesman-like man tried to assume the various bendings and bowings, and the light and gracious air, of a courtier; and, not in the least disconcerted by our laughing, assured us, with as much confidence as joviality, that N—— M—— R——, if he liked, could act any part; and, with the help of five or six glasses of wine extra, could make as good a figure at Court as the best of them."

"Among the most aristocratical parties, are to be numbered the concerts of one of the most liberal members of the Opposition—an anomaly often to be found here; where a certain vague general liberalism goes hand-in-hand with the narrowest pride and most arrogant conceit of class; and where the haughtiest man in his own house possesses the reputation of the most liberal in public life.

"Very amusing parties are also given by a Dutchess, whose brevet is so new that she is reckoned a plebeian by the exclusives:—such an one took place to-day. On the second floor there was an excellent concert, on the first a ball, and on the ground-floor constant eating.

"At the dinner which preceded, the servants waited in white kid gloves—an imitation of another fashionable Duke. This almost disgusted me, for I could not get out of my head the lazaretto and other disagreeable cutaneous associations.

"More rich in intellectual enjoyment was my yesterday's dinner at the Duke of Somerset's, a man of very various accomplishments. At table, a celebrated parliamentary orator told some strange things: among others, he said that he had lately been member of a Commission for investigating the connexion between the police and the thieves, about which so many complaints have been made. It came out, that a Society existed in London, completely organized with 'bureaux,' 'clerks,' &c., which directed thefts and coining on a large scale, supported those who were taken, and afforded powerful assistance both offensive and defensive, &c. He asserted, that at the head of this association were not only several people in respectable stations, and members of Parliament, but even a well known Peer of the realm. The proofs were of a kind that left no room for doubt; but to avoid the dreadful scandal, the Ministry had determined to let the matter drop. One sees that in free countries things go forward which we don't so much as dream of."

"I was invited again to dinner at the Dutchess of St. A——'s country-house, where a very agreeable surprise awaited me. I arrived late, and was placed between my hostess and a tall, very simple, but benevolent looking man of middle age, who spoke broad Scotch—a dialect any thing but agreeable; and would probably have struck me for nothing else, had I not soon discovered that I was

sitting next to—the Great Unknown. It was not long ere many a sally of dry, poignant wit fell from his lips, and many an anecdote, told in the most unpretending manner, which, without seeming brilliant, was yet striking. His eye, too, glanced, whenever he was animated, with such a clear, good-natured lustre, and that with such an expression of true-hearted kindness and natural feeling, that it was impossible not to conceive a sort of love for him. Towards the end of dinner he and Sir Francis Burdett told ghost-stories, half-terrible, half-humorous, admirably, one against the other. This at last encouraged me to tell your famous key story, which I embellished a little in the 'dénouement.' It had great success; and it would be droll enough if you were to find it in the next romance of the prolific Scotchman.

"He afterwards recited a curious old inscription which he had recently discovered in the church-yard of Melrose Abbey. It was as follows:

"The earth goes on the earth, glittering in gold,
The earth goes to the earth sooner than it would;
The earth builds on the earth castles and towers,
The earth says to the earth—All this is ours."

"For a week past two or three concerts have resounded in my ears every evening, or, as they here more properly say, every night. They are all on a sudden become a perfect rage, from the highest and most exclusive down to the herd of 'nobodies.' Mesdames Pasta, Caradori, Sontag, Brambilla, Messrs. Zuchelli, Pellegrini, and Curioni, sing for ever and ever the same airs and duets; which, however, people seem never tired of hearing. They often sing—doubtless tired themselves of the eternal monotony—very negligently, but that makes no difference whatever. The ears that hear them are seldom very musically organized, and are only awakened by 'fashion;' and those who are in the centre of the crowd certainly can often hardly distinguish whether the Bassist or the Prima Donna is singing, but must fall into ecstasies like the rest, notwithstanding. For the performers, this 'furore' is profitable enough. Sontag, for instance, in every party in which she is heard at all, receives forty pounds, sometimes a hundred; and occasionally she attends two or three in an evening. Pasta, whose singing is, to my taste, sweeter, grander, more tragic, rivals her; the others, though their merit is considerable, are in a subordinate rank.

"Besides these, Moschelles, Pixis, the two Bohrs, 'enfin' a herd of virtuosi, are here, all flocking to English gold, like moths around a candle. Not that they burn themselves; on the contrary, the women, at least, kindle fresh flames, right and left, which are sometimes even more profitable than their art.

"The concerts at Prince Leopold's are generally the most agreeable, and the insufferable squeezing is somewhat avoided in his large rooms. This Prince is less popular than he deserves; for the English can't forgive him for being a foreigner."

"After I had sent away my letter to you, and made an excursion into the country with some ladies, I drove to a party at the Duke of Clarence's, where there was, this time, such a genuine English squeeze, that I and several others could by no means get in; and went away, after waiting half an hour, 're infectâ,' to console ourselves at another ball. The mass in the first room was so jammed together that several men put on their hats, that they might have their arms more at liberty for active service. Ladies, covered with jewels, were regularly 'milled,' and fell, or rather stood, fainting: cries, groans, curses, and sighs, were the only sounds to be heard. Some only laughed; and, inhuman as it was, I must accuse myself of having been among these latter; for really it was too droll to hear this called *society*. To say truth, I never saw any thing equal to it before."

A loud outcry has been raised in the tory journals of England, in consequence of what they term the Prince's want of delicacy, ingratitude, &c., in the personal allusions which he makes. On this head, we are not disposed to plead his cause unreservedly,

regarding, as we do, any thing like a violation of the rules of private intercourse, which should ever be preserved intact, as a transgression of no light dye. But much might be urged, with great plausibility, in extenuation of the act.

We intended to extract some passages of the Prince's tour in Ireland, which amounts to nearly a volume of the four; but our quotations exceed already the proper extent. Suffice it to add, that he almost equals Miss Edgeworth in graphic and amusing delineations of the Irish, of whom he appears to be fond—that he tells racy anecdotes with great effect—that he made a sojourn in Dublin—visited the North—surveyed the Lake of Killarney—passed some time with Orator O'Connell at his castle—hunted and drank with the squirearchy—and formed such an acquaintance, generally, with men and things, as to be enabled to draw a full and interesting picture. *Miladi* Morgan is one of his principal personages, and is “hit off” admirably without studied disparagement.

ART. IV.—*The Life of John Locke, with Extracts from his Correspondence, Journals, and Common-place Books.* By LORD KING. New Edition, with considerable additions. In two Volumes. London :

THE life of a philosopher, properly written, should be an intellectual treasury. It should differ from all other biographies in certain and definable particulars, and in the same degree as its subject differs from all other subjects. What are some of these distinctive points of difference? Napoleon was an extraordinary man, or—not to be hypercritical—a great man: for twenty years the eyes of half the world were fixed in steadfast astonishment upon his meteor flight. His bold projects, his unrivalled undertakings, and his achievements, which have beggared all others; his energy of mind, and his accommodation to bodily endurance; his rise, the meridian splendour of his exaltation, and his subsequent fall to the very nadir of weakness—to be the pensioned prisoner of the only foe he never conquered, have all struck the sense as they whirled before us like the shifting scenes of a play. What would be the characteristic of his written life, may be easily gathered. It would combine with the moving incidents of his career, a full view of the politics and military improvements of the age. Essentially it would be the history and exhibition of a great mind acting upon the elements of power—a development of *physical* strength. Byron was an extraordinary genius. There

was strung within him a chord which vibrated in delicate unison with the tones of Apollo's lyre; but he was seemingly astray—a wandering orb in the vault of heavenly poesy. He speaks of the dark and of the wild. He dwells in a solitude like his own Manfred's—"as an anchorite's, were it but holy;" "he cometh unto you with a tale which holdeth children from their play, and old men from the chimney corner." Every character that has been given of him or of his poetry, seems too tame. He delighted to graze along and there and anon poise upon the rugged points of the human heart. His lines were a transfusion of himself. In every thing he did, we see the workings of genius, and what he did was eccentric and of itself. His biography, then, would trace his own peculiar power as a vein in the body of poetry. It would embody with the aspirations of his muse, the entire character of poetry. In either of these cases—and we have taken opposite and remarkable instances of our own time for apt illustration—the biography is necessarily personal;—whatever is heaped above, the substratum is individuality. We do not, cannot forget the man and the genius; the deed of daring, the reach for fame, accompany the person; and as one courted our superstitions and wonderment, and the other unveiled the darkness of our own bosoms, so we seek to know the secret charm which encircled the warrior and the divinity which swelled the bosom of the bard. But in the life of a philosopher, he, as an individual, rarely comes into view. He is lost in the sublimity and intrinsic worth of his speculations. We forget the agent in the importance of labours which come directly home to our minds. We are solicitous to know the source of his power, but we soon drop him. His acts are the operations of mind upon mind—that modification of being which constitutes its noblest form. The field, therefore, enlarges itself, and the scope for the biographer is extended. He enters upon a new element of history—that of a mind. He examines not persons so much as things; though the life of an individual be the groundwork of his labours. He must analyze and combine the complex and diversified theories which are connected with the views of his subject. He must collate the numerous hypotheses which have gained a foothold among men, in order that he may show the more clearly the merits of him whose history he narrates; just as the heavy tactics of Frederick are necessary to be known, to comprehend the merits of those of the hero of Austerlitz. The biography of a philosopher *should*, therefore, differ in many particulars of its *form* from all other biographies.

The life of *John Locke*, written with a view to reproduce those principles of which he was almost the earliest, as well as the stern and uncompromising expounder, fixing them as standard, though not infallible canons by which the philosophical and political doc-

trines prevalent, both anterior and subsequent to his epocha, might be measured, compared, and adjudged—and by which the partial theories of the extremes of sensualism and idealism in psychology, and of intolerance and ultra-liberalism in politics, might be exposed; his life thus written and pursued in the spirit of truth, of philosophy, and of sound criticism, would be a contribution to the whole world—whose property he has become—which would not be lightly esteemed, but which would be fraught with the noblest results. We would have the life of Locke the nucleus of these extended folds, the basis of this harmonious structure, because the dogmas of no other writer in modern times have exerted so wide and lasting and powerful an influence, relating, as they do, to many, very many of the practical questions which have since his time engaged the attention of individuals and of states: We would, moreover, have the field thus enlarged, that men might, from so favourable an opportunity, see and know at a glance, and as from a known point, how far and how rapidly they had advanced or retrograded in every direction—that they might determine the place of departure, the rate of progression or retrogression, and the limits any where arrived at, if it so be, of the human intellect—and that, elevated upon this vantage ground, they might direct their energies with certainty to the same or other inquiries. In a life of this philosopher, thus written, the origin of ideas and the sources of knowledge, and hence the analysis of the elements of reason, the nature of consciousness, the doctrine of the metaphysic, the correlation of the infinite and the finite, which are so many outshoots from the parent trunk of intellectual philosophy, and yet convolved as so many of its branches; the whole theory of government, the origin and nature of political authority, the freedom and toleration in matters religious, the foundations of our holy faith; and the still more practical subjects of the method of education, of religious worship, of the elements of political economy, of the value and nature of money, of coin, of trade—all these topics and others, which it were tiresome to enumerate, but, nevertheless, of vital importance, would be so many centres of intellectual light emitting a noontday radiance on the reader's mind.

We have given the peculiar condition under which we would have written the life of the greatest practical philosopher that the sea-girt isle of our fathers has produced: and we advance it with the full conviction that it should and can be fulfilled. Biography itself is in the course of great development. A companion, rather than a handmaid, of civil history, it admits of almost every latitude of inquiry; like history, too, it has been changing its form as the principles of human nature have been more observed and studied, the process of human action laid more bare, and the facts of physical science collected and arranged.

It is, or may be a philosophical collation of individual effort and experience, and of individual opinion. It is not legendary but critical; and it has become such by a natural and gradual evolution. Materials have accumulated; the world has grown old if not wise in experience. All that is past may afford illustrations and prophecies for the present and future; and the life and opinions of one man, may, by a reciprocal metrology, be admeasured by and be the measure of all others. In respect of Locke, the facilities for such a critical life are numerous; his writings, which, as Bayle has taken occasion to note, "will make his name immortal," have been canvassed, criticised, and expurgated, more, perhaps, than those of any other modern writer; his opinions have afforded texts for the discussion of all the *questiones veratæ* in the science of mind and of polity, as they have also been the starting point of numerous other systems. All that seems wanting, is a mind to collect together, to dispose, and accurately to quadrate these materials, and to take advantage of these means.*

It is not a part of our philosophy to despair of seeing the want of a full and critical life of this distinguished writer supplied. We have no ground of complaint, whatever we may have for regret as to the deficiency; for a certain point in science must be reached, before the life of any philosopher can be so fully given as we have conditioned. Discoveries of laws and principles are slow, and we should ask too much of the preceding age—*vires ultra sortemque*, were we to seek, in a censorious spirit, a complete history of Locke's labours, and of his contributions to our real knowledge. The time, however, is well nigh arrived, when it can and should be done.

But we cannot deem it other than a lamentable circumstance, that there is not a single popular and accessible account of the life of Locke in the English language. The only authentic narrative, is that published in French by his friend, the celebrated Leclerc, in the *Bibliothèque Choisie*, a short time after his death. Of course, even this could not be complete as to the historical incidents and private labours of Locke. No one, however, can read it without a pleasing and amiable emotion, for it is an offering at the shrine of friendship. It breathes the spirit of deep and manly affection, while from every part gush forth

* We know not but that we may venture to say, that there is one individual, at least, to whom we could have intrusted the execution of such a work as we have alluded to above,—one whose principles, experience and mental culture, have elevated to a high place in the estimation of his contemporaries. *Pausa quidam ingenii sui pignora dedit, sed egregia, sed admiranda!* Need we add that we would have assigned it to the author of the elegant "Discourse on the study of the Law of Nature and of Nations", who has in his strictures on Locke's writings, displayed a judgment and an erudition alike suited to the task.

the involuntary effusions of a warm heart, in the contemplation of the virtues of a dear and tried friend. It had its inception in a mood german to that of the poet over Lycidas:—

“Lycidas is dead——

——and hath not left his peer.

Who would not sing for Lycidas!”

It is mainly from this account that most of the biographical notices of Locke have been drawn, all of which are imperfect and unsatisfactory.*

The author of the volumes before us, has given neither a popular nor a critical biography; but he has added to our materials for both. His work is a *rudes indigestaque moles*, such as might be expected from a gentleman of leisure, who should by accident become possessed of the valuable memorials, but who, while he felt ambitious of the honour, was unequal to the task. We mean no disrespect to Lord King; on the contrary, we honour him for his principles of civil and religious freedom; we cast no slur upon his titled rank, for he shows that the more ennobling possessions of truth, of a regard for the natural and unalienable rights of man, are not incompatible with factitious distinction; but, we must say, that we do not value his books for what he has chosen to entitle them; at least, so far as he would have them considered a *Life of Locke*. We have, however, to tender him our thanks for the new materials which he has brought to light in regard to the intellectual character and the opinions of that distinguished man. They are interesting memorials, which the historian and philosopher will consult hereafter with pleasure; and, too, not only in regard to Locke, but to the distinguished individuals with whom he was in close and frequent correspondence, and among whom we find Lord Shaftesbury, Sir Isaac Newton, Lord Peterborough, Lord Chancellor King, Leclerc, and Limborch. In truth, the bulk of these volumes—being that devoted to Locke’s correspondence, journals, and common-place books—embraces a history of his mind; and consequently constitutes the most valuable information which could have been communicated. We are presented with his first impressions in regard to the subjects of his inquiries; with his private and personal opinions; with his habits of thought and with his motives—we are directly initiated into the holiest recess of his mind, and thus become impressed with the liveliest idea of his indivi-

* The principal histories of the life of Locke in the English language are to be found, one, in the *Biographia Britannica*, compiled by an unfair hand, and another, prefixed to the octavo edition of Locke’s works, edited by Law, Bishop of Carlisle. One or two anonymous tracts appeared during the last century, but are worthy of no consideration. What a commentary does this neglect afford upon the philosophical spirit of England!

duality, and in fact we are supplied with the best commentary that could be given us of his literary and philosophic labours.

We intend, therefore, to offer in the following pages, some remarks upon the opinions of Locke, with such elucidations and historical illustrations as this publication has placed in our hands. We shall make them in a spirit of candour, and with a regard to truth; and, at the same time that we may bring forward his merits as an inquirer and a philosopher, we shall not be so overpowered by their splendour, as not to point out some of his errors. We shall accordingly seek from Lord King's volumes—to put in a digested form some of the memorials which he has preserved, so far as they are illustrative of the sentiments of John Locke.

The education, however, of so original a thinker, seems to demand a passing record; since early influences and habits give its formation to character and determine the application of the mind. With Locke, this seems especially to have happened; for although his great and best work was the product of his natural powers applied to their proper purpose, yet the major part of his writings consist of defences of those principles which had been carefully implanted in his youthful bosom, and which may be considered as in some degree fortuitous, and the result of the peculiar circumstances under which he appeared. Indeed, in this last respect, we are wont to esteem Locke a fair representative of the Plymouth pilgrims, alike attached to the principles of religion and civil freedom, and devoted to the cause of peace, and patient for its sake. His father was an officer in the army of the parliament during the civil wars, and seems to have carried into his family the stern and rigid conduct which we associate with that class of partisans. Unlike, however, many of this description, his judgment commended a change of behaviour towards his son, as he arrived at maturer years, till he at length admitted him into an unreserved familiarity and equality with himself. We can hardly imagine a scheme of moral education that could be more successful in fortifying the mind in a firm belief of those principles which must first have been taken without thought or examination. The gradual development of the grounds of the father's opinions, would seem both to have flattered the reason, and to have enlisted the feelings of the son; and to have engaged his hearty co-operation against the heresies of others, without exciting a suspicion of the honesty of his own views. In such a school, then, did Locke imbibe the strong sentiments of freedom which characterized the republicans of that day; and for which, we may justly say, he afterwards strove both honourably and successfully: in this school, too, his bosom was made to glow with that fervid piety which existed among the dissenters in those

times of church controversy; and, above all, it seems that by these circumstances he acquired those essentials of a thorough education, which he insists upon so strongly, in a letter to the Earl of Peterborough. In reply to a request from that nobleman, to recommend a tutor for his son, he observes: "I must beg leave to own that I differ a little from your Lordship, in what you propose; your Lordship would have a thorough scholar, and I think it no great matter whether he be any great scholar or no; if he but understand Latin well, and have a general scheme of the sciences, I think that enough: *but I would have him well bred, well tempered*: a man that having been conversant with the world, and amongst men, would have great application in observing the humour and genius of my Lord your son; *and omit nothing that might help to form his mind and dispose him to virtue, knowledge, and industry.*" In a subsequent letter, to the same person, he says: "when a man has got an entrance into any of the sciences, it will be time then to depend on himself, and rely upon his own understanding, and exercise his own faculties, *which is the only way to improvement and mastery.*" There is a striking coincidence between this opinion and that of a distinguished historian. "Every man," says Gibbon, "who rises above the common level, has received two educations; the first from his teachers, the second, more personal and important, from himself."* Such was the case with Locke, in respect of that part of his education which referred to the acquisition of knowledge, and the cultivation of his intellectual powers. He felt and ever declared that he owed little to Oxford. A mind of his philosophical turn, could not be pleased or rest satisfied with the puerile subtleties of the scholastics and with the dogmas of the stagyrite, which were admitted and taught in the university: and, accordingly, we find Locke eagerly embracing the Cartesian method, which discarded every authority but that of thought. The prejudice which he thus eagerly imbibed in regard to scholastic pursuits, though undoubtedly in some instances too exclusive, urged him on to new inquiries of his own, combining the merits and methods of two of the earliest and greatest philosophers of modern times. With Descartes, he was independent in his philosophical views, pursuing them without referring to previous systems; with Bacon, he rejected speculation, and investigated the conditions of knowledge by an examination of the known and observed laws, powers, and capacities of the understanding. Possessing a heart thus elevated by that high morality, which finds the fulfilment of its duties in the increased happiness of mankind, and a mind thus liberalized and burning for the discovery of truth, Locke launch-

* Memoirs of himself.

ed into the world—a world in which, as he somewhere remarks, he no sooner found himself to be, than he found himself in a storm.

The *Essay on Human Understanding* was completed in Holland, whither he had gone to avoid the persecutions of the court party, whose vindictiveness had already driven Shaftesbury to the same retirement, and had brought Russell and Sydney to the block. It was published on his return to England, in 1690, and, with the exception of his first *Letter on Toleration*, printed at Tergon in the previous year, is his first work, as it is also that on which his extensive fame has been built. The occasion of its being written, is given in a well known incident which he has recorded in the prefatory epistle to the reader. The first draft and suggestion of the essay, was made nineteen years before its publication, and is preserved by Lord King. We invite the attention of the reader to it, as we shall have further occasion to refer to its important phraseology.

"Sic cogitavit de intellectu humano Johannes Locke. an. 1671.

"Intellectus humanus cum cognitionis certitudine et assensus firmitate.

"First, I imagine that *all knowledge* is founded on, and *ultimately derives itself from sense*, or something analogous to it, and may be called sensation, which is done by our senses conversant about particular objects, which gives us the simple ideas or images of things, and thus we come to have ideas of heat and light, hard and soft, which are nothing but the reviving again in our minds these imaginations, which those objects, when they affected our senses, caused in us—whether by motion or otherwise, it matters not here to consider,—and thus we do when we conceive heat or light, yellow or blue, sweet or bitter, and therefore I think that those things which we call sensible qualities, are the simplest ideas we have, and the first object of our understanding."

On this hint, Locke proceeded to his task, the execution of which marks a distinct era in intellectual science. His object was immediate and practical. He sought to remove from a difficult and abstruse subject, the darkness and entanglement with which verbiage and sophistry had involved it, and to ascertain the *ability* and proper use of the understanding. He enters upon his undertaking by combating the Cartesian doctrine of innate ideas, as preliminary to his own philosophy, conceiving it to be unreasonable to "attribute several truths to the impressions of nature and innate characters, when we may observe in ourselves faculties fit to attain as easy and certain knowledge of them, as if they were originally imprinted on the mind." Although Locke may be considered a disciple of Descartes, yet there is not, perhaps, a single controverted point in metaphysical philosophy as to which there is between them a coincidence of opinion. When, therefore, we speak of the method of Descartes, it is not in contradistinction to the Verulanian mode of philosophizing, which seems to have reference to physical rather than to intellectual science, and which is entirely different from that of the Cartesians; but as distinguished from that of the schools, as disembar-

raising itself of forms and dogmas, and seeking for truth as a pearl concealed in the fountain of thought alone. Indeed, of the physical process of Descartes, we might, were it pertinent to the occasion to do so, adduce abundant proof of its entire inefficiency, from his theory of motion and system of vortices. The same species of error, however, which is there observable, taints his hypotheses in regard to innate ideas, which serves, indeed, to explain, very conveniently, certain mental phenomena, but in adopting it, he falsified his own fundamental proposition—that truth is evident only by a free exertion of thought—the adoption of which is the very ground upon which he is to be considered a Cartesian.

It is, however, on account of the incidental object of the first book, rather than of its real inferiority as a piece of philosophical writing, that it has been ranked lower than the other parts of the essay: A doctrine, too, for which he was led to contend in the course of his inquiry concerning innate ideas, and which, by many, is considered as false and dangerous, has contributed to depreciate it still more in the estimation of some. In warring against the notions of Descartes, Locke examines into the variety of those ideas styled innate, and discusses each class of them separately. In the chapter on *practical principles*, occurs the argument against the *innateness* of the moral sense. It was novel, and it was adventurous. It fell harshly upon the ears of the moralists of the time, and evoked censure from many of his closest friends. Sir Isaac Newton at first represented it as “striking at the root of morality,” though, in the frankness and sincerity of his nature, he afterwards retracted this sentiment. Lord Shaftesbury, the author of the *Characteristics*, and the pupil of Locke, attacked him openly. In his letters to a student, he observes: “’Twas Mr. Locke that struck the home blow: for Mr. Hobbes’ character, and base slavish principles of government, took off the poison of his philosophy. ’Twas Mr. Locke that struck at all fundamentals, threw all order and virtue out of the world, and made the very ideas of these, (which are the same with those of God,) *unnatural*, and without foundation in our minds. Innate is a word he poorly plays upon: the right word, though less used, is connate.” The alarms of his friends, however, and the declarations of his enemies, though not without seeming foundation, can hardly be justified. His ethical proposition gives so ready an explanation of so many moral phenomena which remain otherwise almost unexplained; and the contrary hypothesis is militant against so many facts in our moral constitution, that the doctrine of Locke has, since his time, found many firm supporters among the sincere and devout—a circumstance which goes very far to prove the groundlessness of the apprehensions of its pernicious consequences. He maintains that

men may assent to moral rules, and feel their obligation in the same manner as that by which they arrive at the knowledge of other things, and without their being impressed upon the heart; that education and custom will lead the mind to the same persuasion; that conscience is nothing else but our judgment of the moral rectitude or pravity of our own actions; and that conscience induces opposite conduct in different individuals, and, therefore, that if it be an innate principle, contraries may be so.* Another incongruity is involved in the doctrine of an innate moral sense, which would seem to be conclusive against it: on account of the correlation of the act of perception, and the subject of it, they must be co-existent, and we must, accordingly, if this be an innate moral sense, have, by nature, or born with us, an idea of the object which we reject or approve.

Whatever opinion, however, may be formed in regard to Locke's argument against the theory of innate principles, he will, at least, have the credit with all, of having honestly striven with the whole of his intellectual strength for the independence of the human mind. The dogma, that principles must not be questioned, being first ascertained and settled by casuistic doctors, was calculated to produce the most servile dependence, and to crush every inquiry into the foundations of truth; "in which posture of blind credulity," in the strong and indignant language of our philosopher, "its followers might be more easily governed by, and made useful to some sort of men, who had the skill and office to principle and guide them." Indeed, it was the great and first design of Locke, to liberate the human understanding from authoritative dicta; and however imperfect in its details his great work may be—in this point of view, at least, it has been productive of the happiest results. The second book contemplates two objects, one psychological, the other merely physiological. In regard to the former, his followers and admirers have fallen into two parties, greatly to the prejudice of his real views, which seem to be misconceived alike by both. The French school, who have ever received the philosophy of Locke with rapturous admiration, declared that the *reflection* which he had laid down as an original fountain of knowledge, was nothing but a modified sensation without causative power, and depending immediately upon external impression. Not only was the reflective power considered by them as a sense, but also as one active from outward objects. It is easy, therefore, to see that his principles, thus exaggerated and perverted, led to a baleful materialism; and we accordingly find them thus represented in all its moral hideousness. The Scotch school, on the other hand, and principally Dugald Stewart, in his *Metaphysical Essays*,† have striven,

* Essay on Hum. Und. B. I. ch. iii. § 8.

† Essay I.

and successfully, too, against this gloss upon Locke, though in doing so, they seem to have fallen into an opposite error, of attributing more to our philosopher's words, than a strict construction of them will admit.

It is maintained by this class of commentators, that Locke lays down two radically distinct as well as original sources of ideas, in nowise related to each other: "Through the whole of his Essay," says Stewart, "he uniformly represents *sensation and reflection as radically distinct sources of knowledge*."* Now this radical distinction is observable only so far as it regards the *operations* by which the mind receives its knowledge; and is, we think, non-existent as it regards the original *sources* of our knowledge. Locke contended that all our ideas are acquired by experience; and everywhere represents sensation as antecedent to, and causative of reflection; and consequently that they cannot be two original and radically distinct sources of knowledge. It would therefore follow from this premise, that if a mind were supposed to be devoid of those ideas which spring or arise from sensation, it would also be devoid of those ideas which arise from reflection; "reflection," says he, "is the perception of the operations of our own minds within us, as it is employed about the ideas it has got:"—and how?—by sensation. So, on the other hand, it is a correct *sequitur* from the same, that the ideas of sensation may exist independently of those of reflection; and we find this also distinctly advanced and maintained by Locke: "The first years," he observes, "are usually employed and diverted in looking abroad. Men's business in them is to acquaint themselves with what is to be found without; and so growing up in a constant attention to outward sensations, seldom make any considerable reflection on what passes within them, until they come to be of riper years; *and some scarce ever at all*."† And again: "If it shall be demanded, when a man begins to have any ideas, I think the true answer is, when he first has any sensation. For since there appear not to be any ideas in the mind, before the *senses* have conveyed any in, I conceive that ideas in the understanding are coeval with sensation."‡ The volumes before us, however, fortunately present us with the means of ascertaining the real sentiments of Locke in regard to this important point; and show, moreover, that they were identical both in the inception and completion of his work. In the original sketch of the Essay, which we have transcribed above, are the following words: "I imagine that *all* knowledge is founded on, and *ultimately derives itself from sense*, or something analogous to it, and may be called *sensation*"! In the epitome of the essay

* Dissertation. Encyc. Britt. Part II. § 1.

† Essay on Hum. Und. B. II. chap. i. § 8.

‡ Essay on Hum. Und. B. II. ch. i. § 23.

which was translated and published in the Bibliothèque Universelle, by Leclerc—the original of which, drawn up by Locke, is now given by Lord King; the following comment occurs by the philosopher himself: “I think I may confidently say, that besides what our senses convey into the mind, or the ideas of its own operations about those received from sensation, we have no ideas at all. From whence it follows—first, that where a man has always wanted one of his senses, there he will always want the ideas belonging to that sense; men born deaf or blind, are sufficient proof of this. Secondly, it follows that if a man could be supposed void of all senses, he would also be void of all ideas; because, wanting all sensation, he would have nothing to excite any operation in him, and so would have neither *ideas of sensation*, external objects having no way, by any sense, to excite them, nor *ideas of reflection*, HIS MIND HAVING NO IDEAS TO BE EMPLOYED ABOUT.” vol. ii. pp. 232, 233.

We think it is conclusive, from these passages, that the interpreters of Locke have misconstrued his meaning; that he is neither the philosopher of idealism nor sensualism; that while he leaves untouched the moral predispositions and tendencies of our nature, he gives “ample scope and verge enough” for the operation of the laws of nature, which, although we are ignorant, “we may attain to the knowledge of, by the use and application of our natural faculties.” The materialist, or the philosopher of selfishness, find here no foothold for their degrading doctrines. The cause of truth is vindicated, not at the expense of virtue or of religion, but by the exposure of error.

The second and most important object of the Essay, is to generalize the facts of mental science; and its greatest merit consists, not so much in the complete execution of this task—for in this respect it is confessedly imperfect—but in the early date of the attempt, and in the truly philosophical spirit with which it is conceived. Locke accomplished for the science of mind, what Bacon had done for physics; he led the way to a more ready and useful knowledge of the constitution and laws of the understanding; and though his labours seem more humble than those of the critical philosophers and eclectics of our own day, who seem to have essayed a flight beyond the sphere of practical knowledge, they constitute an epoch even in psychological science, such as the fast-fading laurels of Kant and Schelling declare will hardly be dated from their efforts.* What he saw was not through a

* We cannot refrain from expressing here the pleasure which we experienced in perusing M. Vict. Cousin's *Introduction à l'Histoire de la Philosophie*. We can readily imagine the applause which it is said accompanied the delivery of his lectures, and almost ourselves listening to his animated discourse, reminiscent of the scenes of the Lyceum and of the Porch; but, at the same time, we cannot divest ourselves of the conviction that his Eclecticism is, though a splendid, but an imaginary reconciliation of radically adverse systems.

glass darkly; his penetrating mind searched to the bottom of every subject which it attempted—*intimius per omnia per-spexerat*. He came short, it is true, far short of the great aim of metaphysical inquiry; but this imperfection is common to every system which has yet been invented or formed with similar views and purposes. The analysis of knowledge which occurs in the fourth book, shows how difficult it is for one mind, however comprehensive, original, and profound it may be, to compass the extent of human attainments and to describe the limits of the human faculties. Indeed, any attempt to mete out the bounds and use of knowledge, to define truth and mark out its province, seems to be inconsistent with the nature of the subject itself. Locke, however, did much for the cause of philosophy, and accomplished a great deal, in so far as he gave a form and name to many parts of intellectual science. Knowledge he defines to be the perception of the agreement or disagreement of any two ideas; and this connexion or disconnexion he divides into those of identity, co-existence, real existence, and relation. The proof of our knowledge, however, is of a varied character, partly intuitive, partly rational, and in part sensitive. From an attentive examination of these evidences, he concludes, that, on the one hand, we can have no ideas, and that, on the other, our understandings are incapable of connecting or disconnecting all those ideas which we have, and that consequently our knowledge *comes short* of our ideas. This scheme of the nature of knowledge, of the mode of perceiving it, and of its extent, is the groundwork of the subsequent inquiry which he pursues into the reality and particulars of knowledge; and constitutes the original frame which he intended to make in the first conception of his design.

We have already extended our remarks on the Essay so much further than we intended, that we must be content with a single observation more. Next to precision in ideas, Locke ranked the right use of language. The confusion incident to mixed modes of speech, especially when applied to logical and philosophical inquiry, he felt to be a serious obstacle and inconvenience in the way of truth; and the imperfection and abuse of words to be that which had nourished disputes, spread errors, and retarded the progress of man. He has accordingly given an admirable analysis of the nature and influence of words in their relation to knowledge. Bacon had barely alluded to the great causes of error referable to this source, and in his peculiar classification called them the *idols of the forum*. The efforts of our philosopher, however, first awakened the attention of the learned and curious; and since his day a species of philosophical nomenclature has been adopted by every sect of inquirers, though unfortunately in each case its influence has been confined to its own school—a circum-

stance which seems necessarily to exist from the very nature of philosophy—at least in its present vacillating state.

We haste to the consideration of the other works of Locke, which, though less known and read, and, perhaps, more exceptionable than the essay concerning the understanding, are nevertheless of deep interest to the lover of freedom. Locke lived at a period when the greatest questions which can concern a political society were freely stirred, and when many of them were settled and determined. We accordingly find his great talents called out and employed in vindicating with remarkable moderation as well as ability, the principles of civil and religious freedom; for such emergencies are ever calculated to elicit energies and to provoke exertions which would otherwise have lain dormant and unproduced: more than all, they rouse the strong and manly virtues, as they also frequently invite the mean and degrading vices of the soul, ennobling and emblazoning the one in overpowering contrast with the other. The troublous times of the first Charles, and the agitations of the period of the Commonwealth, though they fix a more striking point in English history than the succeeding eras of the restoration and revolution, had a far less decisive influence than those periods, upon what may be termed the cardinal principles of the English Constitution. We revert with almost holy fervour to the era of Pym and Hampden—to their struggles and to their persecutions; but the great contest for the fundamentals of liberty was reserved for the period which saw the ermine soiled by contact with such men as Scroggs and Jefferies and Sawyer—the minions of a power which sealed its profligacy by the unrighteous execution of Sydney. Men's minds were unsettled during the first period; a thousand distracting parties, with views radically opposed, gave fixedness to no principle. They launched into the ocean of anarchy without any compass or polar star to direct or guide them; and it was not strange that they should return baffled to the point of departure. The period immediately preceding the revolution, was on the other hand marked by a steady and well-defined opposition of parties; one struggling for unquestioned prerogatives of royalty, on the principle *a deo rex*, and directing the apparatus of government, with venality on the bench, simony in the church, and sycophancy in every rank: another bold for the principles of freedom, but not so desirous of a republic, as of a security for the rights of speech, of conscience, and of personal liberty: and a third anxious for the restitution of papal authority, and instigated by the zealous, insinuating, and keenly observant and sagacious followers of Loyola. The conclusion of this triple contest of the high-churchmen, non-conformists, and Catholics, fixed the principles of the English constitution; and it is from the full and able discussion given to them at that time, rather than from

their determination, that the advocates of liberal views in civil and religious matters have since drawn argument as from a rich and original source.

Thus the great conflict at this time was, as may be inferred, consequent upon the establishment of the church. The Savoy conference, held in the first year of the restoration, broke up without effecting any reconciliation: all attempts made with this view failed, and, soon after, the act of uniformity gave every possible advantage to the episcopacy. Notwithstanding the great bias of the king towards his Catholic subjects, the celebrated test act of 1679* was also passed, excluding them from all civil preferment and from parliament. This measure bore with equal hardship upon the non-conformists; but the extreme prejudices of the high-church party against them refused all relief, and defeated every effort at comprehension. Early, however, in the reign of William and Mary, the toleration act was passed, which contemplated the exemption of their majesty's protestant subjects from the penalties of certain laws. "There is a tradition," says Lord King, "that the terms of the toleration act were negotiated by Locke himself; and the fact is in some degree confirmed by an expression in one of his letters to Limborch. We know, however, that he was dissatisfied with the terms then granted, and that he considered them most inadequate and insufficient." Yet it was the happy precursor of others which have removed certain disabilities on account of religion;—such as the 53 of George III. for the benefit of the Unitarians, and that of the late king for the benefit of the Catholics. Although in communion with the church of England, Locke wrote an elaborate defence of non-conformity in answer to Stillingfleet; it was however never published.

"As to the law of the land," he observes, "it can never be judged a sin not to obey the law of the land commanding to join in communion with the Church of England, till it be proved that the civil magistrate hath a power to command and determine what Church I shall be of; and therefore, all the specious names, established constitution, settled Church, running through all the Doctor's sermons, and on which he seems to lay so much stress, signify nothing, till it be evident the civil magistrate has that power. It is a part of my liberty as a Christian and as a man, to choose of what church or religious society I will be of, as most conducing to the salvation of my soul, of which I alone am judge, and over which the magistrate has no power at all; for if he can command me of what church to be, it is plain it follows that he can command me of what religion to be, which, though nobody dares say in direct words, yet they do in effect affirm, who say it is my duty to be of the Church of England, because the law of the land enjoins it." *Lord King*, vol. ii. pp. 214, 215.

Upon the passage of the Toleration Act, Locke addressed his first letter on Toleration in Latin to his friend Limborch. He laments the miseries which the English nation had endured in regard to religion, not only from the partialities of the govern-

ment, but also from the narrow and sectarian views which influenced every class of religionists. The distemper, he declares, needs more generous remedies than declarations of indulgence or acts of comprehension; nothing but *absolute liberty, just and true liberty, equal and impartial liberty*, would suffice. The sentiments to which he gives utterance are worthy of all admiration:—that our fealty to God depends upon our opinion of what will be most acceptable to him, and that this is an act which no individual can prescribe to another. What mortal, indeed, shall dictate to his fellows otherwise than as their judgments may determine, in a matter extrinsic of civil society,—of a human institution which cannot control our interests in another world? and is it not the extreme of tyranny to force one to a way of worship which his own bosom does not and will not sanction, and which he may even think is displeasing to that Being to whom he offers his adorations?—to compel him to submit his spiritual concerns to others under the pains and penalties of civil disfranchisement?

A censorship of the press also, a measure of great political importance, was established during the reign of Charles. The licensing act as it was called, was passed in 1662, for two years, and continued in force with a small remission, by several re-enactments, till 1694, when it was suffered to expire by its own limitation. It will be remembered by many of our readers that it was during this censorship that the puerile objection of treason was made against the simile of the sun eclipsed in the first book of *Paradise Lost*, by the archbishop of Canterbury, or by that dignitary's official. The observations of Locke upon the objectionable parts of this act are given in the volumes before us; the following extract from them places the matter in its true light, and shows how fully the writer apprehends the principle which is the foundation of the practice among ourselves. *

* The propriety of leaving the correction of the licentiousness of the press to the common law remedy, was however insisted upon in a most noble strain by Milton, in his well known speech to the Parliament of England. The whole passage is replete with eloquence and strongly impressed with his genius. "I deny not" he exclaims, "but it is of the greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves, as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors: for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve, as in a vial, the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know that they are as livingly and as vigorously productive as those fabulous dragon's teeth; and being sown up and down may chance to spring up around men. And yet on the other hand, unless wariness be used, as good almost a man as kill a good book; who kills a man kills a reasonable creature; God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were, in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed

"§ 2. Heretical, seditious, schismatical, or offensive books, wherein any thing contrary to Christian faith, or the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, is asserted; or which may tend to the scandal of religion, or the church, or the government, or governors of the church, state, or of any corporation, or particular person, are prohibited to be printed, imported, published, or sold.

"I know not why a man should not have liberty to print whatever he would speak; and to be answerable for the one, just as he is for the other, if he transgresses the law in either. But gagging a man, for fear he should talk heresy or sedition, has no other ground than such as will make gyves necessary, for fear a man should use violence if his hands were free, and must at last end in the imprisonment of all who you will suspect may be guilty of treason or misdemeanor. To prevent men being undiscovered for what they print, you may prohibit any book to be printed, published, or sold, without the printer's or bookseller's name, under great penalties, whatever be in it. And then let the printer or bookseller, whose name is to it, be answerable* for whatever is against law in it, as if he were the author, unless he can produce the person he had it from, which is all the restraint ought to be upon printing." *Lord King*, vol. i. pp. 375, 376, 377.

In the same year with the publication of his first letter on Toleration, appeared his two treatises on government. The favourite author of the advocates of despotism at that day was Sir Robert Filmer, who has in his *Patriarcha* and other works, vindicated the patriarchal scheme of government, as the original and most suitable form. "As kingly power" says Filmer, "is by the law of God, so hath it no inferior power to limit it. The father of a family is governed by no other law than his own will, not by the laws and wills of his sons and servants."† The absurdities of this system seem scarcely worthy of reply at this day; Locke, however, felt that how miserable soever such principles were, they then required serious refutation on account of their prevalence and boasted authority. He accordingly exposes the sophisms of Filmer with the skill of a master, always powerfully, and frequently with bitter and caustic satire. He contends in his main argument, that the power of a magistrate bears no relation to that of a father over his children, of a husband over his wife, of a master over his servant, or of a lord over his slave: and that we may arrive at a distinct idea of this difference, if we will consider all these relations as centering in one person.‡ The true source of power is to be placed in the people, for whose benefit all government is instituted.

Although Locke distinctly maintains the derivation and termination of all political power from and in the governed, he has fallen into a dangerous error, which is the more to be deprecated,

and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life." *Areopagitica*, Milton's works, vol. i. pp. 142, 143.

While on this subject, we would commend to the reader's perusal, if he have not already perused it, the admirable article, in many respects, of Mr. Mills, in the supplement to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

* This is now the law.

† *Patriarcha*, or the Natural power of the Kings asserted. p. 81.

‡ See, *Of Civil Government*. Book II. c. 1.

as it is entirely repugnant to the doctrine of improvement in government, and as it seems to militate against his own principles. He lays down the broad proposition that the power which every individual gave society when he entered into it, cannot again revert to the individuals as long as the society continues; and hence concludes that when the society has placed the legislative power for instance, in any body of individuals, to continue in them and their successors, such power can never return to the people during the continuance of that government;—a doctrine, at once subversive of the right of revolution, and liable to the greatest abuse. It will, too, grate harshly upon the ear of our readers, as altogether hostile to their preconceived opinions of the origin and nature of civil government. Locke seems to have adopted this view from an over anxiety to preserve harmony, and compose the minds of his countrymen, during the changing times in which he wrote. His wish that William should be considered simply as a Restorer, would indicate that he deemed the Stuart family as abusers of their power, and the change of government as only a restoration to its just operation—and to this circumstance his doctrine of government seems to have been adapted.

But the treatise on Civil Government is remarkable for the justness of many of its economical views. The author has analyzed the nature of labour and its operation upon the value of products, with a discrimination and correctness that no other writer previous to Smith has exhibited.

Hobbes, indeed, in this as in many other points, seems strangely enough to have anticipated Locke; and but for his slavish principles, which were so utterly opposed to the liberal views of the latter, there would seem to be good ground of suspicion that Locke was greatly indebted to the philosopher of Malmesbury. The *Leviathan*, Hobbes' great work, was published about forty years previous to the *Essays on Government*, and presents us with some hints which sufficiently show that its author apprehended the effects of industry upon the value of products.*

But Locke first gave the evolution of this principle, and in a manner peculiarly his own—clear, full and practical. "It is labour, indeed,"† he says, "that puts the difference of value on every thing; and let any one consider what the difference is between an acre, &c., &c." (as in Book II. § 40.) He illustrates this position by tracing the course of the ordinary articles of sustenance through the several stages, before they are applied to use: and very strikingly observes: "It would be a strange cata-

* See Chap. 24 of *Leviathan*.

† See *Civil Government*. Book II. § 40, et seq.

logue of things that industry provided, &c., &c." (as at end of § 43. Book II.) In this manner did Locke fully anticipate the grounds upon which the political economy of the present day is founded.

In his *Considerations of the lowering of interest and raising the value of money*,* he takes a sound and philosophical view of the question:—whether the rate of interest of money can be regulated by law? This is one of the questions of state policy, upon which there seems to be little difference of opinion among theoretical writers, but which has been differently exhibited in the practice of governments. Locke, Montesquieu, Smith, Hume, Bentham, and the later economists generally, have advocated a liberal principle in regard to it; it seems, however, that statutory regulations to protect the poor or unfortunate borrower are necessary, at least in the same degree as other contracts and transactions among individuals are supervised by municipal laws. In stating the natural law which regulates the rate of interest, Locke has incidentally fallen into an error which a more complete analysis would have detected. He lays it down that the want of money alone regulates its price; that with an increase of the supply of money, the rate of interest will diminish, and that with a diminution it will increase.† The fallacy consists in this, that it is not the quantity of capital alone that regulates the price, but the rate of profits which the borrower may receive from his investments; it is its worth to him in disposable capital. In other words, it is the demand co-operating with the supply of this capital that regulates the natural rate of interest.

An erroneous assumption of some importance occurs in this work. "Taxes," he says, "however contrived and out of whose hands soever immediately taken, do, in a country where their great fund is in land, for the most part terminate upon land." This is evidently inconsistent with his own principles as conveyed in the passage quoted above from his treatise on government; for, if the foundation of value be labour, taxes must legitimately fall upon the productions of industry in whatever form they may appear, and not exclusively upon land.

These imperfections do not, however, render the many useful and practical observations which are here found, less valuable in themselves. His supplementary tract on the same subject,‡ written at the request of Lord Keeper Somers, also possesses great merit. In consequence of the extensive frauds practised on the coin, and the embarrassing state of the finances, the government

* Published in 1691.

† Locke's Works, vol. iv. p. 7, et alt.

‡ Further Considerations concerning Raising the value of Money.

became alarmed, and Mr. Lowndes and others advised a degradation of the standard—a temporary remedy which was resisted by the Lord Keeper, but advocated by many writers and supported by a large minority in parliament. Happily for the country, Locke's views prevailed, by exposing its dishonesty towards creditors, and by showing the confusion and injury that would result to the state from its adoption.

"The difference," says Lord King, "between the embarrassments which affected the country in the time of king William, and those which have occurred in our own time, may be thus stated: the coin at the period first mentioned, had been deteriorated by the frauds of individuals and the neglect of the public; but when the evil was felt, and the remedy pointed out, the Parliament, notwithstanding the pressure of the war and the false theories of the practical men of those days, applied the proper remedy at the proper time, before any great permanent debt had been incurred. In our own time the depreciation of the currency was entirely to be attributed to the Bank and the Government. The paper money of a banking company without the one indispensable condition of security against excesses, *payment in specie on demand*, was in an evil hour substituted in place of the King's lawful coin; and in order that the minister might avoid the imputation of being an unskilful financier, who borrowed money on unfavourable terms, a debt of unexampled magnitude was accumulated in a debased currency, to be ultimately discharged by payment in specie at the full and lawful standard. It must be confessed, that by the tardy act of retributive justice which was passed in 1819, the punishment inflicted upon the nation was in exact proportion to the former deviations from good faith and sound principle, and we may at least hope that the severity of the penalty will prevent for the future a repetition of the same folly." Vol. ii. pp. 4, 5.

We have thus glanced at most of the works of Locke. It will doubtless have been observed by our readers that his mind possessed a peculiar aptitude for every subject of human inquiry. If he critically examined the profound and the speculative, he also engaged in the less abstruse and practical; and truly, he touched nothing which he did not place under a more useful aspect. Although so various, his works are not so unequal as might have been expected. In all, the same richness and elevation of thought is perceived, and the same *curiosa felicitas* of style and expression. Common subjects are treated in a plain and homely but forcible manner, and do not grow and assume paradoxical forms under his hands. His treatises on Education and on the Conduct of the Understanding, which are generally classed together, we have not yet noticed. Of all his works, however, except the Essay, they are most known and esteemed out of his own country. Though they abound with much that is excellent and just, with important rules and suggestions, they display less originality than any of the works which we have noticed, and a far less distinctive character. Instead, therefore, of venturing any observations upon them, we shall give here a synopsis of his views in the excellent Article on Study which occurs in his Journal as preserved in the present volumes, and which is worthy of every attention.

The end of study, he declares, is knowledge, and the end of knowledge, practice and communication. But the domain of knowledge is so boundless, the duration of life so limited, and our faculties so few and circumscribed, that it is necessary to decline every thing that does not immediately contribute to substantial improvement: and, First, to reject all those words and phrases which have been invented and employed only to instruct and amuse men in the art of disputation, in as much as "the art to fence with those which are called subtleties, is of no more use than it would be to be dexterous in tying and untying knots in cobwebs." Second, not to be anxious to know the opinions of other men, since truth needs no recommendation, and error is not improved by such knowledge. Reason should be our sole judge; and our acquaintance with the variety and extravagance of men's opinions can only serve to instruct us in the ignorance and pride of mankind. Third, "purity of language, a polished style, or exact criticisms in foreign languages," are to be eschewed. They constitute but an outside—a handsome dress of truth or falsehood, and make the man of fashion rather than the wise and useful one. Proficiency in one's own language, however, is of the highest moment. Fourth, to dispense with antiquity and history, as far as they are designed only to furnish us with story and conversation—and as far as they are read merely as tales that are told. But to one who has well "settled in his mind the principles of morality, and knows how to make a judgment on the actions of men, history is one of the most useful studies he can apply himself to." Fifth, to avoid nice questions and useless speculations. All these parts of knowledge, however, are not to be accounted absolutely useless; but, on the contrary, the four last may engage the attention of particular and individual persons; inasmuch as they serve very frequently to make clear and confirm important doctrines.

In the direction of our studies, we should attend, one, to the knowledge which may guide us to Heaven, our great business and interest; two, to the study of prudence, which tends to render a man happy in himself and useful to others; and three, to the proper business of our callings. We are, however, admonished, by the weakness both of our minds and bodies, that we must hold up, lest we accomplish nothing, in our zeal to do a great deal. The following beautiful passage we must extract without attempt at condensation.

"The knowledge we acquire in this world I am apt to think extends not beyond the limits of this life. The beatific vision of the other life needs not the help of this dim twilight; but be that as it will, I am sure the principal end why we are to get knowledge here, is to make use of it for the benefit of ourselves and others in this world; but if by gaining it we destroy our health, we labour for a thing that will be useless in our hands; and if by harassing our bodies (though with a design to render ourselves more useful) we deprive ourselves

of the abilities and opportunities of doing that good we might have done with a meaner talent, which God thought sufficient for us by having denied us the strength to improve it to that pitch which men of stronger constitutions can attain to, we rob God of so much service, and our neighbour of all that help, which, in a state of health, with moderate knowledge, we might have been able to perform. He that sinks his vessel by overloading it, though it be with gold and silver and precious stones, will give his owner but an ill account of his voyage."

With our minds and bodies fitly prepared and exercised, it is further necessary that we bring to our studies and to our inquiries after knowledge, a desire of truth, however homely and unfashionable it may appear,—a disposition of mind which all studious men profess to have, but in which many of them are exceedingly deficient. We should endeavour to obtain a clear idea of things as they exist in themselves, without seeking after dexterity in argument. We should, besides, not be either too confident or too distrustful of our own judgment, since we are in a state of mediocrity, endowed with faculties well suited to some purposes though very unequal for others. Of course we should understand what are the proper objects of our inquiries; and these may be considered as consisting in "the improvement of natural experiments for the conveniences of this life, and the way of ordering ourselves so as to attain happiness in the other—i. e. moral philosophy, which comprehends religion too, or a man's whole duty." With each subject we should consider and know of what proofs it is capable, and not expect other kind of evidence than the nature of the thing will allow. Finally we should study ourselves, our abilities and our defects.

"It is too obvious a thing to mention the reading only the best authors on those subjects we would inform ourselves in. The reading of bad books is not only the loss of time and standing still, but going backwards quite out of one's way; and he that has his head filled with wrong notions is much more at a distance from truth than he that is perfectly ignorant.

"I will only say this one thing concerning books, that however it has got the name, yet converse with books is not, in my opinion, the principal part of study; there are two others that ought to be joined with it, each whereof contributes their share to our improvement in knowledge: and those are meditation and discourse. Reading, methinks, is but collecting the rough materials, amongst which a great deal must be laid aside as useless. Meditation is, as it were, choosing and fitting the materials, framing the timbers, squaring and laying the stones, and raising the building; and discourse with a friend (for wrangling in a dispute is of little use,) is, as it were, surveying the structure, walking in the rooms, and observing the symmetry and agreement of the parts, taking notice of the solidity or defects of the works, and the best way to find out and correct what is amiss; besides that it helps often to discover truths, and fix them in our minds as much as either of the other two."

If Locke was fortunate in the time in which he lived for the exhibition of his varied and original powers, he was no less so in the character of his contemporaries, some of whom it is but reasonable to believe, gave a cast to his mind and a turn to his intellectual efforts. Of these Newton holds the principal place;

he was the correspondent and intimate friend of Locke. Their minds laboured in harmonious co-operation; frequently withdrawing from their peculiar studies to meet in some common field; but ever ardent after truth, and almost equally successful in its pursuit. Both were deeply imbued with a sense of the Divine presence, and of the revelation of God to man; both felt how glorious were the attributes of the Deity, and how incomprehensible and humbling to human nature the power which forced light from darkness, and which created the Universe. Equally sensible were they of the value and importance of the experimental mode of philosophizing. They could too, let down their minds, the one from his sublime speculations about the great eternity of the Universe, the other from his psychological inquiries, and from his examinations into the internal operations of the mind, to discourse of ocular phantasms, of the multiplication of metals, of red earth, and of controverted texts of scripture. Indeed, in respect to this, we know not where to look for the record of individuals whose sense of their own merits was more humble, and who formed a more just estimate of the inferiority of human pretensions.

The correspondence of these great men affords us an interesting view of their private characters. It displays at once the goodness and greatness of Newton, and shows how his pure and generous nature rose above prejudice and duplicity, as did his mind soar beyond the confines of the knowledge of his time. The simplicity of purpose which adorned his private relations, and gave to his soul a "grace beyond the reach of art," gained him the universal admiration and esteem of his contemporaries, as far as any occasion might arise to exhibit it. We know, however, of no memorial of his simplicity and magnanimity, so affecting, and so honourable to him as the following letter, the whole of which Lord King has now just given to the world.

"SIR,—Being of opinion that you endeavoured to embroil me with women and by other means, I was so much affected with it, as that when one told me you were sickly and would not live, I answered, 'twere better if you were dead. I desire you to forgive me this uncharitableness. For I am now satisfied that what you have done is just, and I beg your pardon for my having had thoughts of you for it, and for representing that you struck at the root of morality, in a principle you laid down in your book of ideas, and designed to pursue in another book, and that I took you for a Hobbit. I beg your pardon also for saying or thinking that there was a design to sell me an office, or to embroil me.

"I am your most humble and unfortunate servant,

"Is. NEWTON.

"*At the Bull, in Shoreditch, London, Sept. 16th, 1693.*"

The reply of Locke is so delicately reproachful, so forgiving and with all so dignified, that we esteem it altogether an unequalled exhibition of a great mind in an arduous situation, and as such to deserve all preservation. The two letters cannot be separated or mutilated.

OATES, Oct. 5th, 93.

"SIR,—I have been ever since I first knew you, so entirely and sincerely your friend, and thought you so much mine, that I could not have believed what you tell me yourself, had I had it from any body else. And though I cannot but be mightily troubled that you should have had so many wrong and unjust thoughts of me, yet next to the return of good offices, such as from a sincere good will I have ever done you, I receive your acknowledgment of the contrary as the kindest thing you could have done me, since it gives me hopes that I have not lost a friend I so much valued. After what your letter expresses, I shall not need to say any thing to justify myself to you. I shall always think your own reflection on my carriage both to you and all mankind, will sufficiently do that. Instead of that, give me leave to assure you, that I am more ready to forgive you than you can be to desire it; and I do it so freely and fully, that I wish for nothing more than the opportunity to convince you that I truly love and esteem you; and that I have still the same good will for you as if nothing of this had happened. To confirm this to you more fully, I should be glad to meet you any where, and the rather, because the conclusion of your letter makes me apprehend it would not be wholly useless to you. But whether you think it fit or not, I leave wholly to you. I shall always be ready to serve you to my utmost, in any way you shall like, and shall only need your commands or permission to do it.

"My book is going to the press for a second edition; and though I can answer for the design with which I writ it, yet since you have so opportunely given me notice of what you have said of it, I should take it as a favour if you would point out to me the places that gave occasion to that censure, that by explaining myself better, I may avoid being mistaken by others, or unawares doing the least prejudice to truth or virtue. I am sure you are so much a friend to them both, that were you none to me, I could expect this from you. But I cannot doubt but you would do a great deal more than this for my sake, who after all have all the concern of a friend for you, wish you extremely well, and am without compliment."

"The draft of the letter is indorsed 'J. L. to I. Newton.'"

We have read these letters repeatedly, and each time with renewed pleasure. It was this purity and singleness of heart that gained for Newton, more perhaps than for any man before or since, the passionate affection of his countrymen. It warmed the hearts of his contemporaries and secured him the lively esteem of John Locke.

An intimacy which Locke accidentally formed in the earlier period of his career, had, it may be presumed, a still more marked influence upon his life, his pursuits, and his opinions. This was with Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury. They first met at Oxford, whither Lord Ashley had gone to obtain relief from the waters of Astrop for an abscess in his breast. The physician who had undertaken to receive the invalid being absent, engaged Locke to supply his place. The affability of Locke, and his strength and originality of mind, thus casually gained for him the friendship and esteem of one of the most influential men of his time; one too, in whom he ever confided through all his varied fortunes.

Shaftesbury is well known as one of the members of the celebrated cabal administration, whose power, though of short duration, contributed greatly to the corrupt character of the reign of Charles II. The testimony which Locke himself has left of the

penetration, the quickness, and the intuitive knowledge of character of his distinguished friend, as also of his superiority over vulgar prejudices, would seem to countervail the almost universal condemnation which his contemporaries, and subsequent historians, have passed upon him. Indeed, without appearing as his apologists, we may safely say that Shaftesbury has hardly had due justice meted out to his memory. The *habeas corpus* act passed during this reign, originated with him, and though the immunity from imprisonment had been already secured by Magna Charta, it still enlarged that provision and greatly extended the privileges of the British subject. The great crime of Shaftesbury consisted in his being a party leader of surpassing shrewdness and efficiency, and possessed of talents equal to any and every emergence in the state of parties. There have been many men of immeasurably less principle and natural powers, who have received the unqualified plaudits of their countrymen.

The true character of a partisan leader is ever liable to misconception by those who are removed from the vortex of politics, and who look upon its windings with uninterested feelings. The errors of the actor may be those of the head rather than of the heart. He may seem, indeed, at times, to lose his moral equilibrium and to incline fearfully from the line of truth and honesty; but he is generally surveyed through a false medium. He seems ever impetuous, headstrong, regardless of consequences, yet no one is more collected or wary. His ambition at times may appear "vauntingly to o'erleap itself," yet men are never more frequently mistaken. The veteran party leader is a perfect anomaly. In his private relations, courteous, bland, of easy approach and conversation, he always creates a favourable impression of his character. In his public life he seems to his adversaries stern and unfeeling, oftentimes corrupt and vicious. He is idolized by one set of men, denounced by another. There are few moderate opinionists in regard to him. Yet a month—a week may see him the reproach of his former friends and the pride of his previous enemies. In truth, his schemes, his objects, his springs of action, are unknown to any but himself. Like the personification of Fame, *caput inter nubila condit*. He is a moral phenomenon, an animated mystery, a breathing enigma. Such was Shaftesbury.* We can of course acquit him of much criminality.

* Burnet says of him: "He had a particular talent to make others trust to his judgment and depend on it: and he brought over so many to a submission to his opinion, that I never knew any man equal to him in the art of governing parties and of making himself the head of them. His strength lay in the knowledge of England, and of all the considerable men in it. He understood well the size of their understandings, and their tempers." He seems to have completely deceived the worthy Bishop, who further remarks: "He had the dotage of astrology in him to a high degree. He told me that a Dutch Doctor had from the stars

It is true, his tergiversations were great, but not more than of many of late times. He sat too upon the trial of the regicides, but he only raised an ambitious sail for the popular breeze. He was not a vicious man we may believe, as no one could have known him better than Locke, and no one would have condemned his principles sooner. It has occurred to us that on many points Lord Shaftesbury bore a striking resemblance to Bolingbroke. But sufficient has been said of him; and of one who was honoured and beloved by Locke we could not say less.

We dismiss these volumes with the sincere hope that the life of their distinguished subject may be written in a form that will, at least, present a connected history of his labours and fortunes, for the study of the inquirer after truth, and of the advocate for liberty.

ART. V.—*The Speech of Thomas Marshall, in the House of Delegates of Virginia, on the Abolition of Slavery. Delivered, Friday, January 20, 1832. Richmond: pp. 12.*

THE debate in the Legislature of Virginia at its last session is, beyond all question, the event which most materially affects the prospects of negro slavery in the United States. Every thing tells of a spirit that is busy inspecting the very foundations of society in Virginia—a spirit new, suddenly created, and vaster in its grasp than any hitherto called forth in her history. There is a serious disposition to look the evil of slavery (nothing less!) in the face, and to cast about for some method of diminishing or extirpating it. Causes not now needful to be named, have given birth to this disposition, so little to have been anticipated two years ago. The possibility of ridding Virginia of the evil of slavery in our generation, in that of our children, or of our grandchildren, is suddenly made the legitimate subject of temperate debate. We shall presume to speak of it therefore in a temper of becoming gravity, and we hope without danger of giving offence to any one.

It matters not though a majority of the people of Virginia be not, in the first moment, willing to adopt or even to consider plans already prepared for diminishing the mischiefs of slavery. It matters not, though it were conceded, that all the plans suggested last winter in the House of Delegates, were marked with the crudeness of inexperience, and the inadvertence of haste, and

foretold him the whole series of his life. But that which was before him, when he told me this, proved false, if he told me true." *Hist. Own Times*, vol. i. pp. 132, 133.

would all require to be abandoned for others more mature. It matters not, though it were conceded, that a becoming regard for public decency forbade any final step on so perilous a subject in the very first year of its agitation. We fix our eyes on the single circumstance, that the public mind of Virginia permitted, nay encouraged, the open deliberations of the General Assembly, for weeks, on the momentous topic never before thought fit to be mentioned but in a whisper. The first blow has been struck: the greatest achievement that the cause of emancipation admitted, was then effected. *Le grand mot est lâché*—the great word is spoken out, and can never be recalled. Debate and speculation are on the instant made legitimate. The secret pulsation of so many hearts, sick with the despair of an evil they dared not propose to remedy, has now found a voice, and the wide air has rung with it.

We rejoice that we live to see this subject thrown into the vast field, in which are to be found so many of the prime interests of the human race—the same from which the ancient tragic poets derived their groundwork: the warfare between liberty and necessity, or more accurately, the sublime strife between the desirable and the actual. We rejoice; that full of doubts, embarrassments, and dangers, as is the thought of attacking the evil, as near alike to the attributes of Fate as seems its defiance of opposition, the obdurate unchangeableness of it even in degree, yet it is thrown open to speculation and experiment, and now stands fairly exposed to assault from the great Crusaders which have thus far redeemed our mortal condition from barbarism and misery—the unconquerable free will and undying hope. No mortal evil can for ever withstand this open war; these its antagonist principles will be like the undercurrent at sea, “that draws a thousand waves unto itself,” will strive against obstacle, repair disaster, and convert all the contemporary events into good for their cause. Recent occurrences in the political history of foreign countries abundantly exemplify this fact.

The seal is now broken. We exhort the sons of Virginia to toil for the diminution of this evil, with all the prudence, the delicacy, and gravity requisite in the application of a great public remedy to a wide-spread disease. And in the worst event, let them rest assured that history has few places more enviable than would be the lot of the last advocate, who, left without allies, should come, in the grand language of Milton’s prose, “through the chance of good or of evil report, to be the **SOLE ADVOCATE OF A DISCOURAGED TRUTH.**”*

We fix not our expectations so much on legislative enactments: as far as these are compulsory and proceed only from a division

* Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.

in the minds of men, we deprecate them. But we direct our anticipations to the general will of the people of the state. Let reason and persuasion be the instruments of promoting a voluntary action. Until not merely a majority, but a great majority of the freemen of Virginia be convinced, persuaded, moved to demand liberation from the ruin that is consuming the land, there will be unworthy rudeness and indecorum in bringing in the violence of a new statute to begin the work of purification. She is now in the breathing space after the first mention of it; the spontaneous burst of agitated feeling of last winter shall either perish, or resolve itself into a wise, patient, judicious movement. The summer will have witnessed, by the temper it has matured in her, whether Virginia is capable—not of deep sensibility to supposed claims of patriotism; that the world knows her to possess—not of gusts of enthusiasm for purposes that are lifted above selfish cupidity; all, who know her, have witnessed her passionate attachment to abstract truth, her susceptibility of lasting emotions in its behalf, and her readiness for every mode of self-denial, of privation and self-sacrifice.—But we are to witness whether, recalling her affections from the distant objects to which they have certainly been too exclusively devoted, she is adequate to manage her own possible destiny for good; whether she is framed for that high sort of civil prudence which knows how to project a vast plan of heroic justice, that it will require generations of men of the same temper to execute. We do not hesitate to believe that the ultimate result is not dubious: we repose the fullest confidence in Virginia, the mother of so many colonized commonwealths.

Unhappy America! how portentous a fate has proved hers! It was not enough that the dowry which she brought to Europe when first discovered, the bountiful millions which her mines of gold and silver yielded in the first hundred years, served only to enable Ferdinand, Charles V., and Philip II., to establish the Inquisition, and to crush the freedom of conscience by long and bloody wars, which nothing but American gold could have supported! It was not enough that her fine race of generous barbarians, (the finest the world ever saw) were to perish before the face of civilizing man! But she must suffer too, the pollution of being used as if discovered solely for the wo of Africa! To the discovery of this continent is due the existence in the world to-day of a single slave with a Christian master.

It was in 1620, thirteen years after the first settlement of Jamestown, that a Dutch vessel from the Coast of Guinea sailed up James River, and brought the first slave into British America. We can almost see the hateful form of the slaver, as with her cargo of crime and misery, “rigged with curses,” she bursts into the silent Chesapeake. We see her keel ploughing the pure, be-

cause yet free, waters, and now nearing the English plantations. Fatal, fatal ship!—What does she there? Can it indeed be that she comes (and so soon!) to pour the deadliest of hereditary woes into our cradle? How durst the loathsome freight she bears, the accursed shape of slavery intrude itself, of all lands on the earth, upon this vestal soil? How thrust itself among a race of Anglo-Saxon men in the seventeenth century? how bring its deformity athwart the bold and noble sweep of the common law, to mar it all? how mix its curses up (to a greater or less degree in all the British Colonies) with the mass of all our acts, at our hearths, our public councils, and our altars, and bring pollution to our childhood and decrepitude to our youth? On a land set apart by Providence for the best growth of manhood—where *Magna Charta*, the *Petition of Rights*, the *Habeas Corpus*, the *Bill of Rights*, and last, but greatest, the profession in their fulness and sincerity of the grand, transcendent rights of reason and nature, of liberty and equality, were to have their deepest roots;—a land the world's refuge and the world's hope;—how shall we not weep when the ineradicable seeds are here planted, that shall curse with contradiction and inconsistency all the height of its pride, and make the manly and dilated heart, in the midst of its triumph at one side of its condition, faint and sick, sick to the core with the dust and ashes of the other side!

We have put the truly statesmanlike speech of the son of the Chief Justice of the United States at the head of this article, because we believe it expresses the opinions of a majority of reflecting men in Virginia, and because it coincides more nearly with our own views than any of the other speeches in that debate. If it be inferior in fervid eloquence to some of the others, it possesses the rarer merit of coolness, impartiality, decision, and uncommon political sagacity. We cannot adequately express the satisfaction its perusal gave us, without running into panegyric, which we are sure would be little acceptable to him. Mr. Marshall voted as well against Mr. T. J. Randolph's motion for submitting the question of abolition at once to the people, and Mr. Preston's declaring immediate action by the legislature then sitting to be expedient, as against Mr. Goode's motion to discharge the select committee from the consideration of all petitions, memorials, and resolutions which had for their object the manumission of persons held in servitude under the laws of Virginia, and thus declare it not expedient to legislate at all on the subject. As regards the two first motions, Mr. Marshall believed that the public mind was not yet prepared for the question of abolition; that the members of that session were not elected in reference to it; and that there were other modes of ascertaining public sentiment on that great question, less agitating than would the forcing it upon the people for promiscuous discussion. He objected fur-

ther to Mr. Randolph's proposition (which embraced only one plan of abolition—that fixing the year 1840 as the time after which all slaves born should be declared public property,) because it was too specific, and instead of merely asserting a principle, offered a peculiar plan obnoxious to many objections. But he had still greater objections to Mr. Goode's motion to dismiss the subject wholly from the consideration of the house, with the implied understanding that the legislature decidedly repelled all invitations to deliberate on the possibility of diminishing the evils of slavery. He declared himself entirely convinced that slavery was fruitful of many woes to Virginia, that a general sense of *insecurity* pervaded the state, and that the citizens were deeply impressed with the conviction that something must be done. He said that there were sure indications that some action is imperatively required of the legislature by the people—that the evil has attained a magnitude, which demands all the skill and energy of prompt and able legislation. He follows up this opinion with much valuable illustration and a number of useful practical suggestions. Without entirely assenting to the objections of Mr. Marshall to the two first motions above named, we are delighted with the general tone of his remarks.

Before beginning to unfold more fully our own views of the present exigency in Virginia, we take occasion to declare distinctly that our purpose is not by overcharged pictures of the iniquity of slavery, or the cruel lot of the slaves, to raise a storm of gratuitous indignation in the minds of the people of the United States against Virginia. We believe that there is not the slightest moral turpitude in holding slaves under existing circumstances in the south. We *know* too that the ordinary condition of slaves in Virginia is *not* such as to make humanity weep for his lot. Our solicitations to the slaveholders, it will be perceived, are founded but little on *the miseries of the blacks*. We direct ourselves almost exclusively to the injuries slavery inflicts on the whites. And of these evils suffered by the whites, the evil consequences of practising the immorality of slaveholding will not be our mark. Reproach and recrimination on such a subject would answer no good purpose; it would naturally provoke defiance from the slaveholders. All the eloquent invectives of the British abolitionists have not made one convert in the West Indies. This is no part of our humour. It is *our* object to lure Virginia onward in her present hopeful state of mind. We mean to confine every word we write to Virginia. The whole scope of this article will be *to show the necessity of her promptly doing something to check the palpable mischiefs her prosperity is suffering from slavery*. We design to show that all her sources of *economical* prosperity are poisoned by slavery, and we shall hint at its moral evils only as they occasion or imply destruction

to the real prosperity of a nation. Unless we first make this position impregnable, we shall ask no one to sacrifice merely to abstract humanity and justice. Nor shall we insist on Virginia's beginning action on this momentous subject, until we have shown that her genuine ultimate interest will be promoted by it. The best way of persuading men of this world to deeds which involve the sacrifice of present interests, is to convince them that a greater prospective interest may be thereby secured. We shall strive then to procure the concurrence of self-interest as well as the approbation of humanity. Hence, even should we succeed in making out our case as to Virginia, it will be instantly remarked that we have said very little that will touch South Carolina and Georgia, and scarcely any thing applicable to Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. If the prosperity of any of these is founded in circumstances of soil, climate, products, &c., of such nature and degree, as that it will not sink under the precarious specific (neck or nothing) of slave labour, *à la bonne heure*—let them go on. This is undoubtedly the case more or less of the sugar, cotton, and rice plantation states. But it is not the case of Virginia. We propose to treat

I. Of the injury slavery does to the prosperity of Virginia. Let us cursorily indicate some of the evils which the experience of the United States shows to be consequent on slavery under ordinary circumstances, some of which Virginia has suffered in common with other states, and of some of which she has been peculiarly the victim. 1. An inertness of most of the springs of prosperity—a want of what is commonly called public spirit.—2. Where slave labour prevails, it is scarcely practicable for free labour to co-exist with it to any great extent. Not that the latter would not deserve the preference, both for cheapness and efficiency, but that many obvious causes conspire to prevent the rivalry being perseveringly sustained. Freedom being itself regarded as a privilege in a nation that has slaves, there is a natural tendency to consider exemption from manual labour as the chief mark of elevation above the class of slaves. In a republic this tendency is vastly increased. A disposition to look on all manual labour as menial and degrading, may safely be set down as a distemper of the most disastrous kind. We shall not dilate on this. It must instantly be admitted that nothing can compensate a nation for the destruction of all the virtues which flow from mere industry. Virginia has experienced this most signally: had her slave labour been ten times as productive as it has been, and grant that she possesses all the lofty qualities ever claimed for her in their highest degree, she would still have been the loser by contracting this ruinous disposition. Nothing but the most abject necessity would lead a white man to hire himself to work in the fields under the overseer, and we must say that we cannot

refuse to sympathize with the free labourer who finds it irksome to perform hard work by the side of a slave.—3. Agriculture is the best basis of national wealth. “Arts,” says that eminent farmer Mr. John Taylor of Caroline, “improve the works of nature; when they injure it they are not arts but barbarous customs. It is the office of agriculture as an art not to impoverish, but to fertilize the soil and make it more useful than in its natural state. Such is the effect of every species of agriculture which can aspire to the name of an art.” Now it is a truth that an *improving* system of agriculture cannot be carried on by slaves. The negligent wasteful habits of slaves who are not interested in the estate, and the exacting cupidity of transient overseers who are interested in extorting from the earth the greatest amount of production, render all slave agriculture invariably exhausting. How many plantations worked by slaves are there in Virginia which are not perceptibly suffering the sure process of exhaustion? Perhaps not one, except a few on the water courses, composed of the alluvial soils which are virtually inexhaustible. The uncertainty of the profits of a crop generally deters the planters in Virginia from giving standing wages to their overseers—indeed, it has too often happened that the salary of the overseer has absorbed all the proceeds. Hence it is usual to give him, instead of salary, a share of the crop. The murderous effects of this on the fertility of the soil may well be conceived. An estate submitted to overseers entitled to a share of the crop, (who are changed of course, almost yearly) suffers a thousandfold more than would English farms put out on leases of one or two years to fresh lessees. Twenty-one years is thought too short a term there.—4. It is a fact that no soil but the richest, and that in effect inexhaustible, can be profitably cultivated by slaves. In the Legislature of Virginia it was repeatedly said that her lands were poor, and for that reason none but slaves could be brought to work them well. On the contrary, poor lands and those of moderate fertility can never repay the expense of slave labour, or bear up under the vices of that slovenly system.—5. In modern times, in most cases where slave labour prevails, it has been found in plantation states and colonies. There are many obvious reasons why, if profitable any where, it must only be there. Now, if this be the case, it would appear that slavery to be profitable is essentially incompatible with a dense population—at all events, with a relatively dense population of freemen. No country can afford to be given up exclusively to agriculture in the shape of plantation tillage, or to devote the entire attention of all the men it rears to that occupation, except its soil be extremely fertile and its products of the richest nature. Under other circumstances, the soil and products not making adequate returns, there is a vast waste of capabilities for other purposes, which the surface

of many countries might well answer.—6. It seems agreed among the economists of the south that slaves are unfit for the business of manufactures. A most sensible essay was published in Philadelphia in 1827 by Dr. Jones, afterwards superintendent of the Patent Office at Washington, to show that slaves are not necessarily unfit for this employment. We were persuaded at the time, that, if his position were true, it would prove the most important of all suggestions in an economical view, to Virginia. It has surprised us, indeed, that the advocates of the perpetuity of slavery in Virginia have not seen the immense advantage of such an argument to their side of the question. But the entire current of opinion in the south (led by an invincible sentiment of hostility to the protective system) is that states where slave labour prevails, and where the whole capital for labour is vested in slaves, cannot manufacture. It will need no words to show what an injury this voluntary disability inflicts on a country which may happen to have the most felicitous capacities for manufactures.—7. Where slave labour prevails, it would appear that the rearing a large class of skilful mechanics is greatly discouraged. The slaves themselves of course never make mechanics except of the coarsest description. Although the whites in the cities are not entirely averse to becoming artisans, yet, in the country, the natural policy of the rich planters to have mechanics among their slaves to do all the needful business on their estates, deprives the white mechanics of their chief encouragement to perfect themselves in their trades, diminishes the demand for their services, and generally has the effect of expelling them from one neighbourhood to another until they finally expatriate themselves.—8. Slave labour is, without controversy, dearer than free. It suffices to state, that in the one case you have a class of labourers that have a direct interest in doing and saving as little as possible, so that they barely escape punishment; in the other a class, every member of which has a direct interest in producing and saving as much as possible. But this position is too well established to justify any one in an argument to prove it. The categories wherein the contrary holds true are cumulatively: *a.* it must be in a plantation country; *b.* it must be in a soil extremely and inexhaustibly fertile; *c.* where the products are of the greatest value; *d.* and after all, it must be where white men cannot endure the climate and the nature of the cultivation.—9. The experience of the United States has shown that slavery decidedly discourages immigration (to use Dr. Southey's word) from foreign countries into the sections of country where it is prevalent. It is not a sufficient answer to this to say that the emigrants are in general allured to the United States by the temptation of the rich country in the west, so that slavery cannot be said to repel them from the southern states. It is not true of the best emigrants

that come to our shores, that they are intent on pushing into the pathless forest, to be there banished from all the blessings of a settled country. This is in fact the positive passion of none but the hardy native pioneers, the Boones of Vermont, of New-York, and Virginia. The Germans, for example, who are perhaps the most valuable of the emigrants to America, are not people who would prefer to make their home in the midst of the extreme discomforts and often cruel privations which the pioneers undergo. Besides, what repels all those emigrants who are not agriculturists, and whose occupations lead them among crowds of men? Of immigration into the slave-holding States, except in some of the western States, where the principle of slavery is not yet predominant, it may be said there is none. The emigrants understand that their hope of employment there is forestalled, that the only labour wanted is indigenous to the soil; they feel that that labour is incompatible with their own, and they shrink from the idea of giving their children, who are to live by manual labour, a home in a slave-labour land, while fair regions, dedicated as well to domestic as to civil freedom, tempt their adventurous footsteps. With this evil may be classed the tendency of the whites of these States to emigrate from the soil of their birth.—10. Slavery begets inevitably a train of habits and opinions which, to say the least, are destructive of all those springs of prosperity which depend on economy, frugality, enterprise. Young people bred up to be maintained by slaves are apt to imbibe improvident habits. Of its favourable operation on the spirit of liberty in the whites, we are not disposed to question the well known opinion of Mr. Burke: the passage we refer to, is itself an evidence of the profound knowledge he possessed of the human heart. We consider it truer, however, of the spirit of liberty in its aspect of resistance to foreign oppression: in its home aspect it is, we think, comparatively just. But as relates to its operation in equalizing the whites with each other, we throw out the suggestion without note or comment, that *no property gives rise to greater inequalities than slave property*. We question, too, whether it could well be maintained that the *beau ideal* of a nabob—(we use the word in its fair, not invidious sense,)—endow him with nobleness of soul, sensibility, the utmost delicacy of honour, generosity, and hospitality—is the finest specimen of our species. There are many solid and essential virtues (wholly disconnected with those named) which could not so well be dispensed with as some of those, in going to make up the being of whom *par excellence* nature might stand up and say “this is a man.”

We can now venture to define pretty accurately what sort of a country that must be, which having regard solely to the economical principles, is adapted to be for a long term of years a prosperous slave-labour State. It must possess an extremely

rich soil, hence under most circumstances be a comparatively small country, (otherwise the greater the difficulty of finding a uniformly fine soil, and consequently the impossibility of making the *whole* State flourish), in a latitude the products of which, from their scarcity in the world, the permanent demand for them, and the possibility of rearing them in but few spots on the globe, are sure of a market at high prices, where the culture of such crops requires that the slaves be worked together in bodies, so that the constant supervision necessary over them may be performed by a few whites, and finally in a climate so nearly tropical, or otherwise precarious, as to make the exposure and toil insupportable to free (say *white*) labourers. A country uniting all these requisites may be prosperous with slave labour. It possesses certain sources of wealth, by the help of which it may dispense with many others, that are the necessary resource of countries of moderate fertility, and which are under different general circumstances. Such a country seems to need the moral-economical springs less. It will of necessity contain a sparse white population, but it may be formidable in war from its superior relative wealth. The countries growing cotton, rice, and the sugar cane, bountifully, are of this description. For aught we know, Brazil may fall under the definition. The principal West India islands appear to be entitled to expect prosperity, (supposing no adverse adventitious circumstances) but Louisiana unites all the requisites more perfectly perhaps than any other country. South Carolina and Georgia do it but imperfectly, on account of there being so large a portion of both of them to which such description would not at all apply; Alabama and Mississippi do more perfectly than they. But it may boldly be said that *Virginia possesses scarcely a single requisite to make a prosperous slave-labour State.*

She has not the inexhaustible rich soils: her earth originally yielded fair returns to hard labour judiciously directed, but all such soils, as she has learned by bitter experience, are fated, under the hands of slaves, to deterioration down to utter barrenness. *She has too large a territory:* the curse of the presence of slaves and the monopoly of labour in their hands, is all over the State; the spots really adapted for profitable slave labour are few and scattered. *She has not the sort of products:* only a small part of the State produces cotton; the culture of tobacco, which was originally the general staple of Old Virginia Proper, after destroying immense tracts of good lands, is shrinking into a very diminished compass, and scarcely repays the cost of production under the average prices of the last fifteen years. If any one would cast his eye over the list of the Tobacco Inspections established by law, in the revised code of Virginia, he would smile to see places mentioned for inspection warehouses, in quarters

of Virginia where no man has ever seen a hundred weight of tobacco. Besides this, there is an unlimited competition springing up around her, to reduce prices to nothing. With regard to the crops of tobacco of the western states, we can say with confidence, that there is a regular annual increase in quantity, with great improvement in its curing and management; so that it is fast taking the place of Virginia tobacco for consumption in the leaf in the north of Europe, and as strips in Great Britain. The article of tobacco is now cultivated in Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Tennessee, and in Canada, as well as Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. The quantity raised is altogether too great for consumption. The other products of Virginia are the ordinary growth of all temperate, and most northern regions. *She has not the climate which would put slaves on the vantage ground above whites:* every part of her territory is adapted to the men of all climates, and she has not a foot of soil which nature declares that none but blacks shall cultivate, nor a product the cultivation of which demands lives and labours baser than those of white men. Tobacco is notoriously cultivated with success by whites in any part of the world, which is temperate enough to grow it. It is then a total miscalculation in every point of view—a false position for Virginia to have allotted to herself the exclusive labour of slaves.

But appeal is made to the history of the economy of Virginia to contradict this assertion. Is it demanded for instance, why Virginia should prosper before the Revolution as she did, with her slave labour, if there be a fatal error in her adoption of slavery? We may answer, that there is no great mystery in that. Virginia while a colony never did furnish the miracles of great and sudden fortunes which the West India and South Carolina nabobs used to exhibit in England. Adam Smith in his day made this remark. At that time fine tobacco was an article only grown in Virginia and Maryland, and the prices were relatively to the times very high; whereas now, and for all future time, a competition wholly beyond the conception of that day has completely revolutionized the market. But admit that the colony was very prosperous: if from this it is meant to argue that Virginia may again be so under the same system, we hope it will not at least be denied that the Revolution found almost all the lands which had been opened nearly or quite exhausted, showing plainly that the preceding hundred years had been passed in fits of profitable planting from the frequent resort to successive new lands. Mr. Taylor of Caroline had understood that 60,000 hogsheads of tobacco were exported from Virginia, when the whole population did not exceed 150,000. Had the fertility of the country by possibility remained undiminished, (as he says it would, if her slave agriculture had been any thing else than “a barbarous

custom," not an art,) Virginia ought in 1810 to have exported 240,000 hogsheads, or their equivalent in other produce, and at present nearly the double of that. Thus the agricultural exports of Virginia in 1810 would, at the estimated prices of the Custom House at that time, have been seventeen millions of dollars, and now at least thirty-four, while it is known that they are not of late years greater than from three to five millions! This will at once show that the great crops of the colonial times were forced, or we may say *exaggerated* by the possession of means, which will never again be in her hands.

The fact that the whole agricultural products of the State at present, do not exceed in value the exports eighty or ninety years ago, when it contained not a sixth of the population, and when not a third of the surface of the State (at present Virginia) was at all occupied, is however a very striking proof of the decline of its agriculture. What is now the productive value of an estate of land and negroes in Virginia? We state as the result of extensive inquiry, embracing the last fifteen years, that a very great proportion of the larger plantations, with from fifty to one hundred slaves, actually bring their proprietors in debt at the end of a short term of years, notwithstanding what would once in Virginia have been deemed very sheer economy; that much the larger part of the considerable landholders are content, if they barely meet their plantation expenses without a loss of capital; and that, of those who make any profit, it will in none but rare instances average more than one to one and a half per cent. on the capital invested. The case is not materially varied with the smaller proprietors. Mr. Randolph of Roanoke, whose sayings have so generally the raciness and the truth of proverbs, has repeatedly said in Congress, that the time was coming when the masters would run away from the slaves and be advertised by them in the public papers. A decided improvement in the Virginia system is taking place in some parts of the State, which consists in the abandonment of the culture of tobacco for that of wheat, Indian corn, &c., which can be produced on soil too poor for tobacco, requires fewer labourers, and will not be so apt to reduce the fertility of the soil still lower. This is a judicious thing in itself, but here again recurs the truth we have already set forth: plantations with such products as these never can be profitably managed with slave labour. Wheat and corn will not do for this; let the planter turn his sons in to work his lands, and then these products will suffice. Tobacco was the only article which ever could by possibility justify the expense of slave labour in Virginia; and now we see that the wiser planters are to a great degree withdrawing their lands from it.

There is however one way in which capital invested in slaves may be said to be productive. We will now let the reader into

a secret of slave-holding economy. The only form in which it can safely be said that slaves on a plantation are profitable in Virginia, is in the multiplication of their number by births. If the proprietor, beginning with a certain number of negroes, can but keep them for a few years from the hands of the sheriff or the slave trader, though their labour may have yielded him not a farthing of nett revenue, he finds that gradually but surely, his capital stock of negroes multiplies itself, and yields, if nothing else, a palpable interest of young negroes. While very young they occasion small expense, but they render none or small service; when grown up, their labour, as we have already seen, hardly does more than balance the expense they occasion. The process of multiplication will not in this way advance the master towards the point of a nett revenue; he is not the richer in income with the fifty slaves than with twenty. Yet these young negroes have their value: and what value? The value of the slaves so added to his number is the certain price for which they will at any time sell to the southern trader. Should the humanity of the proprietor, however, and his rare fortune in keeping out of debt, prevail on him never to treat his slaves as live stock for traffic, he finds himself incumbered with the same unproductive burden as before. That master alone finds productive value in his increase of slaves, who chooses to turn the increase of his capital, at regular intervals, into money at the highest market price! There are, we make haste to say, very many masters with whom it is a fixed rule never to sell a slave, except for incorrigibly bad character, so long as the pressure of necessity does not compel it. There are some who would feel it to be the wanton breach of a tie next in sanctity to the most sacred of the domestic relations. But such sensibility cannot be supposed to be universal. Accordingly, the State does derive a tangible profit from its slaves: this is true to the heart's content of the adversaries of abolition, and that by means of yearly sales to the negro traders. An account, on which we may rely, sets down the annual number of slaves sold to go out of the State at six thousand, or more than half the number of births! The population returns show only a yearly addition of four thousand eight hundred to the slaves remaining in the State. If all these sales were the result of the necessities of the masters, while it must for ever be lamented, it would at the same time be the most portentous proof of the financial ruin of the planters of the State. But if otherwise, if but a common course of business regularly gone into for profit, what volumes does it speak of the degradation to which slavery may reduce its supporters! And will "the aspiring blood of Lancaster" endure it to be said that a Guinea is still to be found in America, and that Guinea is Virginia? That children are reared with the express object of sale into distant regions,

and that in numbers but little less than the whole number of annual births? It may be that there is a small section of Virginia (perhaps we could indicate it) where the theory of population is studied with reference to the yearly income from the sale of slaves. Shall the profits to Virginia, from this contaminated source, be alleged as an economical argument to magnify the sacrifice involved in the abolition of slavery, and this too by statesmen who profess to execrate the African slave trade? For ourselves, we can see but little difference between this form of the internal slave trade and the African trade itself. But we have too deep a stake ourselves in the good name of the land of Washington and Jefferson, to be willing to admit that this form of profit from slaves is cherished by any but a very few persons. This is not then an income which Virginia loves to reap. She scorns those who resort to it, and will count lightly of the sacrifice which the extinction of this fountain of impure wealth would involve.

Banishing this then out of view, there is no productive value of slaves in Virginia. Shut up all outlet into the southern and southwestern States, and the price of slaves in Virginia would sink down to a cypher. Without the possibility of deriving from slave labour any of the benefits, by which in some countries it seems to compensate (whether adequately or not) for its pernicious moral effects, Virginia is cursed with an institution unproductive of good to her, and potent in mischiefs beyond all her fears. If ever there was a specific, which failing of its possible good effects, would induce irremediable pains, it is slavery. We check the struggling inclination to paint the woes Virginia has suffered from its miscarriage, in their true colours, but the truth would seem exaggeration. Take then the following temperate detail from the speech of Mr. Marshall, every word of which is true by the experience of Virginia:

“Wherefore, then, object to slavery? Because it is ruinous to the whites—retards improvement—roots out an industrious population—banishes the yeomanry of the country—deprives the spinner, the weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter, of employment and support. This evil admits of no remedy; it is increasing and will continue to increase, until the whole country will be inundated with one black wave covering its whole extent, with a few white faces here and there floating on the surface. The master has no capital but what is vested in [slaves:] the father, instead of being richer for his sons, is at a loss to provide for them—there is no diversity of occupations, no incentive to enterprise. Labour of every species is disreputable because performed mostly by slaves. Our towns are stationary, our villages almost every where declining, and the general aspect of the country marks the curse of a wasteful, idle, reckless population, who have no interest in the soil, and care not how much it is impoverished. Public improvements are neglected, and the entire continent does not present a region for which nature has done so much, and art so little. If cultivated by free labour, the soil of Virginia is capable of sustaining a dense population, among whom labour would be honourable, and where ‘the busy hum of men’ would tell that all were happy, and that all were free.”

Virginia has suffered, and is now suffering under all the ten specifications just given, and in a greater degree than any other of the slave-holding States could. Her statesmen and engineers mourn over her inertness of spirit for public improvements; her economists mourn over the little inclination of her citizens to labour of any kind; her agriculturists upbraid her for letting the soil sink into irrecoverable exhaustion, that she is burdened with the dearest sort of labour, and persists in applying to a country of originally moderate fertility, a system absolutely ruinous to any but the richest alluvial soils; that industry and frugality are banished; that she renders it virtually impossible to open a new source of wealth in manufactures, and that while the principle of population is almost stagnant among her whites, and her own sons are departing from her, she repulses by her domestic relations all the emigrants to America from the old world, who might else come in to repair her ruin. It is ridiculous to talk of the prosperity of a country wholly agricultural, with slave labour and exhausted lands. The proud homes of Virginia, from the Revolution down to this day, have been passing from the hands of their high-minded proprietors, to the humble overseers that used to *sit below the salt* at their board, and from them in their turn to some other newer *parvenus*: agriculture has failed to enrich. Of the white emigrants from Virginia, at least half are hard working men, who carry away with them little besides their tools and a stout heart of hope: the mechanic trades have failed to give them bread. Commerce she has little, shipping none, and it is a fact that the very staple of the state, tobacco, is not exported by her own capital—the state does virtually a commission business in it. All the sources of prosperity, moral and economical, are deadened; there is a general discontent with one's lot; in some of the first settled and choicest parts of her territory, symptoms are not wanting of desolate antiquity. And all this in youthful America, and in Virginia too, the fairest region of America, and with a race of people inferior to none in the world in its capacity to constitute a prosperous nation.

There are some facts disclosed by the population returns for 1830, which we are not aware have been fully brought to the public notice. Every one is now acquainted with the uncomfortable truth, that the whites east of the Blue Ridge had in 1790 a majority of 25,000, and that in the course of forty years they have not only lost it, but suffered the blacks to get an ascendancy in number to the extent of 81,000: thus the advance of the blacks is 106,000 in that half of the State in that period. But we may see by the subjoined table that there are not a few counties of middle as well as lower Virginia, (component parts of eastern Virginia) which have actually diminished in white population in the last ten years! The first five are counties between

the Blue Ridge and the head of tide-water; the others below the head of tide-water.

<i>Whites in 1820.</i>		<i>1830.</i>	<i>Whites in 1820.</i>		<i>1830.</i>
Brunswick	5889	5397	King & Queen	5460	4714
Amelia	3409	3293	King William	3449	3155
Goochland	3976	3857	Lancaster	2388	1976
Loudon	16144	15516	Northumberland	4134	4029
Mecklenburg	7710	7543	Sussex	4155	4118
Fairfax	6224	4892	Stafford	4788	4713
James City	1556	1284	Warwick	620	619

These counties at an average annual increase of three per cent. (which is sufficiently moderate) would have added more than 20,000 to their aggregate numbers; they have sustained a loss of near 5000 in ten years, which is fully one twelfth of their capital in 1820. Conjecturally the people in these counties are as prolific as elsewhere; emigration, the result of the characteristic ills of Virginia, has done most to occasion this loss. All of these are fine counties.

We freely grant that a slow increase of population is possible in a country where the utmost is made of all its resources, and that in certain cases it implies a higher degree of civilization, for prudence in such matters denotes civilization it seems. But unless the employment of prudential checks be suggested by danger of an overcrowded population, certainly they are little to be desired by statesmen. The unnecessary introduction of prudential checks leads to the application of means destined by Providence for the subsistence of men, to a thousand less worthy purposes; as, when that food, which would support the same number or double of human beings, is bestowed on pleasure, horses and dogs. Where population has not yet approximated the capacity of the country to furnish subsistence, it is premature and unhappy to begin the employment of too much prudence, to discourage marriages. In fact, this never will occur, unless some powerful agents have been at work to benumb, not merely the spring of population, but all the springs of prosperity. A very slow increase, or a diminution, would be an indication of want of prosperity not to be mistaken in most parts of the United States; for example, where subsistence is easy to obtain, and population can scarcely any where be said to have pressed on subsistence. It is said by some persons that the preventive checks (prudential) are in fuller operation in Virginia than in the north. We confess we had entertained an opposite idea. What is the usual age of marriages in Virginia and what in New England? Is forecast indeed more prevalent in Virginia than in New England? If this be indeed so, then unhappy causes must have been at work to produce it.

concerns to her and to every people! Let any one select for himself out of the pictures of the prosperity of the United States drawn in the books of travellers, of public economists, or of political speculators: Europe sighs at these bright sketches of transatlantic felicity; yet, of all these brilliant traits, how few are true of Virginia! Indeed though literally true of some parts of America, they are scarcely at all descriptive of this, or of any among the older slave-holding States. Suppose the war of American Independence had resulted in nothing but the establishment of the Atlantic slave-holding States as new sovereignties:—the world would have been still to seek for a home for the emigrants of all nations, and for the grand series of spectacles which are said to be the dearest sight in the eyes of the powers above: that of men congregating together to found new cities under just laws. Even as early as the date of the Federal Constitution, eastern Virginia had begun to show many of the symptoms of an old commonwealth: a tendency to decline, under the influence of an apathy almost on a level with that of the people of the Pope's dominions; while New-York appeared manifestly the cradle of a vast nation. It seems to us, we must confess, that of all the States, none is more unequivocally marked out by nature for the prosperous abode of a homogeneous race of freemen than Virginia. Her's is not a land which should have been stained by the tread of a slave. A philosopher who had surveyed the map of Virginia, noted between what degrees she is placed, with what a wealth of land and water she is endowed, and how she is rounded off into an empire to herself, would hear with amazement that she had suicidally adopted slave labour. We extract the following faithful picture from the official report of the principal engineer of Virginia for the year 1827:—

“No where has the kind hand of Providence been more profusely bountiful than in Virginia; blessed with a climate, and a fertile soil, producing cotton and the best tobacco, besides the common staples of the northern States, to which she even exports her flour; abounding with rich mines; her coal nearer to tide water than that of any other State. Virginia is no less favoured in her geographical position: she occupies in the Union an important central position, and the mouth of the Chesapeake, that fine harbour, always open, strongly protected against aggression, is equal even to that of New-York. [Add to this that no State is more blessed in the number, character, and distribution of her rivers.] She possesses, besides, perhaps more than any other State, the elements of manufactures; she has in abundance water power, coal, iron and raw materials. With these immense resources Virginia may ask why she is not the most flourishing State in the Union? Why she does not occupy the commercial station for which nature designed her? Circumstances purely accidental and temporary can alone have produced this state of things.”

It is food for irony, aye very bitter irony, to know that a country, thus made the fittest in the world for freemen, is not in fact good enough to be worked by slaves! We seem to have before us in her the image of a youthful power of the world lapsed from

her high destiny, and in the homage of filial awe and grief we bow down with trembling over her decay! It is to us men of the western world as if the "Prince of the lights of heaven, which now as a giant doth run his unwearied course, should, as it were through a languishing faintness, begin to stand and to rest himself."* Yet, we fondly imagine, it is but for a moment: the fiery vigour shall soon work off the corruption, and the celestial origin shall quickly show itself in a career of uneclipsed beauty. And when Virginia, by disembarassing herself of all checks on her prosperity, and purging off all her evils, is fully girt for the race she has appointed to her, we are persuaded that there is not one wholesome feeling, not one patriotic principle, which might gain her the affection of the southern states, (let her not fear this), and the admiration of all, and that could make her eminent among commonwealths, which she would be found to want.

If such be the evils under which Virginia has already languished, it does not remain to consider whether they are likely to increase. They must increase; they are rapidly corroding all the hitherto sound elements, and they will go on to spread mischiefs of their own kind until they will be felt by all to have effected absolute ruin. But as soon as slavery has grown to a great extent, there comes in a new evil of a different cast: this is *danger*, physical danger. On this subject we forbear to touch except with a scrupulous hand. We feel all the delicacy of urging any considerations addressed to the fears of a gallant people. But there is that in the nature of a servile war, which sets at nought as well the most chivalrous courage, as the security of civil police and of military discipline. We may go on to say then, that in 1830, the whole population of Virginia was 1,211,272, of which 694,445 are whites, 469,724 are slaves, 47,103 free blacks; that 457,000 blacks are east of the Blue Ridge, while only 375,935 whites are east of the mountains.† We do not believe that in any short time to come the blacks will be able to rise and overpower the whites. But the experience of 1831 teaches what an amount of calamity in fact, and misery from alarm, may be the result of the insurrection of a contemptible handful of slaves. These partial risings may occur at any time: are they not worthy of anticipatory apprehension? But that the time will come when the blacks will be so numerous and so concentrated in a

* Hooker, I. 3.

† It will be perceived that we have studiously avoided making invidious distinctions between Virginia east and west of the Blue Ridge, and this even at the risk of doing much injustice to the west. Once for all, it is to be understood that the mischiefs of slavery are much less in the west than the east. But we are determined to regard the State as *one*, and the ills suffered by one part as the common calamity, proper for the deliberation of every county.

section of the State, as to be truly formidable to the whites, we cannot doubt, if the fixed principles of our species prove but faithful to themselves. We have seen how slow is the increase of the white population in Virginia, and we must not overlook the fact of the rapid increase of the black. Notwithstanding the constant drain of her slaves (say 6000, or one-half of their increase) to supply the plantations of the new States, the slaves have so multiplied, that though east of the Blue Ridge in 1790 the whites had a majority of 25,000, in 1830 the blacks had grown to a majority of 81,000! The emigration of whites in this period has by no possibility equalled that of blacks. What are the presages to be drawn from this? But some flatter themselves that this relative inequality will not increase—perhaps will not be even so great in 1840. Mr. Marshall has told us, that by the census of 1830, the number of slaves in Eastern Virginia under ten years of age, exceeds that of whites of the same age, more than 31,000! What can more solemnly show that the disparity existing in our generation is small compared with that which will in all probability exist in the generation of our children?

But it has been said by some that even this probable increase portends no danger, if the whites do but go on increasing, though in unequal proportions. It is proved thus:

The police necessary to keep order in a community is never greater than one man out of every hundred;—thus while the population is one hundred, the hundredth man may not be able to enforce obedience;—when grown to a thousand, the one hundred police men may succeed better, and when arrived at a million, the decimal ten thousand is certain to maintain order under all circumstances. In this way it is pretended that the security goes on increasing. It is all a mistake, then, that rebellions have ever triumphed in countries where the police (civil or military) amounted to ten thousand! But every one sees up to what point it is true, that the safety increases *pari passu* with the materials of danger, and how as you pass that point the security diminishes. Virginia herself has already passed this point. We recommend this security to England in her police in Ireland: she will find the two millions of Protestants able to furnish twice ten thousand men, who demonstratively can keep down the five millions of Catholics without aid from England; but if they cannot do it to-day, they surely will, when the two parties have each doubled their numbers. This method of deriving increasing security from redoubling danger, is parallel to Hermes Harris's definition of the indefinite article: "a method of supply by negation." It follows from it that Virginia was all along mistaken, when, before the Revolution, she essayed three and twenty times to gain the royal assent to a law to provide for her domestic safety

by prohibiting the further introduction of slaves from Africa; that she but exposed herself to ridicule, when she taunted the king in the preamble to her constitution, with "the inhuman use of the royal negative;" and that Louisiana has wholly blundered in laying so many obstacles in the way of the introduction of slaves from the other States, under hope to save herself from future civil war. But the example of Brazil is pointed out to us: it is true that Brazil is imbruted by a proportion of four millions of slaves to one million of whites, and her unnatural empire still exists. Yes, and her existence hangs by a hair. If we are not misinformed, the German recruits that mutinied for ill treatment, and were quelled by the slaves being turned loose on them, (they were proclaimed free game to any slave that would massacre them—what the poor Germans would have called *vogelfrey*), might give our speculatists a lesson on the terrors of the Brazilian slave population.

But grant it true, that the multiplication of the slaves will not go on at the present rapid rate, in Virginia: when we consider that there are adequate causes working which are certain to keep back the whites, it is impossible not to regard the increase of the slaves at any probable rate as full of danger. It is the simple case of a distinct race of people within our bosom, now nearly equal, soon to be more numerous than ourselves, exposed to every temptation (we do not say inducement) to become our deadliest foe. This is the danger which reasoning cannot check nor argument avert. Police can never save harmless against an enemy that is at your hearth and in the most confidential relations with you. Besides, what profit does slavery confer on Virginia to make any one willing to see established a standing force of five or ten thousand men, at an expense equal to that of the whole peace establishment of the army of the United States?

The only rational ground for believing that Virginia will never contain the vast number of slaves, given by the estimates for the end of the next hundred years, is that the impoverishment of the state will make it impossible to maintain them.*

II. The practicability of greatly diminishing the evil of slavery, in Virginia. Are these ills incurable? Or if they can never be wholly remedied, may their disproportionate progress not be checked? May they not in fact be diminished?

Before we proceed to speak of any particular plan for effecting

* We have omitted all mention of the Protective System as a source of ruin to Virginia. For the ills which we have specified, slavery seems to us an adequate cause. It seems at least reasonable to attribute no ills to the Tariff except such as can be shown to have arisen since 1824. None of those enumerated have had so late an origin. The previous disabling of Virginia by slavery, has doubtless rendered her much more susceptible of injury from the errors of that system.

this, let us briefly recount the objects which are proposed to be accomplished by any such schemes. It is expected to afford sensible relief to Virginia by withdrawing her slave labour, and substituting free labour in its place, by the superior cheapness and efficiency of which an impulse will be given to the inertness of the principles of prosperity. It builds on the supposition that the State can afford the gradual withdrawal of her present labour, which it has been fully shown can never prove profitable to her, (though it may to other States,) and that she can afford it, because she has immense capabilities which could not fail to draw to her an adequate supply of productive labour, of a very different class, which would more than compensate her for the loss of the former. It counts on the hope of rearing in Virginia and inviting from abroad a yeomanry to till the large plantations of the rich proprietors, but much more to give new life to her husbandry, by the introduction of a large class of diligent faithful small farmers not interested to impoverish the soils further, but who would soon repair their present decay. It cherishes the hope of creating an extensive class of mechanics, and of tempting the establishment of manufactures; and, by a general revivification of the habits and spirit of the State, to build up cities, and render Virginia one of the most flourishing, as she is perhaps the most favoured, of all the Atlantic States. It is to be hoped that a fund for compensating the individual masters may be obtained, and thus that value in hand may be left, at the same time that the slaves are withdrawn; yet so thorough is the conviction of the ruinous character (in an economical view) of exclusive slave labour to Virginia, that it is believed, if the masters could be tempted to a gradual deportation of the slaves, without a farthing of compensation from government, there would be ultimate gain, and not loss, from it. The very last cases to which we would compare such gradual withdrawal, of what is in fact not a source of wealth, would be the expulsion of the eight hundred thousand Jews from Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, or that of nearly a million of Moors under Philip III., or that of the Huguenots from France; in all which cases the persons expelled carried with them greater personal wealth in proportion to their number, finer skill, and more thriving habits than were left behind them, besides that in them, the expulsion was virtually immediate. Such comparisons, to say the least, are not supported by very cogent analogies.

We are fully persuaded ourselves that the emancipation of the slaves, and their transportation out of the limits of the State, will be the only mode of action on the subject which will be beneficial either to the blacks or the whites. *We* too, are of opinion that a general emancipation of the slaves, on the supposition of their remaining principally among us, would engender evils, the

aggregate of which would be greater than all the evils of slavery, great as they unquestionably are.* We shall therefore make no further allusion to this idea.

We think that most of the arguments of the opponents of all action, on the ground of its futility, err from a mistake of the terms of the problem. The problem is not, with those projectors who offer no compensation to the masters, to prevail on Virginia to deprive herself in one day of one hundred millions of property, and to expel from her borders at once half a million of labouring hands. This would indeed be ruin to every class of interests, and would be an impossibility in terms. Still it is pretended that a gradual plan for the same object, no matter how slow and how wisely directed, though it operate not on the certain interests but the contingent, not on the actual but the potential, no matter though, by asking a small sacrifice to-day, it give ample opportunity, and put in the master's reach new means, of making the future sacrifices supportable, yet that it makes no difference; that it implies the total wreck of that amount of capital, and the loss of that amount of productive labour. Now, we humbly conceive that time is of the very essence of a problem like this. It is true that in any view of the case, some sacrifice would be involved, but we wholly reject the idea that it rises to that degree. On the other hand, when compensation is talked of as possible, it is not meant by any one that there is any fund in America which could purchase at once, at the actual price, all the slaves in Virginia and transport them. The proposition we mean to discuss is, to relieve the State of the annual increase of the blacks, with the hope of benefit in a double aspect: first, by keeping the black population stationary to check the *increase* of the evils and dangers; second, to prepare in this way a method of finally extirpating the great evil itself. But the pecuniary amount of this annual sacrifice (supposing such sacrifice to be supported wholly by her own means, or to be gratuitous) is by no means the measure of the loss to be suffered by Virginia. The loss to the wealth of the whole State from the abstraction annually of five or six thousand slaves, productive as they are of mischiefs of an economical nature, may not be at the time very great, and in a very few years may, by countervailing benefits, not otherwise to be obtained, be rendered merely nominal.

* While this is true of African slaves in a community of white men of the European species, we are by no means persuaded that such would be the necessary result in a case of masters and bondsmen of the same race. Such we *know* is not the opinion of German statisticians or the experiments of the last forty years in middle and eastern Europe. English travellers have treated of the Teutonic and Slavonic sections of Europe (the last are not to be studied rightly except through the medium of German books and the German language,) with a wrong headness only equalled by their fashion of travel-writing in the unlucky United States; always except *Russel's Tour in Germany*.

For ourselves, we desire to be distinctly understood to dissent from the opinion of Mr. Faulkner and others, *that property is the creature of civil society*, and from all the consequences deduced therefrom as means of arriving at the authority to deprive the master of his slave. Nor do we consider, however perfect the right of a community to abate nuisances, that the right of peremptory action on this subject can well be rested on that ground. Nor yet do we consider that the requirement of the Bill of Rights of Virginia, that private property shall not be taken for public uses without due compensation, is to be evaded by the plea of public necessity: the provision of the Bill of Rights (which in this case is merely declaratory of the law of nature) is intended as well for exigencies as for common occasions, and is meant to be equally sovereign over both. Necessity gives the public a right to take private property—this is undeniable; but under condition of compensation. If compensation cannot be made to-day, it is due to-morrow; if impossible for the present generation, it is just to impose a share of it on posterity; if it cannot be made in full measure, it is at least due so far as it can be made. This we take to be the rationale of the operation of the right of necessity. We will tell these gentlemen, that there is one ground, and only one, which could ever be a logical justification (we do not speak of its moral propriety) for peremptorily depriving the master of his slaves without compensation: any such bill must make its own defence by reciting, in its preamble, that the claim of property in slaves is unfounded. But we, for our part, earnestly hope that no one may ever think any such law expedient.

We also decline assenting to the opinion of some of the abolitionists, that, though the master's right over his living slaves should be conceded, yet he has no claim of property in the unborn, for the reason that there can be no property in a thing not *in esse*. This position is wholly untenable under any jurisprudence. All systems lay it down that there may be a present right to a future interest: it is potential if not actual, and is many times saleable for a valuable consideration. The civilians treat the increase of slaves as precisely on the footing of the fruits of any other *thing*. Let it be avowed, then, that the State has only a right to do with the future increase what it has a right to do with the living slaves. We do agree, however, that the public mind will be much more ready to yield to a plan, which is to begin its operation with the children yet to be born, than if it began with the slaves now existing. The difference between the potential value of these contingent births and the value of actual lives, it is superfluous to say, is very great. Mr. Jefferson had the true view of it, when he said, the sacrifice would not be felt to be very great, being the surrender "of an object which they have never yet known or counted as part of their property."

Having made these disclaimers, we venture to lay down some principles of our own. First, it is to be assumed that no human being has an abstract right to hold another in a state of perpetual involuntary bondage, much less with a descending power over the posterity of that other. It is quite impossible to conceive of any rational being's holding the contrary of this proposition. No two men could look each other in the face and assert it. This truth being postulated, its proper use is not to lay it aside and never let it be remembered again in the course of an argument on the subject of abolition. Our adversaries in words universally admit it as readily as we demand its acknowledgment. But almost the whole train of their reasoning involves a total forgetfulness of it. The true use of it is to introduce the element of moral duty into the problem of the economist, and to furnish the *motif* of virtue, as one of the ways and means in solving the complication of difficulties, which appear to obstruct all the plans of abolition that can be proposed. While, then, we promised not to claim a sacrifice to mere abstract justice, we can by no means consent to its being wholly cast out of view. We hope to be pardoned for adding here, that should Dr. Whateley ever have a clever disciple in logic in America, we trust he will favour us with a treatise on the true functions of general truths in moral reasoning. We really believe that there are some politicians in our country, who could be persuaded to define abstract principles, to be propositions which are true in terms, but false in every conceivable instance of their application! Second, we admit, nay we will maintain against any adversary, the innocence of slaveholding, under present circumstances, in Virginia. But it is with this qualification: we have always held the opinion that almost every master in Virginia believed it his duty to emancipate his slaves, whenever he was convinced that it could be done to the advantage of the slave, and without greater injury to the master than is implied in the continuance of the bondage. Such we still believe to be the general sentiment there. If there be a single owner who neither hopes that, in some future day, this occasion may occur to him or his posterity, nor intends should it occur to avail himself of it, then we must confess that we cannot hold his sentiment to be entirely innocent. We defy contradiction when we say that in Virginia, from the year 1776 down to 1832, the prevalent sentiment ever has been that slavery was not entailed on the State for ever. None of her economists has ever defended the abstract right over the slaves, none has ever been willing to believe in the perpetuity of slavery, as far as we know, except that Mr. Giles has expressed in his golden casket (*mons a non movendo*) certain opinions which are, it must be admitted, incompatible with the future possibility of renouncing the dominion over them. Third, we admit that slavery does not ex-

ist in Virginia in any thing like the rigour which some misguided persons connect with the very idea of slavery. An inhuman master is rare, and cruelty to slaves is as little habitual as other crimes. But if an anti-abolitionist who regards domestic slavery as the optimum among good institutions, while asserting the benign and sacred character of the relation of master and slave as observed in Virginia, should boast that Virginia is "in fact a *negro raising* State for other States," and that "she produces enough for her own supply and six thousand for sale," we must say that this is a material subtraction from the truth of his picture of the sanctity of the relation. It would be well to recall it and thrust it out of view.

We proceed now to speak of the practicability of devising some plan for the relief of the State. One main point to be gained is this: that the people of Virginia be impressed with a thorough conviction of the exceeding desirableness and the urgent necessity of *doing something promptly*. The great triumph will be when, on the fullest view of the present interests, moral and economical, of this generation, and of its duty to the posterity who are to inherit the "fee simple" of Virginia, there shall be, in the minds of a great majority, the clear and unalterable opinion that slavery is not a source of prosperity to her, and that it will not do for this generation to attempt nothing to bring about a change.

Another great point is, *that some plan be adopted with the sanction of the State*. It is of vastly more importance to the final deliverance of the State, that a mode be selected and come forth to the world with the crowning sanction of the State, than it is what that mode may be. For, it is certain that the public opinion, thus solemnly announced, will be an instrument for the execution of the plan, the power of which we cannot exaggerate to ourselves. The public once predisposed to its success, half the task is done. This brings us at once to the consideration of the first among our ways and means for diminishing the evils of slavery: the moral elements which will be at work for its accomplishment. These elements are powers as well known in political economy as others which seem more substantial. We utterly protest against this question being argued as if the emancipation were in fact a mere money speculation, and the success of the adopted plan were to rise and fall according as its pecuniary temptations were greater or less than those from some other accidental quarter—as if there were no other reasons likely to have the slightest effect on the master, but such as went to show that he was thereby to make a good bargain, so far as his poor, circumscribed, present and personal interest was concerned. It will be monstrous indeed, if, in a problem like the present, of which the very terms are instinct with moral forces, a calculator should leave wholly out of his estimate of means of working it, the va-

lue of a little virtue, a slight sense of justice, and a grain of common honesty, as agents. It is most true that we too propose to advance the interests of those who now hold slaves, and believe that this will be effectually done by some radical plan of emancipation: but it is by the help of the moral considerations that the masters must be led to look on their higher and ultimate interests as worthy of some sacrifice of present inferior interests. We readily assent to the opinion that the enthusiasm of abstract virtue is not the true temper in which a great work, like the present, should be undertaken, or carried on; and we cannot more distinctly express our views on the matter, than by citing the following passage from the *African Repository* of September 1837:

"This is not the age of enthusiasm: far from it. Too large a part of the talent of the age is devoted to caricature, to ridicule; and what is more, too large a part of the good sense and good learning of the day is in the hands of those who look for the ludicrous part of every plan, by much too large to permit the public mind to be heated with unnecessary zeal, even in the best cause, or to uphold for a long time any grave farce. It is the age of practical reason, of great moral truths rigidly established by cool practical experiment, the age which has relieved human nature from the apprehension that any of the baneful evils in society are sealed and fated on us by our own imbecility, by proofs which are intended for the most plodding, the most determined enemies of novelty. Enthusiasm is not fit to be trusted with any great scheme, unsteady, blind, and undiscriminating as it is. The most anxious zealot is little wise who would not rather trust his cherished plans to that state of devotion to principle so naturally rising up in this age, which, tempered by prudence and restrained by fear of the charge of absurdity, takes its course calm, collected, and like the cloud of the poet, 'moveth altogether, if it move at all.' Public opinion and public feeling, when thus informed, are indeed the voice of God."

But we must be understood to be far from deeming lightly of the power of philanthropy. A senator from South Carolina once said with much piquaney, that "benevolence somehow was rather an unsuccessful adventure in the south." There, as elsewhere, avarice and ambition seem to come of a healthier stock, and last their day and generation: but do not let us libel poor nature in the south so scandalously as to suppose that when the disinterested feelings are in question, "there is no throb under the left breast," as Persius has it. It was hitherto said that avarice has been more successfully pelted by the satirists than any other passion; but we doubt if philanthropy has not had quite a sufficient share of worrying. We do not love to see any one succeed in discrediting all reliance on philanthropy. Whether philanthropy has ever proved competent to carry through, unassisted, any one great work, matters very little: it is happily the fact that it rarely fails of commanding a thousand auxiliary interests to lend it subsidy. But among the successful agents in any undertaking for ameliorating the condition of human life, one of the chief, and that which could least be spared, will always, as hitherto, prove to be those feelings which are founded in sympathy for others, and in a sense of duty. "Many," says

an English moralist with great force, "are the modes of evil—many the scenes of human suffering; but if the general condition of man is ever to be ameliorated, it can only be through the medium of belief in human virtue." But even suppose that all change in the world is to be effected merely by the triumph of one sort of interest over another. What then? We need but ask of our theorists of human nature, that we be permitted to believe that man's selfishness is distinguished from that of the brutes by a power of large discourse in his calculations; that he is capable of balancing a contingent interest against one certain, a future interest against a present; that he is capable of weighing one species of valuable interest, such as money, against another such as the acquisition of moral habits which would prove in their turn more profitable; that he is capable of the conception that individual interest is often best promoted by generosity to one's country; and that it is one of the commonest of human propensities to be prodigal of wealth, of ease, and of life, for the welfare or the honour of one's country, so that the age which is to come after may not receive an inheritance profaned by hereditary disgrace. Give us these capacities in human nature, and upon them we will build you up a hope for the noblest undertakings. But were we to suppose a large body of men elevated to this *enlightened pitch of self-interest*, and united for some great purpose, we much fear that we should be parasitical enough to offer them the adulation of ascribing to them a spirit a little more disembodied than selfishness—"of the earth, earthy." If it be meant to assert, that the immediate and personal interests are the only safe reliances in any problem of human action, we boldly deny the assertion. Remote, prospective interests have often been the dominant motives over a whole nation. But the labours of mere philanthropy have been, in fact, invaluable, and when combined with the holy impulse of conscience, it has proved in our own day, that it is capable of success in enterprises of the vastest scope, and beset with the most obstinate difficulties.

By the aid of these moral elements, we are able to dissipate the apprehension which has been expressed by some, lest, even if the number of five or six thousand were annually deported, it should be found that the operation proved wholly nugatory, *under the stimulated influence of the spring of population*. Some have imagined, that, if government were possessed of means to compensate the masters, at the present average price of slaves, the desire of government to purchase would elevate the price beyond the natural value, and that consequently the *raising* of them would become an object of primary importance throughout the State, thus inducing a general resort to every means of rendering the race more prolific. It might be answered, first, that to those who know the state of things in this respect in Virginia,

it would seem not easy, even for Euler himself, to imagine more liberal encouragement than is at present afforded to the blacks. Besides, it by no means appears that the best way to succeed in giving a perfect elasticity (a property in practical mechanics hitherto wanting) to this delicate spring, would be to devise special plans for its improvement. Any increased propensity to promiscuous intercourse would of course not add very much to the production. But all this objection is futile in the extreme. If the day is ever to arrive when a bill is to pass the Virginia Legislature for the purchase and deportation of the annual surplus, it will naturally be an expression of the sentiments of the State, that slavery is an evil to the commonwealth. No one will thank the Legislature for passing a bill through the forms under favour of accidental circumstances, whereby the public sentiment is not embodied, and a large majority of the citizens pledged to a hearty co-operation in its execution. Surely we must be pardoned for saying that we shall on no account believe that every scheme which ingenious cupidity can contrive to render its operation nugatory, will be unscrupulously resorted to throughout the State. That some slaveholders would avail themselves of the most immoral means of encouraging the spring of population, and thus *pro tanto* thwart the law, may of course be expected, but never that such shifts would be the general resort.* It is superfluous to add, that such a moral phenomenon would itself point out the remedy, which would be found in a different tone of legislation.

While we are on this head, (the probability of such a law's proving nugatory,) we may notice another objection. It has been said, as we have already noticed, that Virginia produces enough slaves for her own supply, and six thousand for sale. It may be subjoined to that statement, that, if motives of humanity did not prevent many masters from selling negroes who could most advantageously be spared, she would be able to sell five times that number, were there purchasers for them. Now, suppose the government of Virginia enters the slave market resolved to purchase six thousand for emancipation and deportation, is it not evident, they say, that it must overbid the southern slave trader, and thus take the very slaves who would have gone to the south?

* It is no reply to this to say that such an abolition bill will only pass by being forced on eastern Virginia by the valley and western Virginia. The whole argument assumes that the State has a fair compensation to offer to the master; for the quickening of the *spring* is to be occasioned by a great market demand. When compensation becomes possible, the east will be as willing to yield as the west. Moreover, in any form of abolition, it is a woful delusion to suppose that the parties for and against the movement will be all the non-slaveholders on the one side, and all the slaveholders on the other. Did we not think it indecent to speak of divisions in the State, we would say we have entire reliance on middle Virginia, as well as the valley and the west.

Not in the least likely. The average estimate of \$2000 per head, has been made under the stimulus of a large demand from the south, as great as it is ever likely to be hereafter, (doubtless greater,) and of the competition of slave traders in every parish. The price of slaves in Virginia has always been regulated more by foreign demand (of late years, entirely regulated by it) than by the home value. In this situation of things, if a new buyer were to come into the market (we blush to use these words as applied to the operation of the government under the beneficent law of which we are speaking) resolved to buy at any cost every slave whom any owner might be desirous of selling, it is true that the slaves who would else have been sent to the south, would, among the rest, fall into his hands. But were our new buyer only resolved to purchase as many as six thousand, and the southern traders were desirous of buying six thousand more, it would only be for the former to wait till the demand of the latter was supplied, and then buy his own number; for, as soon as the inducement of the not inhuman destination of the slaves, who might be sold to the new buyer, had been brought into play, we dare say that Virginia would willingly, as she well could, spare twelve thousand per annum at the same price. This shows at once, that as long as the demand exists in the south, the due quota can be annually furnished from Virginia, and that this drain for the relief of Virginia will not *in this way* be stopped. Thus much to show that putting money into the hands of the State, to purchase from willing masters, would not at least prove nugatory by merely enabling the State—*actum agere*—to buy the very slaves, none other, who would otherwise have departed from the State. The fund will manifestly act as auxiliary to the operations of the southern traders, and in the precise measure of its magnitude will extend additional relief to the overburdened State. It is not irrational to suppose, if the State were to fix a fair maximum price, beyond which it would not buy, that it would find many more slaves offered at that price than it could yearly take, and thus masters would come to offer them at even lower than the average price. Should, unhappily for Virginia, (for however mortifying it is, this outlet is her only safety valve at present) the southern markets ever be closed by the legislation of the southern States, then we may indeed thank the supposed fund for supplying their place. If no substitute for that outlet be then found, the present sources of danger and ruin are frightfully increased indeed!

We confess that we count largely on the operation of the moral elements, to induce many masters to surrender their slaves voluntarily and gratuitously, if the State would provide the means of colonizing them out of the United States. In the year 1816, when slave labour was infinitely more profitable than it is now,

as all know from the inflated prices of tobacco, &c., &c., Mr. Randolph of Roanoke, who is, perhaps, better qualified to speak for the slaveholders of Virginia than any other man, said: "if a place could be provided for their reception and a mode of sending them hence, there were hundreds, nay thousands, who would by manumitting their slaves, relieve themselves from the cares attendant on their possession." We repeat most emphatically the declaration of General Brodnax, and add that there can be no mistake in asserting that "there would be again another class, (he had already heard of many) while they could not afford to sacrifice the entire value of their slaves, would cheerfully compromise with the State for half of their value."

It is not denied by us, too, that the adoption of some plan with the sanction of the State will have the moral effect (not to excite a feeling of insecurity and apprehension as to this kind of property, and so incline the owners to dispose of it at a loss)—but to weaken the almost exclusive attachment of the master to this species of property, to make him cast about for means of making his other resources more available, and to set him upon certain broad and liberal calculations, whereby he may satisfy himself that more prosperous and more valuable interests may be had in exchange for this property. In the beginning, and for several years, there would, we do not doubt, be as many furnished for transportation (exclusive of the present free blacks) as would be wanted, without any cost for their freedom; and after the experiment of colonizing a large number annually is fairly tried with success, then we would draw to an almost unlimited amount on this bank of humanity without fear of protest.

Will any one say that the inefficiency of moral restraints to check commercial cupidity, is shown in the impossibility of checking the African slave trade? We reply, that we know that this impossibility was urged as one of the best reasons against its prohibition by laws in England and other countries; but that it was clearly wise nevertheless to prohibit it, for the following if for no other reason: the law would effectually prevent all men who were not desperately depraved from lending their future countenance to it. It is known that men like the excellent Mr. Newton of Olney were owners of slave ships—the public voice of Christian England once expressed, such men and all others with a single spark of virtue, abjured it for ever, and left it to pirates alone. Besides, even as to this example, we are content to say, that in America, with a coast the most tempting in the world to smugglers, yet since 1808 we are not aware that attempts have been made to violate the laws against the introduction of slaves from Africa. Indeed we hope that Edwards's apprehension, that their importation into the West Indies could

never be stopped, has not proved altogether just as to the British possessions.

But it is time to proceed to the other means, on which we rely, for the liberation of Virginia from her exigency, and in so doing to unfold more distinctly what practicable mode of action there is. Once for all, we declare that we have, however, no confidence in any plan except under condition that it be accompanied with the public favour: if the people of Virginia really desire relief from their slaves, we believe most solemnly that it can be obtained without ruinous consequences to themselves. Touching the specific project of Mr. T. J. Randolph, we refer to what we have already cursorily said, both as to the reasoning by which some have supported it, and as to the merit of the conception of beginning with the after born. We believe that means may be found to colonize the annual surplus of the slaves of Virginia, and to purchase such a portion of that surplus as it may be necessary to purchase.

The annual increase of slaves in Virginia (leaving out of view the 6000 supposed to be taken off to the southern markets) is less than 5000. If this number of slaves be valued at the average of 200 dollars per head, the sum necessary to purchase them will be about a million of dollars. To defray the expense of their deportation to Africa and subsistence there for some months will, on the satisfactory calculation of Mr. Mathew Carey, to which we must refer, at 25 dollars per head for adults and children, require 125,000 dollars—add to which the cost of deportation of 1200 free blacks (their annual increase,) 30,000 dollars, and we have the sum of 150,000 dollars. That the State of Virginia has no possible means of purchasing 5000 slaves *per annum* is obvious. But were the entire cost that of transportation only, 150,000 dollars, we should insist that the Legislature take it into serious consideration how far that expense exceeds its means. In any event, our adversaries will allow us to set down the item of transportation to the charge of the State: if this be all, it is to offer no insurmountable embarrassment. Perhaps it may be thought best to deport the free negroes first, and then the whole expense is that of transportation. Where, however, shall we find that greater fund which will presently be needed for the purchase of the surplus of the slaves, and before long for the purchase of a part of the capital number? There is not far off a fund to which we believe our eyes may be turned. We have come to the conclusion that such a fund is the proceeds of the public lands in the Treasury of the General Government; and we do now invite the friends of the removal and colonization of the negroes to fix hereafter their thoughts and to press their pretensions on this fund. The annual income to government from the public lands is now estimated at three millions. Let one-third

of this amount be demanded for this object, *to be under the entire management of the State authorities.*

In coincidence with the known opinion of Virginia, we are not willing to demand a simple appropriation of money from Congress. But we are inclined to think, that an appropriation from the receipts of the public lands would not be liable to the constitutional objection, which would forbid a grant of money raised by taxes. The public lands belong to the United States in absolute ownership; as to that part of the public domain obtained by cession from the States themselves, it will be found that the Acts of Cession uniformly declare that the territory is given "as a common fund for the use and benefit" of the United States. Such are the words of the Acts of Virginia, New-York, and Georgia. The grants of the two former were made during the time of the old Confederation; of the latter, subsequently. In the Constitution of the United States it is provided that "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." This certainly seems to import a complete right to grant the public lands, under the sole condition that it shall be faithfully and *bona fide* for the common use and benefit. And we are free to confess, that we should regard the temporary appropriation of the proceeds of the public lands, to one embodied purpose that might be said to come up to the definition "for the common use and benefit" of all the States, as a more faithful execution of the condition, than the distribution of the same to the States for application to any purpose in their discretion. The lands have hitherto been pledged for the public debt, but are soon to be released. It will then remain a question, whether the removal of the negroes deserves to be termed a measure demanded for the common benefit of the United States? We have an unfeigned respect for constitutional scruples, but we are not ambitious ourselves of entertaining more scruples than Mr. Madison. Let us hear then what that greatest living authority says upon the subject, in his letter to Mr. Gurley, of December last:—

"In contemplating the pecuniary resources needed for the removal of such a number to so great a distance, my thoughts and hopes have been long turned to the rich fund presented in the western lands of the nation, which will soon entirely cease to be under a pledge for another object. The great one in question is truly of a national character, and it is known that distinguished patriots not dwelling in slave-holding States have viewed the object in that light, and would be willing to let the national domain be a resource in effecting it. Should it be remarked that the States, though all may be interested in relieving our country from the coloured population, are not equally so; it is but fair to recollect, that the sections most to be benefited are those whose cessions created the fund to be disposed of. I am aware of the constitutional obstacle which has presented itself; but if the general will should be reconciled to an application of the territorial fund to the removal of the coloured population, a grant to Congress of the neces-

any authority could be carried, with little delay, through the forms of the Constitution."

Before any one condemns us for looseness of construction of the Constitution, we beg further that he will read Mr. Jefferson's letter to Mr. Sparks, (vol. iv. p. 388-391.): we adopt all the qualifications therein mentioned.

Judge Marshall most properly suggests that the objection, in a political view, to the application of this ample fund, is very much lessened, in his estimation, by the fact that our lands are becoming an object for which the States are to scramble, and which threatens to sow the seeds of discord among us, instead of being what they might be—a source of national wealth.

A great part of the proceeds of the public domain once appropriated to this object, there would soon be found no insurmountable difficulty in the removal of the necessary number in Virginia. But it is said that were Congress disposed to give a million annually for the specific object of the removal of the slaves, it would feel bound to bestow it proportionally on all the slaveholding States, or if all be not inclined to receive it, then on those which would be. We answer, that, if Congress should consent to pledge a certain share of the revenue from the lands for the purchase and removal (under the laws of the States) of the slaves of the United States, we have no doubt it would be thought wise to begin with the effectual relief of the greatest sufferer first. A minute's attention to the following statement of General Brodmax will show the immense claims of Virginia.

"The State of Virginia contains, by the last census, less than one fifteenth part of the whole *white* population of the United States; it contains *more* than one seventh of the free negroes; and it possesses between a fourth and a fifth of all the *slaves* in the Union.

"Virginia has a greater number of slaves than any other State in the Union—and more than Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Tennessee, all put together; and more than four times as many as either of them. Louisiana and South Carolina are the only States in which the slaves are more numerous than the white population; and Virginia has more slaves, without estimating her great and unfortunate proportion of free persons of colour, than both these States put together. Nay, one half of the State, that which lies on the east of the Blue Ridge of Mountains, itself contains nearly as many."

But if Congress should decline to grant from this fund for the specific purpose of the removal of the blacks, and prefer to distribute among the States the portion of money severally assignable to them, let such portion as would fall to Virginia be earnestly claimed of the Legislature for this object. The annual receipt of between two and three hundred thousand dollars, which Mr. Clay's bill (limited to five years' duration) would assign to her, would not be adequate for compensating masters on the foregoing plan, but it might suffice for doing an immense deal of good on the plan in Mr. Jefferson's letter to Mr. Sparks, the *purchase of the children* at a small but just price, the children to

be disposed of either according to the particulars of that plan, or under any other plan which might be speedier, and less burdensome to the persons to be charged with rearing them.

We believe that before half a million of blacks were conveyed to Africa, there would not remain a master obstinately resolved to retain his slaves, except in the most southern and south-western States, where slave labour is next to essential (we hope not absolutely) for the cultivation of the good lands!

We exhort the people of Virginia then, first to seek aid from their own Legislature to the extent it can be afforded; second, to insist on the passage of permanent laws going as far in the subject as public opinion will justify; and third, to assert their claims to a share of the proceeds of the public lands. Let it not, by her fastidiousness, be made true, that she ceded an empire to the General Government, under a virtual condition that she alone was to derive no benefit from it.

Suppose then means to be thus found to defray the expense of emancipating and transporting them to some other country, the next question is, where a suitable asylum may be found to which to convey them? We answer, that Africa affords the most eligible situation for such an asylum, and that we hope Virginia would avail herself of the noble beginning which has been made by the American Colonization Society at Liberia. We have thus reached our third division, in which we design to say,

III. A few preliminary words on the position of the Colonization Society with reference to the Virginia question, and then to show the possibility of finding a refuge for the blacks in Africa.

Justice to the Society demands that it should be distinctly stated, that it has no share whatever in the abolition question. Its whole sphere of operations is voluntary and peaceful; it is no propagandist of agitating opinions. It has its own private, independent course marked out, which it will pursue, though the abolition of slavery should never be mentioned again in any legislature. Let no adversary of abolition charge on it the odium (since with some it is odium) of that discussion any where. It has confined itself in all sincerity to the removal of free persons of colour (who may desire the same) to Africa, and to the preparation of means for the reception there of such slaves as might be manumitted by their masters under the laws of the States. Except by the peaceful and modest persuasive of the practicability of its scheme, (now made manifest,) and the certainty of its easy adaptation to the largest possible demand, it has not had, and never will have any agency in creating an inclination to abolition. All such action, too, will plainly pass far beyond the limits of the Society's views. Indeed, in the midst of all the doubts and fears encompassing that subject, how naturally might

both of the parties which contest it, turn their thoughts to that Society! How soothing after the agitation of the momentous opinions which separate them from each other, is the invitation to peaceful concert which it holds out to them! In the plan of this Society they can both find large room for the exercise of the patriotism they both boast. It may claim the ardent co-operation of persons of both opinions on the subject of abolition, without expecting those of either opinion to violate in the least their own consistency. Popular writers in South Carolina formerly declared that the Society would become the nucleus for all the mischievous incendiaries through the United States—*now*, it can with ease be demonstrated, that on a subject about which the public mind neither can, nor will be indifferent, the only absolutely certain security against intemperance and rashness, is to be found in the scheme of that Society. The incendiaries find it not at all suited to their taste. The Society was once denounced as hostile to the interests of the slave-holding States, and made up of meddling theorists ignorant of the evil they sought to remedy:—*now*, it begins to be noted that it originated out of the passage, at different periods, of resolutions by the Virginia Legislature, projecting the identical scheme which the Society was established to promote. Formerly it was declared that the Society tampered with the public safety: what is the fact? Why that the very first mention of an American colony of emancipated negroes in Africa, was made in the Virginia Assembly, at a date which we beg every one to notice—it was in 1801. A plan for the acquisition of lands in Africa, for this purpose, was the result of the anxious secret sessions of the Assembly immediately subsequent to the rebellion of Gabriel! In a word, it may be made manifest, that it is not only a safe, a wise, a practicable scheme, but that it was originally the deliberate policy of slaveholders, and is peculiarly fitted as a relief from exigencies of an alarming nature. Give it then but the right to impute to any one a single sentiment of patriotism in the range of the subject of slavery; give it but a concession of one right idea in that man's reasoning on the probable future career of Virginia, and the Society may plant the foot of its rhetoric and its logic on these, so as to move the whole mass of his sentiments and opinions into subjection to itself.

The history of the first suggestions about the expediency of a colony on the coast of Africa is briefly told. In the last century it was distinctly proposed by several individuals, and was even talked of, it is believed, in the Virginia Assembly. But its chief events are the resolutions of the sessions of that body in 1801-3, when the governor was desired to open a correspondence with the president, on the means of finding an asylum in the European colonies already established, or of purchasing a suitable territory; and the passage of similar resolutions in 1816, the correspondence

under the former having proved fruitless. The direct object of these two attempts was the establishment of a colony under the proprietorship and dominion of Virginia, or of the United States. It was after this last attempt that it was suggested by certain philanthropists, among whom Dr. Finley and Mr. Caldwell were most conspicuous, that the benevolent project would take a more vigorous beginning, and succeed better under the control of a private society, and thereupon the present Society was instituted at Washington, as the more convenient agent in the prosecution of the conception of the Virginia Assembly.

The fixed object of the labours of the Society was at once declared to be the removal to Africa of the free blacks, with their own consent, and of such blacks, then slaves, as might after that time be set free, under the laws of the States. Were there no other object in view but the providing a foreign place of refuge for the existing class of free negroes, we are sure that that of itself would be found an end quite worthy of the labours of a Society spread over the whole country; and this chiefly as a measure of police. So pernicious a class, (we admit many honourable exceptions), the source of so much vice and the prey of so much misery, so beset with an inaptitude to habits of virtue, so tempted to petty misdemeanors and so subject to be dragged into crime; a class so seemingly born for the rolls of vagrancy and the calendar of felonies, exists no where perhaps in the world. No wise government can, for a moment, regard the existence of such a class without uneasiness. We admit that the whites are under a sacred duty to them: one of two things must be done. Either their condition must be radically changed, and bettered, by the grant of such privileges in this country as may induce them to become useful citizens, or they must be prevailed on to accept elsewhere a home under a sky of more friendly influences. That the whites in the slave-holding states should ever consent to grant them here enough privileges to be a sufficient temptation to them to reform the character of their *caste*, is wholly improbable and unreasonable. It is true that in the domestic police of the West Indies, where they are highly privileged, it is thought they serve as a barrier class between the masters and slaves, to protect the masters; but were we to give a list of their privileges there, it would go nigh to create a revulsion in the mind of the reader from all the humanity he at present feels towards the *caste*. The approach to equal rights with the whites, in some of the non-slaveholding States, has indisputably made them a more pestilent population in those States, than elsewhere. In a memorial prepared by the Pennsylvania Colonization Society and presented to the Legislature of that State three or four years ago, (referred to in an earlier number of this journal,) it is stated that of the whole population of Pennsylvania, then estimated at 1,200,000,

about 40,000 or one thirtieth are people of colour; and the following statement taken from the records of the State Penitentiary is then given: "in 1826, of 296 convicted and brought to the Philadelphia prison, 117 were coloured: being nearly in the ratio of 3 to 7. Had the number of coloured convicts been proportional to the coloured population of the State, there would have been but 6 instead of 117. The average of the last seven years proves a similar disproportion." Nothing short of complete citizenship can ever elevate them: but the danger of the example to our slaves is an insuperable barrier to this in the slave-holding States, and the strong disgust of nature every where absolutely forbids the thought in America. Elsewhere then, they must seek the advancement of their degraded condition. Their emigration from one State to another, already restricted, may one day be forbidden, and it is almost to be hoped it may. When once transferred to another land where their freedom is no longer maimed and their privilege no longer ineffectual, they prove as fair subjects of moral and social discipline as the citizens of any government.

There is however another branch of the Society's plan. Every one will observe how benignant and void of offence this first part of it is. The second, while it is of vaster compass, is equally harmless. It next fixes its view on such slaves as may be voluntarily manumitted by their masters under the temptation of an opportunity to have them removed out of the United States, and most munificently provided for, on another soil. We think the Society is most deeply indebted to Mr. Archer, for the support he lent it last winter, at its anniversary meeting. He may rest assured that he has not mistaken the neutral character of the Society in the midst of the troubled opinions of the times: that *it attacks no man's conventional rights, and tramples on no pardonable prejudices.* It waits with patience the slow ripening of public opinion; it prepares with quiet diligence a reservoir for the voluntary outpourings of individual patriotism, and gathers up the random impulses of States and citizens into a concentrated impetus. Legislatures may speak with the power of law, and statesmen may by their courageous eloquence hurry on the day of relief, but the most benign agent in behalf of master and slave will be acknowledged to be the unobtrusive Colonization Society, to which they will all turn in the moment of their success. In the end, that Institution shall have the benedictions of all, for it will have shown that "they also serve, who only stand and wait." Such (we have thought necessary to say) is the position of the Society with reference to the abolition question. It now only remains to see whether Virginia can avail herself of the labours of the Society. The following details are, of course, familiar to every one who has given much attention to the reports of the Society;

but in the hope that these pages may meet the eye of some who are yet unacquainted with the facts, we shall make a simple recital of some of them.

We will suppose every one persuaded that some point on the African coast is the best position for an asylum for the emancipated blacks. We will suppose too, that the appropriateness of our making to Africa herself a tribute of the reparation which we design to render to humanity, is not merely a fanciful consideration. Although we are ready to admit that, should it seem advisable hereafter, other places in Africa or America may also be selected for colonizing them, we presume the policy of planting the first and largest colony in Africa will be conceded. There it will be distant enough (as it should be) from all possibility of intrusion from the whites; there it need neither dread the jealousy of civilized governments, nor can it become itself, when grown to be a powerful nation, in any manner dangerous to the peace of the United States. To combine these qualities, we think no settlement of blacks can be planted any where at less expense; or in a happier position than at Liberia.

The colony of Liberia extends about two hundred and eighty miles along the coast, and from twenty to thirty inland. It lies between $4^{\circ} 30'$ and 7° north latitude. This proximity to the equator by no means subjects it to a torrid climate; on the contrary, the climate is mild and uniform, the thermometer never being lower than 68° , nor higher than 88° , save perhaps one day in the season, when it has been known to rise to 91° . To the health of the colony the managers have directed their chief thoughts, and they express confidently the opinion that people of colour from most of the southern States will experience no serious injury from the African climate, and that such persons from any section of the United States will soon be able to settle on the elevated lands of the interior, where there exist, it is believed, no special causes of disease. The process of acclimation is gentle, fatal to comparatively few. The character of that climate, we are assured by those who know it best, is not well understood in other countries. Fatal as it may be to whites, its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, as longlived to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in Liberia, nor is it learned from the natives that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. The managers have of late sent out experienced physicians, supplies of medicines, appropriated a fund for the erection of a hospital, and taken every measure which experience has suggested. The residents of Liberia declare that "a more fertile soil, and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, there is not on the face of the earth. Its hills and plains are covered with a verdure that never fades: the productions of nature keep on in their growth through

all the seasons of the year. Even the natives of the country, almost without farming utensils, without skill and with very little labour, make more grain and vegetables than they can consume, and often more than they can sell." All the best products of the tropics, with many others which are favourites in temperate countries, flourish either spontaneously or under moderate labour. From the testimony of Englishmen we are assured that "the character of these industrious colonists is exceedingly correct and moral; their minds strongly impressed with religious feelings; their manners serious and decorous, and their domestic habits remarkably neat and comfortable." A sum of money has recently been given by a gentleman of New-York to found a high school there. A distinguished British naval officer has recently published his conviction, that the success which has attended the American colony in Africa is a complete proof that such experiments are not of a fanciful, or impracticable nature. Already are there about 2400 inhabitants of Liberia, of whom, (we have often been assured by voyagers thither,) not one repines at his condition, or would consent to return to live in America. Preparations are on foot for a vastly increased body of settlers. It may be satisfactory to compare the planting of Liberia with that of Jamestown. In the year 1624, after more than 150,000 pounds sterling had been expended, and more than 9,000 persons had been sent from England, its population did not exceed 1800 persons. From tables given in Mr. Jefferson's Notes, it appears that, after several fluctuations, sometimes rising as high as 400 and again sinking as low as 60, the whole number in 1618 (the eleventh year of the settlement) was only 600. So far then as the trial of the experiment of a negro colony was concerned, this is success—the most brilliant success. Those who were fearful of it from the analogy of the failure of Sierra Leone (a most remarkable instance certainly in the history of British enterprise, which, above all things, has succeeded in planting foreign colonies) may now dismiss all fear. The American negro, unchanged by the residence of generations in America, has proved that in the native latitude of his ancestors he is for the first time at home, and, in the words of the same British officer, "the complete success of this colony is a proof that negroes are, by proper care and attention, as susceptible of the habits of industry and the improvements of social life, as any other race of human beings." And this is our answer to all the theorizing on the principle of idleness being essentially dominant in the negro; for the present settlers can hardly be said to be picked men.

No one has been so irrational as to suppose that the business of planting colonies is an easy thing. We are not blind to the lessons that the many disastrous adventures in it have left in history. The fatal errors which ruined the Duke de Choiseul's great

expedition to Kourou, when 1000 or 1200 men, very much unprovided with the most common necessities, and at the most rainy and unhealthy season, were sent out at once to people the immense deserts of French Guiana, are not very likely to be incurred to day. The most cautious and wary trial of the seasons, climate, soil, &c., of Liberia, and of the fitness of negroes for the discipline of laws, has first been made; repeated experiments have shown what sort of discipline must be used, what means each emigrant must bring with him, and what habits he must be expected to adopt when arrived, to prevent his bringing the burden of pauperism on the colony. The present settlement virtually supports itself: the introduction of new settlers involves all the expense to the Society. This may fairly be expected to be always the case. All the uncertainties relative to a country so different from our own, and so distant, have been explored by forerunners: we know what are the real dangers to be guarded against, and are not to be alarmed by unfounded imaginations. Besides, all the circumstances connected with the planting of colonies are not disadvantageous: Adam Smith with his usual wisdom remarks, that the colony of a civilized nation which takes possession of a waste country, for many causes is apt to advance more rapidly to wealth and greatness than any other human society. Nay, we do know that failure is not the certain issue even under the most sinister auspices. It was a fine idea of Mr. E. Everett's, when describing the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth from the *May Flower*, to suppose that a reader were to shut up the book after seeing this fated company debark, and conjecture the result: how soon and how naturally the political economist would have imagined their destruction! Yet all calculations were baffled, and the sons of those Pilgrims yet flourish in that bleak and stony region, with a prosperity healthier than the Saturnian earth itself ever gave. But, indeed, the political economist who should do Liberia the justice to survey it well, would pronounce that this colony cannot fail—every thing is in its favour, if there be but prudence.

Still, the adversaries of abolition, incredulous, deny that the successful experiment of a small colony of American negroes affords sufficient grounds for the belief that it can be expanded into a populous State; that by the admission of the Society itself its colony could not now receive the annual addition of 6000 without utter destruction, and that the area of the colonial territory could contain but a small part of the slave population of the United States. On the subject of these objections, we have taken means to procure the most authentic information of the views of the leading friends of the Colony. The following particulars are so judicious and succinct that we give them in their original form: they are from the *best source*.

"I have not a doubt that the Colony of Liberia can receive emigrants in any number which the Society, or the States, or the National Government may be able to transport. We have thought, it is true, that the slow growth of the Colony hitherto has been advantageous to it, but its affairs are now so settled and prosperous as to admit of a much larger annual accession to its numbers. Several thousands might now be annually colonized, provided some preparation were made for their reception by the erection of buildings for them, and some provision for their temporary support after their arrival. I would say that from ten to fifteen dollars would be enough to allow to each emigrant for such preparations and support. Perhaps no country is more productive and fertile than Liberia; probably one hundred thousand people might derive their subsistence from the territory already purchased, and additional territory to any desirable extent may be easily obtained.

"Suppose then we had \$100,000 at command annually, it might all be judiciously expended in a single year in removing emigrants and in preparing for the emigrants of future years. I should think the wisest course would be to send, say one thousand or fifteen hundred the first year, and double that number the next, and at the end of five years I should judge ten thousand might be annually sent with advantage in every respect to the interests of the Colony. It would certainly be desirable to make some selection among those who might first offer, as much might depend on their character and habits. It may not be easy to discriminate sufficiently in this matter, and we must depend principally upon the moral means which may be set in operation in Liberia to improve and elevate the population.—The new circumstances, in which emigrants find themselves there, work remarkable and most favourable changes in their character. They give them enterprise, invention, self-reliance, and high purposes and hopes!"

People in the United States are hardly aware what degree of attention and admiration the founding of this colony has excited in Europe. We have ourselves the very best reason to know that extreme interest is expressed in its prospects by learned Professors and eminent Ministers of State in Germany. The Bulletins of the Geographical Society of Paris have often heralded the rising greatness of our little African republic, and paid some of the advocates of the Society the flattering compliment of translating large extracts from their speeches. It is not long since the Chancellor of the British Exchequer, Lord Althorp, declared in Parliament that he regarded the founding of Liberia as one of the most important events of the century. It is impossible to mention without emotion the two next English names, whose approbation carries with it a blessing of great unction. The aged and venerable Thomas Clarkson is said to have listened to the details of the Society's operations with an enthusiastic delight, such as he has not manifested for twenty years: he wrote to Mr. Cresson: "For myself I am free to say, that of all things that have been going on in our favour since 1787, when the abolition of the slave trade was first seriously proposed, that which is going on in the United States is the most important. It surpasses every thing which has yet occurred." And Mr. Wilberforce, a spirit coequal with Howard and the Premier name on the rolls of humanity when she speaks with authority, (we mean when philanthropy having taken its seat in parliaments and privy councils

puts on the authoritative character of state policy,) Mr. Wilberforce declares: "You have gladdened my heart by convincing me that sanguine as had been my hopes of the happy effects to be produced by your institution, all my anticipations are scanty and cold compared with the reality. This may truly be deemed a pledge of the divine favour, and believe me no Briton, I had almost said no American, can take a livelier interest than myself in your true greatness and glory." Very handsome contributions to the Society's funds have also been made in England, chiefly by the Society of Friends, a body of people enviably distinguished among religionists by the exclusive title of *sectaries of domestic freedom*.

This colony thus cheered on by the enlightened sentiment of Europe, is obviously destined to prove the best means of putting an end to the African slave trade. The attempt to crush this piracy by guardian fleets on the coast has had but indifferent success. The whole number of Africans recaptured by the British cruisers from 1819 to 1828, was only 13,287, being on an average 1400 per annum, while the number kidnapped is supposed to have amounted to 100,000 yearly. The British officers have borne the most honourable testimony to the great benefit rendered to the service by the Colony of Liberia. For a great distance north and south of it, the trade is effectually stopped, and this not merely by show of hostile interference, but by the surer measure of luring the natives to the more profitable business of peaceful commerce. Several powerful tribes have wholly renounced the trade of slaves, and have put themselves under the protection of the colony. The sole means of shutting up forever the gate of this satanic mischief, is the planting of a number of colonies of free American blacks along the coast; the ardent approbation and co-operation of England, France, and the Netherlands, may readily be had to give them security, and perhaps the Spanish Bourbons and the divided house of Braganza may one day be tempted to a show of a little good faith in behalf of Africa, on this plan. England is fully sensible of the reparation she owes to humanity for her deep participation in the Spanish *Assiento*, and for her having done her utmost to render slavery immortal in these United States. Her unrelaxed intercession with all the European powers, and with the South American, ever since the Congress of Vienna, to procure the extinction of the slave trade, has gone far to redeem her, we admit, and will cover a multitude of sins of the Castlereagh policy. All the other powers are likewise most deeply implicated in the complex guilt of that trade.

But besides its agency in suppressing the slave trade, we are not ashamed to confess that we look on the hope of spreading civilization to a great extent around Liberia, perhaps the rege-

neration of the whole western coast, by means of this colony, as by no means chimerical. Who shall say that a colony of half a million of civilized black men in the centre of the west coast, (and we dare believe that not less will be the population of Liberia and its sister settlements before the close of the present century), exhibiting to the nations about it the spectacle of a well ordered State, owing its prosperity to the arts of peace, to laws, and to religion, may not spread a peaceful influence, for hundreds of leagues, never equalled in power by any impulse felt in any quarter of Africa, except in the propagation of Mahomedanism by the sword? History and tradition give us to believe that the civilization of the world had its source in the heart of Africa: why may not the reverted current be poured into a land itself once prolific of so benign a stream? Are not we, who are at this moment doubting of the possibility of civilizing a dark quarter of the world, ourselves an alien race, colonists on a land the farthest distant from the ancient seats of Christendom, which yet in the course of three centuries has become a continent redundant with civilization? It was truly said at the Anniversary of the Society in 1832, that a thousand instruments for the diffusion of improvement may now be employed, which were unknown even at the time of the first founding of colonies on this continent. But all other hopes are feeble compared with a just reliance on the example of a large community of people of the *same colour*, the same descent, the same nature with the people of the coast. Indeed, the Continent of Africa is, at the present day, before all others in the romantic interest it inspires. No speculation engages more cultivated minds than the Geography of the Interior, and no object is thought worthier of the sacrifice of precious lives, than its exploration for the satisfaction of merely scientific curiosity. Who has not glowed with the enthusiasm of Herodotus, of Burckhart, of Denham, or with the humbler zeal of the Landers? Who has not brooded over the imagination of her vast deserts, her beautiful oases, her aromatic gales? Who has not grown romantic with thoughts of her gorgeous heavens, the tropical glory of her vegetable kingdom? Above all, who is a stranger to the uncertain image of her *fabulous* old waters? To sow the principal and mother elements of human life in this land, to found society, to introduce polity, religion, morals, and laws, and to plant the arts—why shall not this be the portion of our Colony? We believe, as firmly as that we now live, that at least the Coast of Guinea is, in no great lapse of time, to undergo a purification by the instrumentality of Liberia. The philosophic imagination loves to feast itself with these hopes, and to believe that, in a century perhaps, there shall be in the orphan homes of Western Africa, an odour richer than that mentioned in the divine lines of Milton, in one of those

familiar geographical passages which it is always a charm to repeat:—

—————"When to them who sail
Beyond the cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
Sabeian odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the blest; with such delay
Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
Cheered with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles."

Should the day ever come, when, from the mouth of the Gambia to the equator, not a slave-market exists, but peace, good faith, commerce, and an increasing mental light have sway, then shall indeed the mariner, as he plies through these now infamous latitudes, slack his course, well pleased to join with the nations in the villages and the plains, in the solemn litany they offer to Heaven to deliver them for ever from the scourges they have escaped!

But a land dear to our hearts is too to be redeemed: it is our own native America, and first of all Virginia. If an exigency ever existed, and inducements to a step of deliverance were ever too forcible for reasonable men to withstand, that exigency and such inducements now stand clear in her view. But after all, it has been asserted, that, be the present condition of Virginia bad as it may, her very existence depends on retaining her slaves:—that, take but these away and she becomes desolate! Are they indeed essential to her existence, even though it be true that she never can prosper with them, and must deteriorate from day to day while she keeps them? Has she but one possible *mode of existence*, and is she condemned to live out that through all its descending stages? Ruinous fatalism! Is it not, on the contrary, the exclamation of every observer, that no country in the world was ever more blessed than Virginia originally was: that the chief of her blessings being in their nature indestructible, (such as consist in the climate, Atlantic and central position, the number, magnitude, and arrangement of rivers and their estuaries, natural adaptation to manufactures, &c. &c.) are not yet marred, and that others, (such as fine soils, &c.) though greatly injured, may yet be considered reclaimable by the same system that makes the cold and rocky soils of New England as productive as the Delta of Egypt? Eminent agriculturists have given the opinion that it is cheaper to reclaim reduced lands than to clear new ones. We shall never believe that Virginia would not have a thousand temptations for different sorts of emigrants, for capitalists, for free labourers, and for her own sons who meditate emigration, were but measures resorted to to take the whole labour of the State out of the hands of slaves. Can any one make us believe that, with a free white population, the unparalleled

facilities of water power on James river would not ere this have been made the means of fabricating manufactures to an amount greater than the whole product of tobacco of the State? But it is still maintained that Virginia can never draw the emigrants from other countries, because her inducements can not be as great as those of the new States. A great deal might be said to show, that, in a balance between Virginia without slaves, and the untenanted quarters of the west without the blessings of human neighbourhood, without proximity to the sea, without markets, without the vicinity of the church, the school-house, the mill, the smith's shop, &c.—not quite all the advantages are on the side of the west. It may be puerile to suppose, as each slave is withdrawn, that by any principle of population a freeman will take his place: doubtless the tide of free labour would not instantly begin to flow in. But as soon as the operation of removal had taken an irrecoverable tendency towards its intended results, we dare believe that an adequate supply of free labour would be at hand. Perhaps the whole amount of labour now done in the State could be performed by one third of the number of white labourers. The question, whether free labourers would come, however, to supply the place of that of slaves, is solved with greater or less ease, according as it presumes that the abstraction of the slave is to be accompanied with compensation to the master, procured from a source without the State, or that the master gives away his slave. Under the first presumption the question solves itself. Under the second, the whole question depends on one's opinion whether Virginia possesses any superior capacities for the application of any extensive classes of industry. But of this we have already sufficiently treated under our first head.

We leave this momentous question now with the people of the counties of Virginia: it is for them to decide what effort they will make to diminish the evils of slavery among themselves. That slavery is not an evil to their prosperity they cannot, will not say. Will they say a remedy is impossible? It is any thing but impossible—it tempts, lures them, and will force itself on them. Will they say that the evil will cure itself? It will not cure itself—it ravages with increasing violence, and there is no hope of its decrease, but from its soon reducing the energies of Virginia to such a state of imbecility as to be incapable of furnishing *materiel* for such an amount of evil. Let them not assent to the view of the eloquent Mr. Brown, (*utinam noster esset*) who seems to wish them to wait (some centuries!) until the Mississippi Valley, now but sprinkled with population, is full, and the ebb of population begins towards poor, effete, decrepid Virginia. Will they say they are afraid to touch the mighty evil—they leave it to their children? They will have learnt

what must then be the heritage of their children. Or will they fold their arms in torpid indifference to the utmost depth of the calamities they provoke? Then we shall understand them; they are prepared, not merely for enduring the present evil, but for that "worse," when the gloom of to-day shall thicken into a deep darkness, and upon that darkness shall rush down an awful cloud of domestic war, like another night shut in upon midnight!

To the young men of Virginia, who have lately pledged their future manhood and age to the prosecution of this work of deliverance, we say, let them remember in the presence of what a host of witnesses their championship is to be exhibited. In a community where popularity is essential to public usefulness, let them yet not fear, lest the popular favour desert them. The name of the Great Democrat is once more in the van:—a power that never failed in Virginia. Many indeed are the subjects of unhappy conflict in the United States, on which we have but too much reason to wish that Mr. Jefferson were still alive to give his umpirage. Let us at least hail the unexpected appearance, that offers guidance on this domestic theme, the greatest perhaps of all. Let them be cheered by such auspices; again "he heads the flock of war." But we should be disloyal to the grandeur of their cause, if we did not forearm them with fortitude to meet odium, to suffer desertion, and to bear with mortifying reverses of every shape. The cause is great enough to deserve these testimonies of its importance. They have before them no easy career, but their destiny to run it is the more enviable. Let the words of Petrarch to Stephen Colonna sink into their heart of hearts: "few companions shalt thou have by the better way: so much the more do I pray thee, gentle spirit, not to leave off thy magnanimous undertaking." Or would they man themselves to the proper pitch, with the wisdom of a better moralist than Petrarch, let them know: *alii de vita, alii de gloria, et benevolentia civium in discrimen vocantur.*—*Sunt ergo domesticæ fortitudines non inferiores militaribus.* (Cic. de Off. I. 24. 22.)

When, some years ago, upon a public occasion, a young Virginian* complained of the tone in which an American Senator boasted that he had read himself out of all romantic notions on this subject, he ventured to declare that might he but humbly sit at the feet of Charles Fox, and glow with kindred feeling to his, (for he was at no time forgetful of the thought of giving freedom to the African, and spent his last breath in achieving the suppression of the slave trade, though the bill received the royal signature after his death), he should not envy the American who was so very free of that fine enthusiasm. Since that day it has been that Virginian's lot to stand at the grave of Fox, and had he

* African Repository, September, 1827.

dared attempt to chasten his feelings into a worthiness for the auspices he had thus chosen in his boyhood, he might have found a scene so literal as to startle him! There may the foes and the friends of that great statesman see how the passions of transient events give way before the immortal essence of one deed for general humanity! By his foes let be forgotten the Coalition and the East India Bill; by his party friends, forgotten for a moment the struggle to diminish the influence of the crown, and to uphold liberty under all the disgrace of the French excesses in her name. Behold what the sculptor chooses, out of all Mr. Fox's claims to renown, to transmit to posterity! He has carved the dying statesman recumbent on his tomb, and at his feet the most conspicuous figure is a liberated African on his knees, raising his shattered chain with clasped hands, and joining with his first hymn of freedom, a prayer to avert the death of the vindicator, assertor, liberator* of Africa. To our mind, that is the most eloquent marble in Westminster Abbey!

ART. VI.—*The History of the Rise and Progress of the United States of North America, till the British Revolution in 1688.* By JAMES GRAHAME, Esq. In two volumes. pp. 531, 527. London: 1827.

THE interest of the present moment absorbs attention too exclusively. The struggle for political power on the arena of public action engages the combatants with such eager and intense devotedness, that other avenues to honour are comparatively deserted. The din of the pending contest is so loud, that it is hardly possible to listen to the tranquil voice of the past, however richly it may be fraught with the lessons of experience and the encouragements of examples, on which time has set its seal. The early history of our own country is full of instruction, not less than of that variety and moral grandeur, which have a right to engage attention. The study of our domestic annals will reprove the timid by exhibiting the brilliant results of successful daring: it may encourage the desponding by showing that not civil war itself was able to weaken in our fathers their attachment to law and to liberty; it subverts the abject fear of a malignant destiny, by showing events as the issue of exertions and not as the consequences of a blind and inexorable fatality. We learn from the past, that our union and our several institutions are the result of

* The two former are titles given in the Civil Law to the advocates for liberty, when the right of any one to freedom was in suit. Hein. II. p. 381, ed. Dupin.

a long series of favouring causes; that they are not a chance benefit, secured by some happy casualty, but are the natural growth, the mature offspring of the virtues and the purposes of succeeding generations.

It might be well for our fellow-citizens, if the feverish interest in the passing events of political controversies, could be cooled by a diffusion of that interest over a longer period of time; if the highly excited feelings of those, who have pushed out upon the fickle ocean of opinions, could be tempered by a stronger curiosity in the past. Let us not always be deafened by the clamorous accusations or eulogies of the competitors for political distinction; but sometimes seize upon a calm moment to contemplate the virtues of those whose career is finished. It is not an edifying task, to be for ever casting the horoscope of public aspirants, or giving way to the forebodings of gloomy despondency on the defeat of a party. The mind that is accustomed to historic research, may, in some degree, escape from the controlling influence of the present interest; may, as it were from the shore, gaze upon the stream of events, undismayed by the rapidity of its current, or the ruffling of its surface. Tranquillity is the reward of this mixture of contemplative life with active.

A deep interest must ever be felt in national affairs. He that has a right view of the benefits which are at issue, both for our country and for humanity, on the success of our national union, may reasonably feel anxiety, whoever may be at the helm. But as our country has sustained the trials of adversity under the bitterest forms, so we may have confidence that it will not be utterly wrecked by prosperity. In a popular government like ours, the strength consists in the deliberate preference of the people. If general conviction declares, that the welfare of every part is best sustained and advanced by a vigorous defence of union, it would exceed the power of either wicked or imbecile rulers to undermine the foundations of our republic. And unless such conviction is universal, and fixed beyond the danger of being eradicated, the most gifted administration would never be able to harmonize the discordant elements, which are always active within the limits of an empire so widely extended, and composed of such heterogeneous elements.

This consideration is capable of imparting confidence while it contains an admonition. It gives firm reliance on the stability of our institutions, because it exhibits them to us as identified with the interests, predilections, and hopes, which have been forming for more than two centuries. Unless the memory of those centuries can be erased, unless time can be rolled back, and established associations be broken, it will not be easy to impair our national union. That, which has been the auspicious result of ages of active virtue, cannot suddenly be destroyed: it has

strength enough to bear for a long time the conflict even with wilful vice, to resist the influence of corruption, to triumph over the artifices of intrigue, to subdue the delirious passions of exasperated disappointment; to flourish in spite of the frenzy of party strife, that seeks its way to power over the graves of the reputation of its competitors.

But the consideration of our political system, as a result of ages of patriotic enterprise, carries with it an admonition. It is that we must assist in giving new strength to the causes, which have produced our government. We must add something to the stock of intelligence and virtue among the living, since on these must rest our hope of success, when the country comes into collision with the intense excitement of a faction. If the public mind is well cultivated and informed, the violence of passion will waste itself in vain efforts, before the public will can be influenced. Hence it becomes an important duty to assist in diffusing useful knowledge; especially such knowledge as fits the citizen for the honest exercise of his franchise. The people that is well informed, is not fickle; and where the principles of freedom are well understood by the husbandman and the mechanic, where they find a shelter and are cherished in every farmhouse and every workshop, you might as well attempt to wrest from them the most widely diffused arts of life, the implements of agriculture themselves, as to make them recreant to the charter of their liberties. Hence the importance of diffusing intelligence to every class in society through unadulterated channels. He that assists in forming public opinion in favour of sound principles, is as effective in life, discharges his duty as amply, as he who takes part in framing a law, or negotiating a treaty, or drafting a report. The manufacturer, who, by a skilful combination of mechanical forces, and a prudent improvement of natural advantages, succeeds in the country by the successful introduction of a new branch of productive industry, merits as much honour as the law-giver, who should furnish an amendment to a tariff bill. The men of business, who could successfully plan and execute such vast public works, as the canal that opens a passage for commerce between the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, or such monuments of private ingenuity and boldness as the Morris canal, or that very successful though very daring enterprise, which connects the Delaware river with the Hudson, deserves as high a seat at the table where the benefactors of the country are guests, as the legislators, who display their wit by prolix cavillings on questions of order, or indulge their passions in bitter invectives, dictated by personal malevolence.

Indeed there exists one reason at least, why they, who aim in the career of letters at an influence upon the public mind, should avoid too eager a participation in political controversy. The truths

that are defended by an aspirant to office, will sometimes be received with distrust. It is not always a light task, to make the interest of truth paramount to the interest of party. But the collisions of parties themselves require to be controlled : and this can be done only by a strong, enlightened, effective public opinion, acting in a mass, and making itself irresistible by its resolute inflexibility. It is to such public opinion, that we must look for the safeguard of the Union. That public opinion, universally diffused, as strong in the remotest cottage of the emigrant farmer, as in the busiest streets of our cities, must by its own weight balance the excesses of excitement ; and the public men, who might otherwise abandon their duty in the fervour of unsuccessful ambition and party hostility, will thus be safely held within their respective spheres by a moral force as strong as that of nature's. In reference to the formation of such a force of opinion, we suffer from the want of familiarity with historic associations, from the youth of our institutions, and from the comparative want of a literature, national alike in its origin and in its character.

Meantime, while the rapid advances of the country to prosperity furnish occupation to every one in the ordinary objects of concern, the notice, which has been demanded of the world in behalf of our institutions, has been freely conceded. It is of little matter, that a Hall or a Trollope has endeavoured to heap ridicule upon a land which received them hospitably ; the world disregards the sneers of the petulant and the disappointed : of the tory officer, and the unsuccessful emigrant. Calumny hisses in a corner ; while the glory of our institutions pervades the earth. An Italian, desirous of gaining for himself a name among men, endeavours to gain distinction by writing the annals of our Revolution ; for many years it has been common in the universities of Germany to include in a special course of lectures the statistics of the United States ; and the books which have been written respecting America, many of them with great ability, would alone fill a vast library.

The Revolution in England in 1688, naturally constitutes an epoch in the history of the United States also. The period previous to that event is the subject of the work of Mr. Grahame, a work which has by no means received among us the attention to which it is fairly entitled.

The same subject had already been treated, and it must be owned in an able manner, by Chalmers, an arch tory, but a laborious inquirer ; a stern enemy to our independence, but a patient student of our state papers. Yet his political principles hardly impair the interest of his work. It is amusing to see with what avidity he seizes upon every opportunity of proving the patriots of America to be technically in the wrong. His history was designed to be polemical ; to deduce from ancient charters,

and records, and legislation, that our Declaration of Independence was contrary to the spirit of the English law. Above all, he has a horror of a Puritan, and strives most strenuously to prove, that the inflexible assertion of liberty, for which the Puritans were famed, was but a tenacious adherence to privileges, which had been usurped in defiance of English statutes. But since our fathers were so successful in their usurpation, since the claims, which they derived from nature, obtained the advantage over the subtle commentators of the colonial charters, the virulence and malice of the historian only serve to impart vivacity to his work; and we read the political annals of Chalmers with pleasure no less than with instruction.

The partialities of Mr. Grahame are on the contrary always with the colonists. He traces the progress of the colonies with the fond admiration of a philanthropist; and delights to exhibit their conduct in an honourable aspect. He has understood the faults and done justice to the lofty virtues of the Puritans; and with the exception of one or two remarks which charge our neighbours of Rhode Island, unjustly, with pusillanimity, and a concession of the merits of Penn in terms too much qualified, and with insinuations, which imply unwarrantable selfishness and injustice, —with these exceptions, Mr. Grahame has given no cause of complaint* from a want of readiness to acknowledge the bravery and the merits of the founders of our states.

Thus, then, we may give to a history of the United States, written by a scholar of Scotland, the praise of candour and liberality. It is right also to inquire, what materials he possessed, which enabled him to execute his purpose with fidelity. And here there is ample room to commend the diligence, with which the sources of our history were investigated by him. But on this subject, Mr. Grahame shall give his own account, especially as the passage which we extract, will serve to show the spirit in which his design was conceived.

"Considering the connexion, that so long subsisted between Great Britain and the American States, the information concerning the early history of many of these provinces, which the public libraries of Britain are capable of supplying, is amazingly scanty.

"After borrowing all the materials that I could so procure, and purchasing as many more as I could find in Britain, my collection proved still so defective in

* We may as well correct, in one note, a mistake which Mr. Grahame has committed in another. Vol. I. page 186. It is there stated as follows. "One American writer, however, has been betrayed by carelessness into an observation so very different, that he represents Raleigh as one of the commanders of this expedition. Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. I. p. 73. This writer has mistaken Raleigh Gilbert for two persons, &c. &c. &c." We have not the English edition of Marshall's *Washington* at hand. To an American reader, we need hardly say, that in the American edition, no such inaccuracy occurs. Mr. Grahame founds upon some misprint in England, a censure of the historian, which in this instance is wholly undeserved.

many respects, that in the hope of enlarging it, I undertook a journey to Göttingen, and in the library of this place, as I had been taught to expect, I found an ampler collection of North American literature, than any, or indeed all the libraries of Britain could supply. From the resources of the Göttingen library, aided by the liberality with which its administrators are always willing to render it subservient to the purposes of literary inquiry, I have derived the greatest advantage and assistance. Yet even this admirable repository of history is not entirely perfect; and I have still to lament my inability to procure some works illustrative of my subject, which, whatever may be their value, it would have been satisfactory to have had an opportunity of perusing. Hopkins's *History of Providence*, in particular, Vanderdonck's *History of New Netherlands*, and Holm's *History of Swedeland in America*, are books, which I have been hitherto unable to procure. The learned Ebeling has characterized the first of these as a book not easily to be met with: and that I am not chargeable with negligent inquiry, may be inferred, I think, from the fact, that I have succeeded in procuring and consulting various works, which Ebeling confesses his inability to obtain, besides many of whose existence he seems not to have been aware.

"History addresses her lessons to all mankind; but when she records the fortunes of an existing people, it is to them, that her admonitions are especially directed. There has never been a people, on whose character their own historical recollections were calculated to exercise a more animating or salutary influence, than the nation whose history I have undertaken to relate.

"In national societies established after the manner of the United States of North America, history does not begin with obscure or fabulous legends. The origin of the nation, and the rise and progress of all its institutions, may be distinctly known. The people may obtain an accurate and familiar acquaintance with the character of their earliest national ancestors, and of every succeeding generation through which the inheritance of the national name and fortunes has devolved to themselves. When this interesting knowledge is blended with the information, that their existence as a people originated in the noblest efforts of wisdom, fortitude, and magnanimity, and that every successive acquisition, by which their liberty and happiness have been extended and secured, has arisen from the exercise of the same qualities, and evinced their faithful preservation and unimpaired efficacy,—respect for antiquity becomes the motive and pledge of virtue; the whole nation feels itself ennobled by ancestors whose renown will continue to the end of time the honour or reproach of their successors; and the love of virtue is so interwoven with patriotism and with national glory, as to prevent the one from becoming a selfish principle, and the other a splendid or mischievous illusion. If an inspired apostle might with complacency proclaim himself a *citizen of no mean city*, a North American may feel grateful exultation in avowing himself the native of no ignoble land,—but of a land that has yielded as great an increase of glory to God and happiness to man, as any other portion of the world, since the first syllable of recorded time, has ever had the honour of producing. A nobler model of human character could hardly be proposed to the inhabitants of New England, Pennsylvania, and others of the North American States, than that which their own early history supplies. It is at once their interest and their honour to preserve with sacred care a model so richly fraught with the instructions of wisdom and the incitements of duty. The memory of the saints and heroes whom they claim as their natural or national ancestors, will bless all those who account it blessed; and the ashes of their fathers will give forth a nobler influence than the bones of the prophet of Israel, in reviving piety and invigorating virtue." Preface, pp. vi.—ix.

The history of the period, which the volumes of Mr. Grahame embrace, derives strong interest from the details of the first formation of the North American colonies. And under how vast a variety of forms did that colonization commence? Commercial corporation and private adventure, the patronage of princes and the sturdy daring of independent emigrants, companies of spe-

culators in land and proprietaries in their solitary grandeur, refugees from Old England, and emigrants even from New England, a Quaker, a Roman Catholic Peer, a Royal Duke, heir to the British throne, and the Lord Chancellor of England, with the chief courtiers of his time, all these sought to promote their own glory and fortunes by advancing the colonization of America. And strangest of all: although emigration was promoted by so many very different public bodies and individuals, the strength of the government in every instance soon came to rest with the colonists themselves, in spite of the whole power of the royal prerogative so frequently exerted to prevent it.

The period is equally remarkable for the rich variety of forms of government, which by their difference and contrast, served to excite the strongest action of mind upon the theories of civil administration. What form that was ever devised, was not here imitated? Massachusetts was doubly remarkable: first, for the nature of its charter, a free government instituted under the sanction of a trading corporation; the rights of citizenship conferred as a consequence of being a stockholder or member of the corporation; and a whole frame of jurisprudence built upon the rights, incident to the company, of enacting by-laws conformable to its interests and necessities. But Massachusetts was, next, no less remarkable for the novel system which was now established under its singular charter: that system was a sort of religious aristocracy; a close corporation, to which none but church members could be admitted; so that the dissenter from Puritanism, the worldling, who had not made an accepted profession of religion, was disfranchised. This was certainly a novel circumstance in the jurisprudence of a State; while in their immediate vicinity, Rhode Island was in form and substance a democracy, where religious faith was no object of inquisition, and dissent no sufficient cause for disfranchisement. In Carolina we witness the attempt at introducing an unnatural feudal nobility; in Maryland a proprietary government, where the proprietary was so powerful, that the State represented a limited monarchy, its hereditary chief magistrate being still subordinate to the English king. These varieties are remarkable enough; but what shall we say then to the proprietary government of New Jersey, where the colony was first divided in twain, and the hereditary sovereignty over the western fraction became at last so subdivided that it was hardly possible to count the number of those who had a share in it? Thus every form, from unqualified democracy to an aristocracy religious and feudal, and even to a phantom of monarchical power, was practised in America; and the fund of political knowledge, which resulted from these experiments, corresponded with their variety and number.

The colonial history of America acquires interest from another

cause also, the great number of eminent men, who were engaged in the work. We may count among the express friends of our country in its earliest period, many of the most distinguished names in England: Cromwell and Peters, Baltimore and Penn, Vane and Shaftesbury, Locke and Barclay, Clarendon and Monk, and many other celebrated men, find a place in the pages of our history; while many of them have monuments to their memory in our cities or rivers or counties.

The earliest period of our history is further remarkable for the air of marvel which belongs to it. Our fathers gazed in wonder, when they found that English grain would germinate and flourish; they give long details of the culture of maize; they illustrate this to themselves almost incredible narrative, by pictures of the most approved method of roasting ears of that plant; they count with astonishment the great productiveness of the Indian corn; they describe the flowers of the field with delightful prolixity; they tell incredible stories about rattlesnakes; and finally, they declare that America "has the prerogative over most pleasant places known."

Again: there is cause of wonder and observation in the character and fortunes of the kings, under whose reign and in whose name our American governments were first organized. Is it not a singular fact, that permanent English colonization began under one of the weakest princes that ever reigned in England? The commencement of the commercial and colonial glory of Great Britain began under the sovereign whom Sully describes as "the wisest fool in Christendom." Alas! for poor King James. As he quitted Scotland he chuckled with great glee at his escape from the dominion of the presbytery; but his career in England was marked by the preparation of the elements of civil discord. The dull pedant! we could forgive him every thing but his miserable apathy at the misfortunes and wrongs of his mother. He well deserved the immortality of contempt to which Scott has doomed him; and the best ornament of the "Fortunes of Nigel" is the graphic portraiture of King James.

And what a strange series of misfortunes, what a seeming fatality of suffering was the doom of the house of Stuart! The mother of James, the most beautiful woman of her age, lost her head on the scaffold after an imprisonment of eighteen years, while the son, in the very season of youth, had not the spirit to resent the outrage. If James himself made his way through peaceful pedantry and mock wisdom to a tranquil grave, he bequeathed to his successor a divided people and a dangerous elevation. Charles I., after deluging England with the blood of its citizens, met his own destiny by the doom of his subjects. His son, a fugitive from the land which he had been born to rule, exposed to dangers and hardship, an unwelcome guest on the continent, driven from France by Louis XIV., who dreaded the

anger of Cromwell, was destined to the still greater dishonour of a restoration, which was disgraced by treachery, by hostility to public liberty, by the grotesque exhibitions of fantastic ribaldry, and the meanness of ingratitude. Next in the series is the unhappy James II.; who had not only the mortification of being driven from the throne, but suffered also the pang of being exiled and supplanted by his own daughters. And last of all, those daughters, as if in punishment for their unnatural ambition, held in succession a barren sceptre, and in the midst of their splendid power would probably have gladly exchanged their elevated rank for the joys of maternity.

Trace then the history of the Stuarts as far back as it can be done, from its earliest period till the moment when it ceased to occupy a throne, the family seems marked for disasters and defeats. Yet the Stuarts have some claim to be respectfully remembered in the United States. One member of our confederacy still makes the charter of King Charles II. the basis of its government. And is it not a high eulogy upon the liberal tenor of that instrument, that now, in the full enjoyment of equal rights, while the spirit of republicanism is in the zenith, a charter granted by a Stuart answers the wants and satisfies the demands of a State, eminent for its attachment to popular government and freedom of conscience? And it would not have been easy for Connecticut also, to make good her claim to the fine tract of land on the south of Lake Erie, if a Stuart, in the liberality of thoughtless despotism and ignorance, had not promised to the knot of Puritans in that colony an extension of their territory to the Pacific. It was a Stuart, whose favour first enabled Lord Baltimore to gain the immortal honour of having been the first to establish a civil government on the basis of religious freedom; a basis which remained unimpaired, till the "glorious revolution" of 1688 gave the ascendancy to Protestant intolerance. And it was a Stuart, whose partiality permitted Penn to establish a great State on the surest foundations of freedom, and to pursue such a career of honourable liberality, and tolerant concession, that the religious fanatics, in the bitterness of their anger, endeavoured to stigmatize him as a Jesuit in disguise. The constitution of Rhode Island owes to the memory of Charles a grateful tribute; while Albany and New York are the most honourable monuments of the transient authority of James. So singular are the ways of Providence! The prosperity of our country grew out of the very vices of its sovereigns; and the bigotry of the Duke of York in England was the shield of religious tolerance in Pennsylvania.

The settlements of New England owed their character to the principles of the great body of the colonists. No one individual stands out, as superior to the rest; and the merit of success belongs to the Puritans collectively. The origin of Pennsylvania

points directly to the honour of its founder. Wo to the man of letters, who would substitute indiscriminate eulogy for reflection, and degrade the art of writing into a traffic in flattery! But we may praise the dead; we may praise the excellent: we may vindicate the memory of those who led the van of honourable action in the establishment of our country and in the contest for tolerance and virtue.

It has been objected to Penn, that he was subservient to the court of a despotic sovereign; but he was ever the intrepid defender of freedom of conscience: he did his utmost, for example, to promote the election of Algernon Sydney to parliament: and he strenuously resisted the encroachments of the Duke of York upon the rights of the colonists of New Jersey.

It is made a cause of censure, that Penn joined with the other proprietaries of East Jersey in surrendering the jurisdiction of that province to the king; but when it is considered, in how many hands the jurisdiction was vested, what singular disputes had arisen, what transfers and assignments had been made of proprietary property in New Jersey, it does not seem reasonable to ascribe that surrender to pusillanimity, when it may have been essential to the safety of the colony. A numerous partnership, a landed aristocracy, a close corporation of proprietaries, seem the least favourable sovereignty that can be imagined. And there remained no choice but to imitate the democracies of New England, (which would have been impossible,) or to give up to the crown the jurisdiction of the territory. The example of Carolina proves that a proprietary government, in the hands of a company, was the worst form established in America.

It is said that Penn did not show horror enough at the execution of Cornish and others; and condemned the conduct of James in terms too moderate.—“The king is greatly to be pitied for the evil counsels that hurry him to the effusion of blood.” And was he not greatly to be pitied? The expression of Penn implies that the measures of cruelty were alike wicked and unwise. We find nothing in his remark to justify cavilling. And what if it be true, that Jeffreys, after the revolution, attempted to excuse himself, by declaring that the court had desired greater severities, and “had snubbed him for being too merciful?” Is the testimony of Jeffreys, the culprit, in self-justification, and after his own overthrow and imprisonment—is such testimony to be believed?

The reservation of quit-rents is charged upon Penn, as being inconsistent with his lofty design of making “a holy experiment and setting an example to the nations.” It is said, he should have avoided mingling the care for his private estate with his purpose as a founder of a colony. It is true that Penn designed to promote his own fortunes while he secured an asylum for the persecuted. He spent money lavishly, and he expected returns. Was

it not just and proper that he should? He exposed himself to no reproach, unless he exacted unreasonable terms. But that he could not well have done; since his lands were in competition with a continent. In reserving a quit-rent he erred on the score of prudence: when the United States sold lands in the west on credit, they created a body of debtors, united and having a common interest to defeat or diminish the claim of the creditor; in like manner, the purchasers of Penn were almost unanimously aggrieved by the stipulation into which they had entered: and an unwise contract furnished a perpetual source of jarring and discord. It may be, there was in the case an error of judgment; whether there was a blameable covetousness, or on which side the covetousness existed, depends not upon the fact of a reservation of quit-rents, but upon the whole view of the bargain between the proprietary and the purchasers.

Again: It is said, that Penn advocated the perpetuity of bad laws, by "his general anathema against all resistance to constituted authority." In the first place, we answer, Penn did not deal in anathemas: and in the next place, he did not denounce *all* resistance; quite the reverse; he denounced resistance by force of arms, but he favoured passive resistance to injustice. The Quaker doctrine is often a wise one. It is no idle phantom, but a principle, capable of disconcerting the strongest government that ever ventured upon the commission of wrong. Will you have an example? Look at Ireland at this moment; where a British parliament and a Reform ministry cannot collect the tithes. The policy of O'Connell is a true Quaker policy; he offers no resistance, but quietly omits to pay tithes for the support of a church to which he does not belong; and if we read rightly the signs of the times, he will in the issue gain the victory. He will have "refused to suffer bad laws," will have refused successfully, and all without resistance.

But it is charged upon Penn, that he coveted the lands of Lord Baltimore. We are not on this head disposed to quarrel with the decision of the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke; and since the tribunals of England, wholly disinterested, refused to give a literal enforcement of the claims of Lord Baltimore, there is hardly room for treasuring up an accusation against the memory of Penn. Be it, that he was "very intent on his own interest in these parts;" that is to his honour, if he respected justice. "I would not be thus importunate," says he, "but to serve a province; because the thing insisted on was more than ninety-nine times more valuable to me than to him; to me, the head; to him, the tail." Now it is distorting the plain meaning of Penn, to say, that he here claims the territory in dispute, on the ground of his needing it. He is but offering an excuse for his inflexi-

bility in maintaining what he defends as his right by other arguments.

Nor do the divisions, which subsequently took place between Penn and the colonists, furnish any argument against the merits of the former. For it is to be observed, that the emigrants had formed cabals and parties among themselves, before they complained of the proprietary. And Penn still had the magnanimity to call them "one of the best people." The changes which took place in the form of government, were, in the main, improvements. They chiefly resolve themselves into two; a concession to the popular branch of the right of introducing bills, a right which at first had belonged to the council; and on the other hand a reservation of a veto to the governor. It was natural that some portion of the colonists should view any change with alarm. That vague dissatisfaction which belongs to human life and human affairs, assumed the form of complaining of Penn, as though he had designed to diminish the liberties of the colony. Is there any ground whatever for the complaint? The proprietary administration was essentially a bad one; Penn is not responsible for those evils, which lay in the very nature of the organization, which had enabled him to accomplish so much good. When the Assembly of Pennsylvania transmitted to him a remonstrance about quit-rents, and alleged that by his *artifices* the several charters granted at the first settling of the colony had been defeated, it is evident, that the payment of the quit-rents was the main grievance, for he that candidly examines the changes in the charters, the tenor of them, and the manner in which they were made, must acquit Penn of all unwarrantable interference, and all disposition to check the growth of the liberties of the State.

We might finally notice the attack upon Penn, in consequence of his advising King James to practise tolerance. It is contended, that for the king to have allowed liberty of conscience was an act of encroaching power; that it was tyranny and usurpation in a British king to have favoured liberty of conscience; and that Penn was no better than guilty of treasonable designs in attempting to procure the release of more than a thousand, who had been imprisoned for the sin of being Quakers. As we write, we call to mind the splendid speech of Burke at Bristol, perhaps the noblest which he ever uttered, where he was compelled to make his apology to the English nation for having taken a part in repealing bills of atrocious severity against the Roman Catholics. The same men who censured Burke, complain of Penn as the advocate of tolerance. He should have seen, said they, that tolerance meant Popery. He should have snuffed the idolatry of Rome in the breeze. In the same spirit, Chalmers derides the Quakers for emigrating, inasmuch as they "suffered more from what they dreaded than from what they felt." We have before

us the copy of the Political Annals which once belonged to the celebrated Ebeling; the honest chronicler makes upon this passage a wise annotation: "*Than what they felt: to be whipped, imprisoned, nay to be burnt alive, certainly may be felt!*" And most men will agree with the learned commentator, and will hesitate before they condemn Penn for striving to stem the vehemence of public fury and the delirium of fanatic hatred.

Even at this moment, while we are writing, many citizens of a large and most respectable commonwealth are engaged in commemorating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of William Penn at New Castle; they are communing together upon his virtues, and drawing from the recesses of history the memorials of his life and policy.

The first effort of Penn in colonial legislation was effected in West New Jersey. A small knot of emigrant husbandmen established themselves there under his auspices; and in the spirit of philanthropy and justice agreed upon the assertion of civil and religious liberty as the basis of their government. *No men on earth, say they, have power to rule over men's consciences in matters of religion.* They introduced voting by ballot, universal suffrage, and universal eligibility to office; they abolished imprisonment for debt; they punished falsehood with the forfeiture of denizenship; they granted no taxes but for a year. "We lay," said Penn, "a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and as Christians; that they may not be brought into bondage but by their own consent, for we put the power in the people." These were remarkable words for a period which saw Charles II. upon the English throne, and the Duke of York the heir apparent and personal friend of the writer. The economy of the colony was also as exemplary as the features of its constitution were liberal. Two hundred pounds a year were enough to defray all public expenses; the members of the Assembly received no more than a shilling a day for their services during the session; and that only for the sake of reminding them that they were the hirelings of the people. The country was esteemed the poor man's paradise; or rather poverty was unknown in all its borders. The pleasant villages on the eastern side of the Delaware welcomed the virtuous exile with a homely but cordial hospitality; and there was so little of "human nature" in these adventurers, that they were unequivocally and magnanimously tolerant, when all the rest of the human family was engaged in religious persecutions.

But not satisfied with planting West Jersey, Penn, fortunately for mankind, persevered in his entreaties in England, till at length he wrested from a voluptuous despot, the broad domain of Pennsylvania. It was then that his character was put to the test, for he was made sole proprietor of the territory of the com-

monwealth, with ample and almost irresponsible supremacy. It was then that he stood forth in the eye of the world and of all ages as a legislator; unrestrained by ancient usage; untrammelled by the influence of established abuses; having free course for the exercise of his mind and the display of his principles.

Penn was at that time in the vigour of manhood. He was well informed, if not learned. His early years had the benefit of a careful education; he had subsequently travelled over many parts of Europe; he had lived in an age of revolutions, so that his own experience and the recollections of those around him were full of variety and interest; a king dethroned and executed; the ancient parliament reformed; the new parliament abolished; the stern tyranny of the protectorate; the libertine despotism of the reformation; these were the occurrences with which his years were conversant; the wrecks of the feudal system were floating on the stream of time before his eyes; the constitutions and the practical administration of the most cultivated European countries were familiar to him; the voice of antiquity had reached him in the quiet of studious seclusion. Above all; besides these opportunities of acquiring the knowledge which he needed, he had confidence in himself; and he also had a just consciousness of his high responsibility as the founder of a State. "As my understanding," he remarks, "and my inclination have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in government, so it is now put in my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege I purpose that which is extraordinary; and leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country. A government is free to the people under it, when the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws." And in this view, in an age when despotism was on the advance, he determined, according to his own sublime expressions, *to set an example to the nations*; adding, there may be room in America, though not in Europe, for such a holy experiment.

Need we dwell on the liberal features of his constitution? Or the wisdom and humanity of his laws? How admirable his regulations to encourage industry, to protect commerce, to improve the discipline of prisons: to establish the absolute equality of all religious sects by the strongest guaranties of constitutional law.

This is the great glory that makes the name of Penn conspicuous on the pages of universal history, and marks him out for one among the few, to whom immortal honour will be paid through all succeeding generations: he was the first who *successfully* established the unqualified spirit of religious liberty in America. He does not indeed deserve the honour of having originated the design; but he was the first who succeeded in practice. It had already been attempted by a Roman Catholic no-

bleman in Maryland; but the views of Lord Baltimore were subverted by the bitter and ambitious intolerance of the Protestants, whom his own moderation had freely admitted into his settlements. The same object had again been attempted by a Protestant English philosopher, whom Providence had called forth to legislate for Carolina; but then the bigotry of the lords proprietaries occasioned the grossest abuses, and in spite of the catholicism of Locke, the settlers were harassed by grievous invasions of their stipulated liberties. What Locke and Baltimore had failed to accomplish, Penn was enabled to perfect. He and the people of his colony were true to that charity which rested upon justice, and gave the promise of peaceful abundance.

But let us hear the language of Penn himself.

"We must give the liberty we ask; and cannot be false to our principles, though to relieve ourselves." And again:—

"We would have none suffer for a truly sober and conscientious dissent on any hand." And in his admirable letter to Tiltonson,

"I abhor two principles in religion, and pity those that own them.—The first is obedience upon authority without conviction: and the other, the destroying them that differ from me for God's sake. Such a religion is without judgment, though not without teeth."

And whence could Penn have derived his philanthropic and truly Christian liberality? From the University of Oxford, to which he resorted for his education?—He had been indignantly expelled from it for non-conformity.—From the venerable bishops of England?—They had caused him imprisonment in the Tower of London for his liberality, and had threatened to make his prison his grave.—From the relics of the partisans of Cromwell?—His was a bitter fanaticism, which alone dared to oppose that usurper.—From the restorers of the monarchy?—Let history tell its tale of the political profligacy of Monk, and the inflexible bigotry of Clarendon.—From the voluptuous court of Charles II.?—Sunk in the excesses of grotesque ribaldry, it fluctuated between the caprices of superstition and the grossness of sensuality.—From his travels abroad?—Holland could imprison Grotius for Arminianism, and France exile a million of its best inhabitants for the crime of being Protestants.—Whence then could the lawgiver of Pennsylvania have derived his candour and his charity? He asked counsel of truth and justice; he closed his eyes alike to the visions of metaphysical theories and the intolerance of existing governments. His judgment was not dazzled by the splendour of European hierarchies; nor was his imagination overpowered by the Utopias and El Dorados of ingenious speculation. He interrogated nature on the rights of man, without dictating her reply.

Mankind will never forget to do him honour. But his noblest monument is found in the results of his legislation. Emigrants from half the world have felt the attraction of the system which he established; and the mass of incongruous elements, Puritans and Prelatics, Cavaliers and Roundheads, Catholics and Quakers, Methodists and Baptists, Heretics and Orthodox, have all been brought together by the benignant influence of religious liberty, and all been harmonized and united into one civil community under its majestic influence. The Delaware river used to gain the most ready admiration; but Penn would often boast of his possessing the Schuylkill, because it stretched so far into the interior, and might one day be a channel of internal commerce. What would he say, if he could now return to earth and behold the territory which he cherished? He would see the Delaware united with the Hudson and with the waters of New York harbour; the Schuylkill and the Susquehanna, both feeding canals along their banks, and both united; the heights of the Alleghanies conquered by a rail-road, that is to bear the burdens of commerce with rapidity and security by the side of the precipices and the mountain waterfalls; and finally, to the west of the Apalachian chain, he would observe the busy activity of steamboats and the immense rafts of floating forests upon rivers which in his day murmured through the secret places of the wilderness without a name. He had pitched for his city upon a site, which seemed to him favourable beyond that of any town which he had ever seen. He describes with great delight the lofty banks covered with stately pines; the broad plain stretching away from river to river, and offering ample room not for dwellings and warehouses only, but also for gardens and orchards. What if he could now behold those gardens covered with stately buildings, the streets extending from stream to stream; and the falls of the Schuylkill, diffusing by the aid of simple machinery the blessings of pure water in abundance to every corner of the city, that is happy in its general prosperity, and tranquil from the force of public sentiment and the diffusion of public virtue?

The consideration of the great results which have been accomplished in the short space of one hundred and fifty years, is full of solemn admonition to the living generation, which is necessarily the guardian, to hold in trust for coming ages, the wisdom, the comforts, and the liberties which have been accumulated by the past. The fathers were emigrants; were still subject to a foreign jurisdiction; were few in number; and were summoned to contend with the savage strength of unsubdued nature. We stand upon vantage ground.—Can virtue be developed only in the contest with adversity? And will patriotism be endangered by the brilliancy of our prosperity?

ART. VII.—ITALIAN REPUBLICS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

- 1.—*Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du moyen âge.* Par J. C. L. SISMONDI, *Correspondant de l'Institut, &c., &c.* 16 tomes. Paris.
- 2.—*A History of the Italian Republics; being a View of the Rise, Progress and Fall of Italian Freedom.* By J. C. L. DE SISMONDI. 12mo. Philad. Carey & Lea. 1832.

THE study of the poets, orators, and historians of Greece and Rome, forms so important a branch of liberal education, that we seldom meet with any discussions on the constitutions of modern times, in which reference is not made to the political systems of the ancient republics. The examples, however, which Italy furnishes of the modifications of which government is susceptible, are not limited to the duration of the Roman power. The *chef-d'œuvre* in all the departments of the arts, which not only illustrate the land of their creation, but constitute the principal ornament of every palace in Christendom, are alone sufficient to recall to us those republics of the middle ages, to whose existence we may ascribe the second epoch of Italian glory. And from the history of Florence and Venice, and of their contemporaries and rivals, lessons of political experience may be deduced, not less valuable, and scarcely less attractive, than those furnished by the annals of Athens and Rome.

If the fate of the Roman empire affords, on the one side, conclusive arguments against the establishment of a central republic over extensive regions, we may find, on the other, in the contests by which the Italian cities exhausted that strength which should have been concentrated against their transalpine invaders, the most powerful motives for resisting all parricidal efforts to break asunder those ties, to which is to be ascribed the unprecedented prosperity of the United States.

History has been often called philosophy teaching by example; and as before this article comes into the hands of our readers, the questions of personal politics, which have for some time engrossed the public attention, will have been disposed of, and subjects of a more serious aspect, but too probably assumed their place, the present may not afford an unapt occasion for studying the nature of our institutions, and comparing them with those of other countries. We, therefore, purpose to give in the few following pages, a cursory view of the political systems of the Italian republics, drawn, in a great degree, from the excellent history of Mr. Sismondi—a work which we cannot too strongly commend to the notice of every American statesman.

It was not in the absence of a federal government alone, that the republics of the middle ages differed from those to which we are habituated. The representative, as well as the federative principles, as applied by us to secure *the greatest happiness of the greatest number*, are modern discoveries.

The guaranties of civil liberty, even as they are understood in the limited monarchies of modern Europe, were equally unknown to the aristocracy of Venice and the democracy of Florence. In the Italian states all public matters were ultimately decided in general assemblies of the people; and if those bodies were not too numerous for the transaction of business, it was not owing to the substitution of deputies who expressed the sentiments of their constituents, but to the restriction of citizenship to a comparatively small number of individuals. Out of the eighteen millions who inhabited Italy in the fifteenth century, not more than eighteen thousand were admitted to a full enjoyment of political rights, and even the favoured class in the several republics were, as in those of antiquity, the slaves of their respective states, and were obliged to console themselves for the absence of all protection against the government, by the reflection that they themselves participated in the sovereign power.

We should in vain seek in the Italian codes for those safeguards against oppression for which we are indebted to the institutions of our mother country, publicity of judicial proceedings, *habeas corpus*, and trial by jury in criminal matters. "The Italians conceived that legislation must be based on the received system of jurisprudence; they, therefore, abandoned it to the jurists, and submitted blindly to decisions founded on the maxims of the schools and the authority of Justinian." With them liberty meant an active participation in the sovereignty of the country, and was not made to consist in the power of doing what one pleases, restrained by the state only so far as may be necessary to secure equal protection to others, and no further.

The whole system of Italian liberty was founded, as is well explained by our author, on three axioms, viz. first, that all authority exercised over the people is derived from the people; secondly, that the authority of the mandatories of the people must return to the people after a determinate time, and that no commission from the people is irrevocable; thirdly, that whoever exercises an authority derived from the people, is responsible to the people for the use which he makes of it.

As respects the protection of life and property, the principal advantage which the citizens of the Italian republics possessed over the subjects of the most despotical kingdoms, arose from the circumstance, that owing to the extremely short tenure of all offices, those who made a law knew that they certainly would not execute it, but that it might be executed against them.

In the frequent internal contests between the different classes in the Italian states, the idea seems no where to have presented itself of extinguishing all grounds of future hostility by placing every citizen on an equality ; but sometimes the nobles, at others, the plebeians, were deprived of the privileges of freemen. In that city which was deservedly styled the Athens of Italy, a system was adopted, which might well be likened to the ostracism of its ancient prototype. By the votes of the *balia*, an irresponsible body, the most illustrious citizens of Florence were exiled and deprived of their property, for no other crime than that of belonging to the faction which happened to be in a temporary minority.

But the characteristics of the Italian institutions will be best understood by tracing their rise and progress.

With the death of Romulus Augustulus, in the latter part of the fifth century, the empire of the west ceased ; but from the accession of his commander of the guards, Odoacea, under the title of King of Italy, to the granting of chartered privileges to the towns by Otho, the first German Emperor of the house of Saxony, an interval of five centuries elapsed. During this period, though Venice laid the foundation of her subsequent prosperity, and the southern parts of the peninsula boasted of the republics of Gaeta, Naples, and Amalfi, the northern and central districts of Italy shared the fate of the neighbouring countries of Europe.

The Lombards, who established themselves in the middle of the sixth century, in the provinces which still preserve their name, were originally from Scandinavia, and their institutions, like those of the kingdoms of the north, were to be attributed to the military character of the feudal system. The principles on which they formed their settlement are thus described :

“When the Lombards conquered Italy, these free, valiant, and independent men, who carried on war for themselves and not for a master, divided their conquests into as many fiefs, as there had been warriors in the expedition. They however recognised the advantage of military discipline, and preserved to the army its form and subordination in the establishment which was to make of them a new people. They gave to their captains the titles of dukes or generals, and confided to them the government of the cities, with the prerogatives of lords paramount over the surrounding territory ; they all retained for themselves the name of soldiers, *militēs*, and every individual obtained the feudal property in a portion of the territory of a city, or of the castles and villages which depended on it. Thenceforward the word *miles* was used to designate a gentleman rather than a soldier. A full title in the landed property belonged to the gentlemen alone. Below them, the husbandmen their vassals (the *Romani*), whom they had dispossessed, and whom they forced to labour on their account, and to render to them the third part of their harvests, were in a condition approaching slavery. In a higher rank, the authority of the dukes, attached to the maintenance of a certain social order, only reposed on a fiction of property, on an imaginary right to estates and provinces, which those chiefs did not really possess. However the same system formed the security of the duke and of the gentleman, it equally sanctioned the obedience of the vassal and of his lord. During several

centuries the dukes were powerful by reason of the strength of the gentlemen, who were subordinate to them. In ascending the feudal scale, the king, placed above the dukes, ought to have had the same authority over them, as the dukes had over the gentlemen. But, if the right of property of the great vassals over an entire province, was only a fiction of the law, the right of property of the kings over a kingdom, was a fiction still further removed from the reality; and since the stability of power was connected with territorial riches, the power of the gentlemen over their vassals must have been absolute, that of the dukes precarious, and that of the king almost null."

In the general assemblies of the Lombards, we find nearly the same organization, and the same attributes of authority, as existed in the parliament of England, and in the national councils of the other feudal states.

"The general assembly, to which belonged the right of electing the sovereign, was also the high court of justice of the kingdom. It was convoked periodically, at least twice a year, in summer and in autumn. All the freemen holding immediately of the king, were considered as bound to attend. It is probable, however, that the vassals too remote from the place of holding the court, could excuse themselves from making an onerous journey, by going to the court which the Count of the palace presided over in the provinces, in the name of the sovereign. This Count was the principal minister of justice of the monarchy. To him belonged the right of convoking the national assembly in all parts of the state, of presiding over it in the absence of the king, and of distributing justice in his name when the public business was finished. There were likewise in the provinces other assemblies, formed upon the model of the general court of the kingdom, and at these assemblies of the nobles, all freemen, holding of a great feudatory, were bound to be present."

Italy constituted no exception to the universal rule, that the strength of the tie between the feudatory and his lord paramount, was in the inverse ratio of the subject's power. Those great proprietors, whose immediate followers were probably not less numerous than the tenants of their sovereign, were naturally indisposed to brook a superior, and were little attached to the preservation of the monarchy, while the freemen or gentlemen, who in process of time began to assume titles and form a second class of nobility, looked to the kings as their protectors against their immediate chiefs. The towns, also, invoked their aid, as well against the arrogance of the neighbouring barons, as to preserve them from domestic anarchy. Had the power of the Lombards remained unimpaired, or had a kingdom unconnected with foreign states, been constituted on the ruins of their sovereignty, it is probable that the cities of Italy would have offered no more topics for the pen of the historian, than were presented by the municipalities of France or England.

The contests between the king and his great vassals might have terminated, either like those of France, in the establishment of an absolute sovereign, or another *magna charta* might have led to institutions resembling the limited monarchy of our English ancestors. But while the great fiefs of France were gradually returning to the crown, and the kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy were coming under the sway of a single monarch, the found-

dation was laid by the re-establishment of the western empire under Charlemagne, and the subsequent transfer of the imperial dignity to the Germans, for the division of Italy into numerous independent states.

Otho, instead of attempting the government of distant territories, which he could rarely visit, was contented with a general acknowledgment of his authority. In order to preserve Italy in at least a nominal subjection to the imperial crown, he conceived it advisable to place the cities in a situation, that would guaranty him and them against all encroachments from the neighbouring barons. Municipal governments were accordingly established in the principal towns, and as among the other privileges conferred by their charters, they were authorized to organize their own militia, they soon began not only to engage in wars with one another, but to take part in the disputes between the church and the empire.

By the treaty of Constance, concluded by the cities of Lombardy with Frederick Barbarossa in 1183, the emperor yielded the regal prerogatives which he had claimed within their walls, as well as the rights which they had acquired by war or usage in the districts depending on them; he granted them the right of raising armies, fortifying their towns, and of exercising within them civil and military jurisdiction. The Imperial authority was never wholly denied in Italy, but the long absences of the emperor, for even the princes of the house of Saxony passed twenty-five out of forty years beyond the Alps, the disuse of the assemblies of the kingdom and of the collection of the imperial revenue, rendered it, especially after the death of Frederick II., in a great degree nominal. Though sometimes resorted to for the exaction of largesses, with the practical independence of the free cities, in their days of prosperity, it was never supposed by the most fastidious to interfere.

The connexion of Italy with the empire was principally important as tending to make that country the arena for the settlement of the conflicting pretensions of the two potentates, who respectively claimed to be the temporal and spiritual chiefs of Christendom. The power of the church had been early established, and when Otho entered Italy, besides the patrimony of St. Peter, the most important and richest fiefs were possessed by the clergy. Most of the bishops had acquired, by charters from the kings or the superior lords, temporal jurisdiction over the cities of their sees, and there was scarcely a bishop, or even an abbot, who did not enjoy royal prerogatives in a village or hamlet. But the Ecclesiastical state was an Italian power, while the hereditary dominions of the emperors were situated on the other side of the Alps, and such was the sympathy created by a common interest, that in despite of the genius of the Papal power, the cities made

common cause with the Popes, in their disputes with the empire. It was not, indeed, till the progress of the Reformation had changed the adversaries from whom the church had most to apprehend, that the court of Rome abandoned her place at the head of the opposition to the invaders of Italy, in order to make common cause with foreign monarchs, against all innovations, whether attempted for political or religious objects.

The collisions between the Emperors and the Popes were not of a nature to be adjusted by a single campaign, or even by a bloody war. The party distinctions which the contest engendered, did not terminate with what gave them birth, and as we have often seen, in similar cases in modern times, the names were preserved long after their origin was forgotten. Throughout the whole extent of Italy, scarcely a town was to be found in which the factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines—the titles originally given to the partisans of the Church and the Empire, did not exist.

If we recur to the state of society in the towns, on the establishment of their independence, we shall have no difficulty in accounting for the ascendancy which the burgesses soon acquired over the ancient nobility of the country.

Such is the efficacy of regular industry, that protection for persons and property, and unrestricted freedom in the employment of his resources, are alone sufficient to place the burgher of a manufacturing or commercial town, in his command over the comforts and enjoyments of life, in a situation far preferable to that of the petty chieftain, who, as well as his followers, regards war as the avocation alone worthy of freemen. In most countries the natural result of the different pursuits of the two classes to whom we have alluded, has, however, been frustrated. Wherever all power has been limited to the nobles, they, being proprietors of land, have given peculiar protection to the only species of property which they themselves possessed, and have rendered (of this the English corn laws are a striking illustration,) the legislation of the country subservient to their own peculiar views.

Nor were the inhabitants of the towns affected by that regulating mania, which has not only opposed the greatest barriers to the augmentation of wealth and to the progress of civilization, but now threatens us with the destruction of the fairest fabric of liberty, ever devised by the ingenuity of man. Not only did there exist in Italy of the middle ages, perfect freedom as to different branches of trade and manufactures, but we meet with no traces of laws passed for the benefit of the rich landlord or of the wealthy manufacturer, who, as long as his revenue continues undiminished, regards not the misery to which his monopoly subjects millions of his fellow-citizens.

Even the system of the Lombards, like that of the Franks, ad-

mitted of the election of popular magistrates to form the municipal council of the count or governor ; but when the government of the towns was rendered still freer in the tenth century, they all endeavoured to assimilate their institutions to the Roman model.

The landed nobility were every where objects of jealousy, and if, in process of time, distinctions of rank prevailed among the Italians, there was at least a bond of sympathy between the different classes of the state, arising from the fortunes of the higher orders having been derived from the same pursuits to which the industrious portion of their fellow-citizens were directing their attention. The Albiezzi and the Medicis of Florence were merchants, to whom successful trade gave a power greater than that of Princes. The aristocracies of Venice and Genoa were also the fruits of commerce and maritime enterprise, not the descendants of feudal chieftains.

It is true, that after the cities had attained to considerable stability, the first impulse of the gentry was to throw themselves on the protection of the republics, and many of the rural counts availed themselves of the franchises of the municipalities ; but as they could ill brook an equality with those whose plebeian origin and vulgar pursuits they despised, they soon made efforts, in which they were often successful, to monopolize the supreme power. The consequence was arrogance on the part of the nobles, and jealousy on the part of the tradesmen, followed by continual internal wars between the different classes.

In Milan, to resist the family combinations of the nobles, plebeian clubs, which would seem to be the prototypes of the revolutionary associations of modern times, were established. "They named magistrates to overlook those of the republic, they took cognizance of the affairs of the nation, and arrogated to themselves the prerogatives of sovereignty, without having any constitutional claim to them."

In several of the states, ancient descent, instead of being an enviable distinction, was a ground of perpetual exclusion from office. In Pistoia, in 1285, the people declared the *grandees* ineligible to the government of the city, and directed that whenever a plebeian family disturbed the public order, it should, as a punishment for its disobedience to the laws, be inscribed on the register of the nobles, to be proscribed for ever. Similar regulations were adopted at Bologna, Padua, Brescia, Pisa, Genoa, and other free cities.

At the head of the administration of the Lombard republics, were placed two consuls, annually chosen by the people. Their most important functions were to distribute justice to their fellow-citizens, to perform the duties of generals, and preside over the councils of the republic.

The Diet which convened at Roncaglia in 1158, gave to the emperor the appointment of foreign magistrates, styled *Podestats*; who became the depositaries not only of the judicial power, but of the military force, which was directed alternately against the internal enemies of order and the foreign foes of the state. Mutual jealousy among the citizens of the same town led also to the continuance of these podestats, who, even when that order was debarred from all offices at home, were taken from the nobles of other cities.

Besides the consuls, there was in the several republics a select council, charged with the administration of the finances, the inspection of the conduct of the consuls and the foreign relations of the state, while a senate, a larger body, prepared the business for the general assembly of the people, whose functions were ordinarily confined to a simple approval or rejection of the propositions submitted to their consideration.

Indeed, it is remarked as a characteristic of the Italians, that, even in the councils, they disregarded the influence of eloquence, and no guaranty was ever afforded to the minority that they would not, by expressing those opinions which a patriotic judgment dictated, expose themselves to the vengeance of the more powerful party. There was consequently no publication on pending matters, no appeal to the sentiments of the community. It was, therefore, only by revolutions that stifled complaints could find utterance.

The Lombard cities, as early as the thirteenth century, fell a prey to the usurpations of petty tyrants, and, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, the greater part of them were governed by chiefs, whose claims were founded on no hereditary principle. As in the case, however, in modern times, of the elevation of Napoleon to the supreme dignity, the changes in the constitution were ordinarily effected according to popular forms, and were accompanied by a manifestation of reverence for liberty and respect for the sovereignty of the people.

These new Princes, who rose on the ruins of the republics, and took the titles of Dukes and Marquises, did not owe their power to the ancient constitutions of the north. They were the offspring of the cities, whose sovereignty they had usurped; and all their authority came from the people. But the democracy, which had preceded them, had given a more absolute and despotic character to the government of an individual, for it had levelled before the princes all ranks of the nation, and destroyed all those privileges of the higher orders, which might have interposed an obstacle to arbitrary power.

From the thirteenth century, Venice and Florence are the republics most deserving of general attention. Venice rising almost literally out of the sea, and forming as early as the sixth

century a refuge from the invasion of the Lombards, to whom it was never subject, must be regarded rather as an isolated state than as one of the Italian republics. It was, even in after ages, so far removed from the general politics of the peninsula, as to escape the protracted contests between the church and empire, and consequently was never disturbed by the factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines.

In the institutions of Venice we find the excluding principle carried to the greatest extent. Of the subjects of the republic, not even those of the neighbouring continent, much less the inhabitants of the Illyrian provinces, were admitted to any participation of political power; and under the constitution, which prevailed for five centuries, few of the *peuple-roi*—the citizens of the capital, belonged to the dominant oligarchy.

The government of Venice was originally monarchical and democratical. The Doge was named for life, and the office was frequently transmitted from father to son. The prerogatives of the Doge were at least equal to those of the Lombard Kings, while the sovereignty, so far as it was not exercised by him, was shared with the general assembly of the people, by whom also the chief of the republic himself was elected.

The first tendency towards aristocracy was the creation in the latter part of the twelfth century of a grand council of four hundred and eighty members, to whom were attributed all the powers not assigned to the Doge, and conjointly with him the sovereignty of the republic. Though provision was made, in the first instance, for the choice of the grand council by electors, selected by the people, this body soon arrogated to itself the power of naming those by whom it was to be renewed, and thus virtually became irremovable. The Doge, whose prerogatives were greatly restricted, was also appointed by a delegation from the grand council. As the mode of choosing a chief magistrate has been one of considerable perplexity in all free states, it may be well to point out the manner in which the election was conducted in Venice.

Thirty members were first drawn by lot from the whole council, and this number was then reduced by a second drawing to nine. These nine chose by a plurality of seven votes forty members of the same council, who were reduced by lot to twelve. The twelve named twenty-five, who were reduced by lot to nine, the nine named forty-five, who were reduced to eleven. These last eleven finally named forty-one electors of a Doge, and it required twenty-five votes to be united on a candidate to make a choice.

The transition from popular to aristocratical institutions was not immediate and direct. For many years the forms of election were observed; and efforts were made, at different times, not

without some prospect of success, to recover for the people the right of electing the Doge as well as the grand council; but, at the end of the thirteenth century, the question annually submitted was changed from one respecting the re-election of members, to a decision on their continuance in office. And finally, in 1319, the grand council was definitively closed, all elections for members were abolished, and all persons whose paternal ancestors had been members of the council, were, at the age of twenty-five, admitted to it as of right. Thus the oligarchy became legally established as a part of the constitution.

But, though the privileged class formed but a small portion of the citizens of the capital, and a most inconsiderable part of the total population subject to the government of Venice, yet even they were far from all participating in the administration of the state. The council of ten, which, though renewable twice a year, was, during the last two centuries, accessible to only sixty families, arrogated to itself all the attributes of sovereignty. The secret police and the horrible inquisition established by this oligarchy, have been the themes of many a tale, and the recital of the cruelties inflicted by their authority is amply sufficient to destroy all commiseration for the fate of a republic, which, for five hundred years, maintained a distinguished rank among the nations of the earth.

The ordinary wars and negotiations in which Venice engaged, connect themselves with general history. We cannot, however, refrain from remarking, that such is the power furnished by successful commerce, that, on the division of the Eastern Empire, though Venice then had but two hundred thousand inhabitants, she was put in possession of eight thousand square leagues, and of seven or eight millions of subjects. Her acquisitions were indeed on this occasion so disproportionate to the domestic resources of the state, that she did not attempt to retain them, but published an edict, by which she granted to all her citizens permission to arm, at their own expense, vessels of war, and to subject, on their own account, the isles of the Archipelago and the Greek cities on the coast.

The constitution of Florence, during the whole period of the renown of that distinguished republic, was decidedly democratic in its prominent features. The Emperor Frederick II. had, during his temporary ascendancy, established aristocratical institutions, and confined the government exclusively to Ghibeline nobles, but this could not be brooked by a people enriched by commerce, and whose respect was commanded by wealth, not by hereditary descent. The aristocratical constitution was subverted in 1250 by an insurrectionary movement. The fortresses of the nobles were ordered to be razed, and the administration was confided to a new officer, in place of the podestat, and to a council

of twelve, chosen from the different quarters of the city, renewable every two months.

This system was unchanged during the ten most glorious years of the republic. Through the interposition however of Manfred of Sicily, the nobles were temporarily restored to their former ascendancy, but the footing on which the government was placed in 1282, was maintained, at least in form, till the name of republic was lost in the assumption of the Ducal title and prerogatives by Alexander de Medicis in 1532.

It was received as a fundamental maxim, that in a city of merchants, merchants alone should govern; all gentlemen, that is to say, all those who were in any way connected with the feudal tenures, were absolutely excluded from offices of every description, and even the exercise by them of the business of merchants, afforded no exemption to the penalty imposed on their noble blood. Every pursuit was not, however, deemed equally honourable, and those who had been foremost in putting down the ancient nobles, were willing enough to recognise distinctions between themselves and the inferior classes. There had been established at Florence twelve incorporated trades, seven of which, termed the major arts, belonged to the first class, and constituted a species of municipal aristocracy, while the five others were called the minor arts.

We will give the list of the different corporations of the two classes in the order in which they ranked, as, independently of any light which it may throw on the constitution we are discussing, it may possibly be of some use to the ladies patronesses of our great cities, in settling the precedence among our own *bourgeois*.

The major arts were, 1st, the jurists; 2d, the foreign merchants; 3d, the bankers; 4th, the manufacturers of wool; 5th, the physicians; 6th, the manufacturers and venders of silk; 7th, the furriers.

The inferior arts were, 1st, the retailers of cloth; 2d, the butchers; 3d, the shoemakers; 4th, the carpenters and masons; and 5th, the blacksmiths.

The executive power was confided to six priors, chosen from each of the major arts, exclusive of the legal profession, which, from the nature of the offices which it alone could fill, was supposed to enjoy, in another way, its share in the government of the city. The power of the priors was limited to two months, so that the administration was changed six times a year. In order to secure responsibility to the public, it was, indeed, a general rule in the Italian cities, except at Venice in the case of the Doge, to continue no native magistrate in office beyond a year. The priors were at first elected by their predecessors together with the chiefs of the higher arts, but they were in after times drawn

by lot from a list of all the eligibles. During their continuance in office, they lived together at the public expense, in the palace of the state, from which they were not permitted to absent themselves; but no pecuniary compensation was given to any native magistrate of Florence, the honour of serving the republic being deemed a sufficient recompense.

It is probably to the short duration of the office of the nominal rulers, that we are to ascribe the influence exercised, in the latter days of the republic, by irresponsible individuals, who, long before any of the Medici family assumed the title of duke, were universally regarded abroad as chiefs of the republic, and regulated its foreign and domestic policy, though they had no official station known to the laws of the state. Two months were altogether too short a period for even the most aspiring magistrate to hope to impress his policy on the government. He could hardly during that time do more than give his formal sanction to measures to which he was impelled by popular sentiment, or which were devised by those whose experience and education enabled them to form plans untrammelled by the vacillating policy of constantly changing administrations, and for which their prudence, riches, and family connexions, secured the requisite support. What was wanting in the arguments of the statesmen, was moreover often supplied by the recollection of the priors, that, on the favour of the first merchant of Florence, depended their own future hopes of commercial success. Thus the Albizzi faction, for half a century, governed the republic, and the unequal riches of Cosmo de Medici, who was called the father of his country, placed him in a situation to aim at the sovereignty.

This power without the government and above the government, which was the true centre of authority, effected its objects according to established forms, by having recourse to the parliament or assembly of the people. The parliament suspended the constitution and created a *balia*, as the Romans did a dictator, to save the republic by an authority superior to that of the laws. It composed this *balia* of a certain number of distinguished citizens, oftentimes of several hundred. The parliament confided to these citizens the right of filling the boxes, whence the names of the magistrates were drawn; of choosing every two months from these boxes the names of those who should sit in the *seigneurie*; of exiling extrajudicially those who were regarded as dangerous to the dominant party; and of raising the money necessary to the wants of the state.

There is, in general, a greater degree of perseverance in one line of policy by republics, than by monarchical states. The views of a king, who is his own counsellor, are not only the results of his own peculiar disposition, but the plans which he forms are frequently confined to his own breast, and consequently die

with him. In a republic, the course of the government is pointed out by the sentiment of the community, which, if it vacillates as to individual favourites, is pretty stable on all essential points of general policy. Of the correctness of this position, the onward course of the Roman republic, with her annual consuls, might be cited as a striking proof, did not the overwhelming success of the French Revolution present an illustration even more apposite to our purpose.

Though the constitution of Florence was, for upwards of two centuries, in force, it is not to be supposed that the state enjoyed during that whole period perfect internal tranquillity. Not only were disturbances created by the nobles and by the contending factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines, but the jealousy of the plebeians towards the commercial aristocracy often broke out in open insurrection. Whenever a faction got the advantage over its opponents, recourse was had to the *balia*, by means of which the obnoxious citizens were driven into exile. The sanction of the laws, however, even in these cases of revolutionary movements, was obtained, and on the alteration of the government at the downfall of the republic, all the changes in the constitution were effected according to the regular forms.

We have adverted, particularly, to the constitutions of Venice and Florence, as being on every account the two most interesting republics, and as presenting most of the characteristics which, variously diversified, are to be met with in the political systems of two hundred once independent cities of Italy.

The republics, to which we have especially alluded, as will be apparent from a cursory notice of their constitutions, were very far from guarantying the security of individuals, or even the right of all to participate in the sovereignty of the state. The institutions of most of the others were still further removed from those principles which every political philosopher of modern times would regard as fundamental axioms.

Such, however, were the benefits resulting from free government, and from the effectual precautions which constant rotation in office afforded against selfish legislation, in all matters relating to the application of capital and industry, that when we compare Italy of the middle ages with the neighbouring kingdoms, we are rather lost in admiration of what she accomplished, than inclined to look for defects in her theories of government. In agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the Italians far surpassed the subjects of all contemporary monarchs, and the canals of Lombardy and Tuscany to this day bear witness to the skill and industry applied to the soil, at a time when all kind of labour was looked on with contempt by the feudal gentry of Europe.

Nor are we, in estimating the relative condition of the middle ages and of the present times, to forget that in free states, how-

ever constituted, where a large portion of the ingenuous part of the population participate directly in the sovereignty, and pronounce on all public measures, there must exist an activity and an energy, which we would in vain look for in absolute monarchies, and which is greatly modified in widely extended representative commonwealths.

Thus Sismondi, in comparing the active liberty of the republics of past ages with the security of repose afforded by the constitutional governments of the present day, observes—

“We should remember that in these republics the same men present themselves under a double aspect and with a double character, first as governed and then as governors; and this active liberty, this liberty altogether composed of sovereign prerogatives, which, at first sight, would seem must contribute very much less to the happiness of individuals than that liberty which guarantees their security, is, on the contrary, found to have for them a charm, which nothing can equal. It is an intoxicating draught, it is the nectar of the Gods: when a mortal has once tasted it, he disdains all human nourishment, but he likewise finds in himself new strength and new virtues; his nature is changed, and in seating himself at their table, he feels that he is equal to the immortal beings.”

When the Italian republics entered on the exercise of self-government, it was not as confederated states, but each of them was in itself wholly independent of all others. There was no political tie between them, other than those temporary leagues which may exist between foreign nations. This peculiarity of their position, could not fail to have an influence on the national character. As in the states of ancient Greece, between which and the Italian republics a striking analogy prevails, patriotism was not lost in an universal philanthropy; but the town of one's abode, the place of his birth, was sufficiently endeared to every individual to induce him to make efforts which could never have been called for by that enlarged love of country, which embraces in its scope extensive regions with diversified and opposing interests.

The contests between the neighbouring republics put into requisition abilities, not less distinguished than would have been demanded by wars between mighty empires. Indeed, it is to Florence that we are to ascribe the commencement of that system of modern diplomacy, which has long regulated the international relations of Christendom.

Not only did the greater states emulate one another in their patronage of the pursuits which tend to the refined culture of man, but genius in the arts was cherished by the most inconsiderable of the Italian republics. There is scarce a city that cannot point to its magnificent palaces and temples, and few are the towns in which the traveller is not called on to admire pictures and statues, whose superiority was incontestably established, by their being deemed worthy of a place in that gallery, which, a few years since, constituted the object of the greatest interest in the most attractive city of the universe.

When, however, we regard the map of Italy, and observe the proximity of Milan and Pavia, at an early age, rivals for pre-eminence among the republics of the north, when we consider the long contests between Florence and Pisa, or between the former and Sienna, we cannot be insensible to the destruction of wealth and to the general moral and physical suffering, which a state of continued warfare, brought home to every man's door, must have produced among the mass of the population. Nor is it ever to be forgotten that it was the interminable wars among the Lombard republics, which tended to make them the prey of ambitious tyrants, or that it was the domestic disputes of Italy which induced Urban IV. to invite Charles of Anjou to the crown of Naples, and thus to lay the foundation for French interference.

But, might not the advantages of separate governments for domestic legislation, producing all the beneficial effects of honourable emulation, have been obtained, while, at the same time, the evils of intestine wars and of foreign aggression were avoided?

The substitution of a single monarchy to the numerous republics of the middle ages, even if the change had protected them against invasion from neighbouring kingdoms, might have been attended with the effect of reducing Italy to the abject condition of Spain, and whether or not it procured for the people domestic repose, and the protection of individual rights, it would have necessarily put an end to that active liberty, by the influence of which so much was accomplished.

To another means of averting the downfall of these states, Sismondi thus refers:—

“It was not by uniting Italy into a single empire, but by preserving its republics, that its independence could have been maintained. If they had, at the same time, been connected together by a federal union, or by temporary alliances conformable to their interests, these alliances would have been sufficient to repel foreigners, though not to carry on an offensive war. They would have kept the Italians from the wanderings of their own ambition as well as from the attacks of their enemies. A federative republic could not have calculated sufficiently upon the union of its members to attempt conquests; it would have avoided all those pretenses of war, which, among kings, grow out of the marriage portions of daughters or the inheritance of remote ancestors; and when it was obliged to take up arms in its defence, it would have found resources which it would not have possessed if governed as a monarchy. Venice, with a population of two millions two hundred thousand souls, had its power respected to the end of the eighteenth century much better than the kingdom of Naples with six millions of inhabitants. An opportunity was presented of establishing the republic of Milan in the middle of the fifteenth century, and of uniting it with those of Venice and Florence, perhaps of Genoa and the Swiss cantons, for the mutual defence of their liberty. It was when this moment was allowed to pass by, that it might be said that Italy was lost.”

In the federative representative system, we have always conceived that we were as far in advance of the international arrangements of Italy, as we know life and property to be more

secure, when they depend for their protection on the well defined principles of law, than when they are subjected to the tyranny of an irresponsible oligarchy, or to the caprice of turbulent factions.

The people of the Italian commonwealths were much more homogeneous than the citizens of our American States; and that a Union such as ours, construed strictly, according to the intention of the framers of our Constitution, would have maintained the pristine vigour of the republics, and preserved most of the advantages arising from a useful emulation among them, while it secured internal tranquillity and afforded an effectual safeguard against their ultramontane invaders both of the nineteenth and fifteenth century, we never, until within a few weeks, entertained any doubt. Such, however, is the phrenzy of party, and of so little avail are lessons of history, when brought into competition with prevailing passions, that looking to recent occurrences, and to the opposite demonstrations of public sentiment, in distant parts of the Union, we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact, that the last, the most perfect experiment in government, may yet be sacrificed on the altar of sordid avarice or of sectional ambition.

ART. VIII.—*Two Years and a Half in the Navy; or Journal of a Cruise in the Mediterranean and Levant, on board the U. S. Frigate Constellation, in the Years 1829, 1830, and 1831.* By E. C. WINES. Two volumes. Philadelphia: Carey & Lea. 1832.

WE are glad to see the gentlemen of our navy making such good use of their leisure time, and of the fine opportunities they possess of visiting the most interesting portions of the world. On board a ship of war, especially in time of peace, there must be many hours every day unemployed in the duties of their profession; and if not otherwise occupied, they must necessarily be wasted in the tedium of idleness, or in the pursuit of frivolous, or mischievous, or dangerous amusements. Against the almost certain evil consequences of youthful idleness, one of the cheapest, the most salutary, and ennobling resources, is that of reading and writing. The habit once established, renders a man in a great degree independent of expensive amusements and vicious indulgences. He is never without company; the mind has always at its command a rich inexhaustible source of profitable occupation. The gentle excitements of knowledge, the rich stores of imagination, treasured in books, render him in a great

measure independent of those syren pleasures, which too often allure the inexperienced youth of the navy, set afloat on the wide ocean of the world, free from the restraints of parental authority, and the wholesome influence of a circle of kindred and friends, into imprudent indulgences, which mar the purity of his character, and are requited by an early grave, a broken constitution, or a ruined name.

We do not mean that every officer of our navy should commence author, and publish his book; but we wish to recommend a resort to the works of others, and the practice of keeping a journal noting the interesting scenes and incidents which the wide circle of his adventures must necessarily present to his view, and the reflections they beget in his mind. He will thus secure to himself a grateful resource in his hours of leisure, preserve the recollection of many interesting portions of his life which would otherwise be lost in the shadows of past times, and gladden as well as gratify his friends, by showing them that his life has not been misemployed. These records will become every year more pleasing when conned over, and afford the means of again almost realizing the grand historical scenes he witnessed, the lofty impressions he received, in the days long since passed away.

Such being our ideas on the subject, it is with pride and pleasure we have seen and read various letters and publications, which within a few years past have emanated from that fruitful source of national pride and glory—the American Navy. Most, if not all of these, are written with spirit and intelligence; they display a more than ordinary acquaintance with the early history of the renowned cities and countries of the old world, and a capacity for vigorous reflection, as well as striking description. Among these productions we would single out the year in Spain by Lieutenant Slidell, the “Sketches of Naval Life” by Mr. George Jones, and the work now before us. It would be difficult we think to point out among the productions of our own literature, and we may say the literature of any other country during the same period, three more spirited, amusing, and intelligent delineations of scenes and manners, than those we have just named. We do not think a whit the more highly of Mr. Slidell’s book, because it has been sanctioned by the great court of appeals abroad, whose nod seems necessary, like that of Jove, to ratify the decrees of fate; because we thought highly of it before, as a production distinguished for sprightly and picturesque sketches of manners, character and scenery, beyond almost any of its contemporaries. The Naval Sketches of Mr. Jones furnish a counterpart to “The Year in Spain,” and deserve, if they have not received, equal encouragement and applause. Both may be classed among the honourable exploits of our young navy. We

have scarcely read a book of travels or sketches by an American, unchecked by the fear of European criticism, that did not present more or less of original views, ideas, and opinions. They do not tread servilely in the steps of others; they are apt to think for themselves; their own country and institutions furnish the standards of comparison, and if they write in the spirit of freemen, there must and will be a departure from that grovelling imitation which so generally makes one writer the mere echo of every other that has gone before him. Such is the case with the authors we have named. There is a certain freshness, frankness, and fearlessness, which mark them as original.

We observe in many portions of their books, indications of an independence of thought and opinion; and frequently see them with pleasure, breaking from the fetters of a despotism of ideas on certain subjects, which has been for ages chronic in the old world, and from which it is there considered little less than heresy to dissent. Hence there is almost always something fresh, new, and piquant, in their free mode of deciding on various matters; and if they do not always judge rightly, we freely pardon them, on the score of always judging for themselves. The *Year in Spain* and the *Naval Sketches* having, however, in some measure passed the ordeal of criticism, we shall devote the remainder of this article to the work of Mr. Wines.

Our author commences his narrative at the city of Washington, whence he took his departure on the first of July 1829, in order to join the frigate *Constellation* then at Norfolk, preparing for a cruise in the Mediterranean. He had never been at sea it seems, and was, in the language of the vainest, most conceited of all amphibious animals, an old sailor, a special and complete "greenhorn." It is highly diverting to see the ineffable contempt of one of these sea pedants, for a land lubber on board ship, and the remorseless perseverance with which he quizzes him on all occasions. With him all manhood, honesty, and usefulness, are comprised in a competent knowledge of that strange, out of the way, yet apt and expressive jargon, which constitutes the vernacular of the fore-castle, and of the matters and things it is suffered to designate.

No merit, talents, or acquirements, can atone for a want of comprehension of the shibboleth; and if, as is affirmed, a sailor's life is a dog's life, that of a landsman on board a ship of war, is one to which no animal existing affords a parallel. Then, too, the knowledge requisite to complete the character of a consummate sailor, is in the opinion of Jack little less than universal. We once heard an old sailor sum it up, and as *Rasselas* said to *Imlac*, "enough, thou hast already convinced me no man can be a poet," we were on the point of exclaiming, "enough Jack, thou hast convinced us no man can be a sailor."

At Norfolk Mr. Wines puts up at the same house with a gentleman who had paid him very particular attention on the voyage down the Potomac, and who favoured him with his first lesson in the great book of life.

"In Norfolk, we stopped at the same house, and used frequently to walk out of an evening together. On one of these occasions he informed me that he had determined to go to New-York instead of Charleston, that he had already taken passage on board a packet soon to sail for that city, and would probably arrive there earlier than the Constellation. He assured me that what he was going to say was vastly disagreeable, but that gentlemen were sometimes reduced to extremities;—he wished me to lend him ten dollars, which he would return in New-York, or, in case he should not be there, he would give me a letter to his brother, a man of substance, who would hand me the money the moment I called on him. The lending of ten dollars to a friend is a small favour, and I could not refuse. On our arrival at New-York, I went immediately to the American Hotel. Mr. — had been there, but had left; and the result of the whole matter was, that his brother had been a poor man while living, and had been dead for about two years. Thus I had the pleasure of losing my ten dollars, and, which was the 'most unkindest cut,' of being villanously gulled into the bargain. I would divide my last dollar with honest poverty, but polished villany I could see die of starvation without one compunctious visiting. A letter of introduction, containing an order for money on a dead brother, is a thing which, for the honour of humanity, I hope few except myself have ever held in their pocket."

On the same passage he encounters a Frenchman, whom he despatches in the following summary manner:—

"A prim, black-eyed little Frenchman, whose beauty had not been greatly improved by the small pox, amused us vastly with his politeness, snuff-box, and songs. A Frenchman is an animal *sui generis*. Meet him whenever and wherever you may, he is still a Frenchman, retaining, in all their vividness, his three master qualities,—vanity, gaiety, and hatred to Shakspeare. Yet with all their levity and devotion to gallantry and fashion, the French are unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled, in the diligence with which they pursue scientific researches. They make better engineers than critics, and their mathematics are preferable to their poetry."

We cannot but think Mr. Wines has here made his remarks rather too general. The "prim, black-eyed little Frenchman" may have been vain, and possibly "hated Shakspeare," but in general neither vanity nor hatred of Shakspeare is the characteristic of the natives of France. Within the last half century the national character has undergone a great change, a revolution like that of its politics. The men of France of the present day are a grave reflecting race; they are aspiring to freedom, and liberty is the mother of thought. Whatever they once may have been, they are no longer a nation of triflers; they belong to the school of Napoleon, who never trifled. As to their criticism and poetry, some of the best critics of modern times, if not the very best, were Frenchmen, and it would puzzle all the rest of Europe, we believe, to find a Berenger among living poets. But we do not quarrel with free opinions; they often elicit new truths, which more than make amends for occasional erroneous conclusions.

On leaving Norfolk, our author, like a gallant tar, though, as he confesseth, a "greenhorn," doeth his devoirs to the ladies in the following eloquent and glowing terms:—

"But if southern ladies cannot vie with those of the north in beauty—in the elegance and sweetness of their manners, in the ease, gracefulness, and elasticity of their movements, and in the thrilling eloquence of the eye and lip, they are greatly their superiors. Let females, however, vary as they may in beauty and manners, their hearts, as far as my observation has extended, are every where the same—gentle, kind, susceptible, patient, forgiving, and constant in their loves. Go where you will, woman is the cream of the world. We should be a set of demi-savages without her. Her beauty, her refinement, her gentleness, her fortitude, her ten thousand soft and winning graces—outward and inward—material and spiritual—all fit her pre-eminently to be the companion of the rougher and sterner sex."

We have heard a gallant officer of our navy declare, that on coming ashore after a long cruise, he thinks every woman looks just like an angel.

On the 16th the Constellation gets under weigh for New-York, and the first view of the "melancholy main" excites emotions in the mind of our author, which he thus glowingly describes:—

"I know not whether it be so with others, but to me there is a sublimity in the idea of the ocean, to which nothing else on earth is comparable;—a sublimity before which my imagination, in her boldest moods, has always quailed. Do you love to contemplate power? Here is power that bows to no superior but the voice of the Almighty.—Vastness? Here is vastness that absorbs and overpowers the fancy.—Immutability? Here is a body which, from the first glad hour when the morning stars sang together, as they gazed on the new-born beauties of creation, has been, and, until their lyres are tuned to chant the requiem of nature, will be

' Loud uttering satire, day and night, on each
Succeeding race and little pompous work
Of man.'

In short, it is an emblem, faint indeed, but still too great for the loftiest human intellect to grasp, of the infinitude of eternity."

While on the voyage to New-York he acquires an insight into *Life at Sea*, which enables him to give a very graphic and amusing topography of a ship of war, the modes of living, the different ranks, and the various, out of the way, unaccountable dormitories of each and every class of sojourners in this floating world. Besides being very amusing, it is highly worthy the attention of all those "bad boys," who from an impatience of study, or an admiration of adventure peradventure derived from Robinson Crusoe, pine after the delights of a sailor's life. They will learn what they have to encounter, and either go quietly to school, or go to sea with a manly determination to meet its dangers and privations like heroes.

At New-York, after receiving on board the Ministers to France and England, the Constellation proceeded to sea again on the 14th of August. On the 9th of September they made the Isles of Scilly; on the 10th they had a gale of wind ahead, and on the

11th got sight of "merry old England—glorious old England," whereupon our author breaks forth into the following strains:—

"The coast was a line of high chalk cliffs, apparently perpendicular to the sea. These hills presented a bleak and desolate appearance, and the scenery beyond was so mistified by distance, that even its more prominent features could not be distinctly seen. But it was English soil, and that was enough. It was the birth place of our forefathers, and their sepulchres were built within its territories; and what American could behold it for the first time without something like the yearnings of filial affection?"

"This then is really the native land of Shakspeare and Milton, the brightest stars that ever gilded the heaven of poetry; of Newton and Locke, those magicians in the philosophy of matter and of mind; of Burke, Fox, and Pitt, names synonymous with all that is mighty and splendid in eloquence; and of a thousand others, *famam qui terminant astris*, and whose writings will continue to instruct and delight the latest ages."

Having received permission to go on shore at Cowes, Mr. Wines takes a ramble into the Isle of Wight, where he visits Norris Castle, the seat of "the Right Honourable Lord Henry Seymour," and a place with a very hard name, to wit, Appaldercombe Park, "the seat of the Right Honourable Lord Yarborough," thus paying, as every good republican should do, the homage of gaping curiosity to the splendours of overgrown wealth. He also visits the grave of the "Dairyman's Daughter," who perhaps the reader will recollect as the heroine of one of the first as well as the best of a class of productions, which has decreased in beauty and usefulness in precisely the same ratio that copies and imitations have increased in this world. We prefer this homage to genius and piety, to that paid by him to rank and wealth.

Sailors ashore on leave must make the most of their time, and crowd as much sail as possible. Accordingly Mr. Wines pays, in nautical phrase, "a touch and go" visit to Southampton and Portsmouth, paying by the way a tribute of just admiration to the neatness of the English cottages.

"It is astonishing to observe to what an extent a taste for rural beauties prevails in England. You see it both in town and country, and not less in the elegant ivy vines that wed the meanest cottage, and the little grass and flower plots by which it is surrounded, than in the vast gardens and pleasure grounds on which the eye of the nobleman rests, as he looks down from the terrace of his castle. The cleanliness of the streets and the neatness of the shops in Southampton were particularly remarkable; and the magnificent promenades which skirt the town, must make it, particularly in summer, a delightful residence."

As an example of the jealous vigilance of the government in relation to its naval establishments, Mr. Wines observes, "we were not admitted into the famous Dock Yard. Permission could be obtained only by writing to the Lords of the Admiralty in London." He takes leave of England with the following testimonial:—

"Of all the countries I have ever visited, England makes the heaviest draws upon a man's purse. Your original bills at the public houses are enormous, and then you have them all to pay over again in the shape of gratuities to servants.

And such servants! A Greek is satisfied with a few *paras*, and an Italian with a few *grains* or *scratches*; but an Englishman turns up his nose at any thing but gold or silver. The former beg; the latter demands. As some compensation for this, you are well served, well fed, and well lodged; and these are things for which any reasonable man would be willing to incur some extra charges."

From Cowes the *Constellation* proceeded to Havre, whence, after landing Mr. Rives, "with buoyant hearts, and expanded sails, they stood away for the blue Atlantic," and on the 5th of October made the coast of Spain near the Straits of Gibraltar. The following is a favourable specimen of the descriptive powers of our author:—

"The sails were fanned by a light breeze, and the ship was slowly approaching the entrance. The purity of the sky, the balmy breathings of the air, and the general serenity of nature, convinced us that we were already in the neighbourhood of those delightful climes,

‘Where all, save the spirit of man, is divine.’

"A red border of light for awhile marked the place, where the sun had ungirded himself after his race, but this gradually melted into the surrounding azure, and the whole heavens soon appeared like a vast sea of sapphire purity, gemmed with myriads of shining islets. The slanting rays of the moon, as she approached the horizon, gave a silvery brightness to the surface of the ocean. The silence of night was unbroken, save by the light ripple of the water along the sides of the vessel, the measured tread of the officers on duty, and ever and anon a single expression of admiration, made in a tone which showed that the sanctity of the hour and of the scene had triumphed over all the rude and boisterous passions. How grand, how beautiful is the contemplation of nature at such an hour!

‘To woo the gentle heavens with all their dower
Of thought,’

when night has thrown her covering o’er the globe, and the blue depths of air are sowed with stars, is always to contemplative minds a delightful employment."

On arriving at Mahon, and having navy buttons put to his coat, the author obtains permission to go on shore, and the following extract presents a pleasant picturesque account of his first reception and cruise:—

"As our ship was anchored in the lower part of the harbour, we landed at Georgetown, where a dead set was made upon us the moment we stepped ashore, by not less than a dozen beggars, and another by about an equal number of boys, with horses and jackasses which they wished us to hire. The latter were the most importunate of the two, and though we at first resisted them manfully, they at last carried the day. We mounted upon their long-eared coursers, and our muleteers followed us with whips, beating the poor beasts unmercifully, and crying out at every breath in a most unmusical tone, ‘*Arre! Arre!*’ The obstinate asses took their own way in spite of all our efforts to govern them. The more we guided them, the more they would not be guided, but kept running from one side of the road to the other, with a most provoking perverseness. It was the first jackass ride I ever took, and before I forget it, ‘my right hand will forget her cunning.’ We were all in high glee, and enjoyed it vastly. One who has been pent up within the walls of a ship, and tossed about upon the ocean for four or five weeks, when he gets on shore, feels like a bird escaped from the snare of the fowler. He scarcely knows whether he is in the body or out of it.

"We spent the day in strolling through the town, viewing the churches and convents, peeping into the shops, eating fruit, and waging war upon the beggars. These knew that we were a fresh arrival, and they made a vigorous onset.

The rogues! they know their game to perfection. No play-actor understands his part better. The whining cry of 'Officer, give me one penny for de bread, I say, officer, give me one penny for de bread,' was continually ringing in our ears. It appeared to me that almost a fourth part of the inhabitants were beggars; but after I had been to Italy and the Levant, begging seemed almost unknown in Mahon."

Mr. Wines was at Mahon several times, and possessed opportunities for observation, of which he has availed himself to give a very good account of the place and its inhabitants. The reader will no doubt be pleased to see some of his sketches.

"The business of courting in Mahon is performed almost entirely on Sunday and in the streets. The state of society is such as to forbid absolute privacy, and within doors the presence of the family would be felt by the parties to be too great a restraint: so, to avoid unfair suspicions, and at the same time enjoy the desired freedom of conversation, the lady takes her station in the door or window, while her suitor remains in the street: and thus publicly do the enraptured *enamorados* 'breathe out the tender tale.' But this 'drop of heavenly comfort,' thus communicated, is not less keenly enjoyed by the passionate beauties of Spain, than if poured into their ears on the bank of some cool meandering rivulet, 'beneath the milk-white thorn that scents the evening gale.' Love, such as it exists in the land of *mantillas* and black-eyed *graciosas*, is almost unknown in the United States. It may be less enduring there, but it is certainly a thousand times more violent than among us. It is not a Zephyr, but a Euroclydon—not a fire which burns with a calm and steady heat, but a volcano that pours its glowing lava into the soul. I will not invade the sacred privacies of domestic life, or I might here relate some circumstances that have fallen under my own observation, which would go to illustrate in a striking manner the nature and force of this passion in the southern climates of Europe.

"There are other customs in Mahon, which do not strike a stranger on his first visit there less forcibly. Many of the common porters are females, who, with enormous burthens on their heads, employ their hands upon the distaff as they pass through the streets. This is 'killing two birds with one stone' to some purpose. The market women, too, employ their time, during the intervals of business, in spinning, knitting, or sewing: and in the winter they have their *copas*, with a little ignited charcoal in them, by their side. Here they make their own coffee, and prepare and eat their frugal meals. In bad weather the women wear shoes with high wooden soles, which make a clattering like that of a horse's hoof. The little girls running through the streets frequently make you jump aside, and look round, expecting to see a jackass close upon your heels. In walking out in the country, I was often amused by the odd assortment of animals employed by the farmer in cultivating his fields. A cow and a jackass in the same yoke, and a horse and mule in the same harness, were to me novel sights. But not only are such barbarous unions common in Spain: they and a hundred others, equally grotesque, are sanctioned even by the practice of classic Italy."

"I will mention one or two facts of a different character, which, however, will go to illustrate still further the state of society in Mahon. No young lady of a respectable family ever goes out at night, and rarely during the day, unattended by either her mother, an aged servant, or a near relation. When she receives a visit from a gentleman, if she happens to be alone, and has any regard for her reputation, the first thing she does, is to call in some other member of the family, to prevent unfair suspicions. The slightest intimacy between two persons of different sexes, is suspected; if they are together an hour without other company, it furnishes ground for confident assertion; and a young unmarried lady, who should consent to walk out at night with a young gentleman, who was not her relation, would be banished from what bears the name of virtuous society. Such is the want of confidence in the virtue of females. I used

to tell the ladies of Mahon of the liberty enjoyed by their sex in America, but they could not comprehend it. It was a state of society, of which they could conceive only as one wide-spread scene of licentiousness and guilt. As to the virtue of chastity in the male sex, it is what few pretend to. The majority regard it as a thing from which they are absolved, in virtue of having been born men. The statements in the preceding part of this paragraph, are equally applicable to most parts of Spain and Italy."

Again :

"In one of my rambles into the country, I lost my way, and came to a place where an old man was repairing a stone wall. I begged him to direct me. He replied that he was going to dinner, and would accompany me on my way towards Mahon. Arrived opposite a little stone hut, he said, 'There is my home; I am going to dine; will you dine with me?' I declined. The old gentleman insisted, and I at length yielded. The table was an old bench resembling the moveable seats in some of the school-houses in New-England; and the chairs were other benches of the same kind, only a little lower. The dinner consisted of a small loaf of brown bread, a bowl of vegetable soup, a bit of old sausage, and a little cheese, with the common red wine of the country. An old rusty knife and fork, neither of which had a handle, two or three broken plates, a tumbler and a gourd-shell, constituted the whole furniture of the table. As the reader may guess, I ate but little, but I thought the more; and I could not but be deeply affected, as fancy pictured to my view the multitudes in that rocky and sterile island, who were accustomed to sit down to a worse dinner than even that before me; whilst in my own loved and happy land, if inquest should be made from the northern boundaries of Maine to the southern Cape of Florida, and from the shores of the Atlantic to the Valley of the Mississippi, the family could scarcely be found, who were obliged to submit to such fare. The old gentleman's family consisted only of himself and his wife. I was touched with their unaffected kindness, and the patriarchal simplicity of their manners. They did not seem to dream that the dinner to which they had invited me was not a dinner for a king, and they expressed a thousand regrets that I had not a better appetite. It is but justice to add, that my kind-hearted host positively refused the slightest remuneration for his hospitality."

"Early on the morning of the 31st of October," says Mr. Wines, "a signal was run up the mizen of the Commodore's to unmoor ship, and immediately after breakfast another signal was made to get under weigh." The squadron was destined for Tripoli, where some difficulty had occurred between the Bey and the American Consul, on the score of a man of the name of D'Ghies, accused of being an accomplice in the murder of Major Laing the African traveller. It seems that D'Ghies had taken refuge under the flag of the United States, a place of sanctuary among the Barbary powers, whence he was favoured with an opportunity to escape, by the Consul Mr. Cox, who owed him a debt of gratitude for the kindness his family had shown to the American prisoners during the war of the Regency. Mr. Wines thinks that the French Consul, the Baron de Rosseau, was implicated in the affair of Major Laing, and refers to an article in the London Quarterly, which in our opinion is by no means conclusive.—Our author has the following reflections on visiting Tripoli :

"Places distinguished as the theatres of great intellectual, moral, or military exertions, acquire an interest which renders them objects of strong curiosity.

Hence the almost universal anxiety of liberal minds to visit countries rendered illustrious by their achievements in letters, arts, or arms. The gratification we feel in beholding these places is increased, if our own friends or countrymen have in any way contributed to their celebrity. Such a place is the harbour of Tripoli to a citizen of the United States. No American who is acquainted with the history of his country, can behold it without vivid emotions. It was there that Decatur performed that daring act, which tore from the enemy the spoils that fortune had thrown into his hands; an act that has entitled him to a place among the bravest of modern heroes. Beneath the battlements of Tripoli, Preble and his brave associates won for themselves a glory that will live as long as patriotism and gallantry find a dwelling-place on earth, or excite a sentiment of admiration in the human mind.

"Yet we stopped short of the advantages, which, under the then existing circumstances, we ought to have gained over the semi-barbarous foe. General Eaton, accompanied by the Ex-Bashaw and his party, having traversed the desert which separates Egypt from the kingdom of Tripoli, had already taken Derna, and was on the eve of commencing his march to lay siege to the capital itself, when peace was concluded. The reigning Bashaw had been heard to declare that he would *sell the last article in his wardrobe but he would have a peace with the Americans*. Under such circumstances, was it becoming the honour and dignity of our government to buy a peace of the enemy? Yet this was in effect done by paying a ransom for the prisoners. It is a melancholy reflection that the greatest minds are often most sullied by envy. It is confidently asserted that this sentiment formed at least one of the motives that induced the naval officers to urge an accommodation with so much warmth. 'Eaton was running away with the glory of the war.'"

We cannot agree with Mr. Wines in ascribing the regrets of our imprisoned naval officers to the debasing influence of envy. That generous avarice of fame which is the characteristic of great minds and gallant souls, is not envy but emulation, and we neither blame these officers for being impatient of confinement, nor for repining, after all their gallant exploits, their sufferings, and privations in a long captivity, that they, the martyrs of the war, should see another "running away with all the glory." It was a sentiment akin to that of the young hero, who said "that the glory of Alexander would not let him sleep;" and so far from lamenting, we hope that such will ever be the spirit of emulation pervading both our navy and army.

Leaving Tripoli, of which Mr. Wines gives some good sketches, for which we have not room, the squadron came in sight of Sicily, which, however, they did not visit on this occasion, and arrived once more at Mahon on the 26th of November. From thence Mr. Wines again visits Gibraltar, where he remained two weeks, and the same period on a subsequent visit. Of this famous fastness he furnishes a good account, but as the subject is somewhat hackneyed, we shall forbear quotation. From Gibraltar he again returns to Mahon, and is present during the Carnival, of which he gives a lively description, accompanied by the following observations on the instantaneous gloom and abstinence which succeed the mad-cap revelry of the last night of the Carnival.

"Persons, reading the above details, might, without reflecting much upon

the subject, be led to regard such a state of things as unnatural; but I view the matter in quite a different light. The human mind must and will have excitement—excitement too of a high and intense kind. In England and the United States, this principle finds food in elections and romances; but in countries where the press is fettered, and people are scarcely permitted to think, much less to converse on political matters, it must look to other sources for its gratification. Hence the excessive, not to say unnatural, addiction to pleasures in such countries; and hence the proof of the uniformity of the great principles of human nature. The modes in which this uniformity of principle displays itself, may indicate states of society differing *toto cælo* from each other. In the United States, for example, they involve no inconsiderable degree of mental culture; whereas in Spain, they are not inconsistent with the most absolute intellectual darkness."

Another reason might be added to the preceding, to account for the excessive and overwhelming avidity with which the people of Spain run after public sights, and participate in public amusements. The jealous vigilance with which females are secluded from private social intercourse with men, and their almost total abstinence from all participation in the ordinary freedoms of the sex in other regions, necessarily inflame the imagination, and give a keener zest to those occasions in which they are permitted to enjoy a perfect freedom from the restraints under which they live at other times. It is then they become like the birds freed from their cage, and revel in the delights of new-born liberty. Their spirits mount to the skies; in proportion to the limited period of their emancipation, is the zest with which they enjoy it while it lasts. It is only in public that they can indulge in the least freedom of intercourse with strangers. Then their behaviour presents a striking contrast to that of the females of our country, whose cheerful vivacity, and innocent frankness, are displayed more in the social circle, and at the fire-side, than in public.—According to Mr. Wines,

"Notwithstanding the state of society in Spain is such as to prevent young ladies from receiving even calls of ceremony from gentlemen in private, yet in company much greater freedom both of manners and conversation is allowed there than in the United States. Expressions which would here be stamped with the seal of obscenity, are there bandied about without reserve, in promiscuous assemblies of the highest respectability."

The author successively visits Algiers, Tunis, Tangier, and the site of Old Carthage, on the ruins of which he reads from his "pocket Virgil" the account of Æneas's first arrival and entry into the city.

"On such a spot," he says, "ages seem to be concentrated in a single moment. Thoughts and images of other times, of the rise, grandeur, and decay of empires, with all their accompanying circumstances, crowd thick upon the mind, bearing it, as it were, away from itself, and bathing it in the sere visions of antiquity."

"Such," adds he, after describing the remains of this once empire city, "such are the present remains of a city, which, in the days of its glory, was surrounded by triple walls, numbered a population of seven hundred thousand souls, and was no mean rival of the 'lone mother of dead empires'—a city, which once counted among its territories the whole African coast, from the Altars of the Philæni to the Columns of Hercules, together with Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and

the Balearic Isles ;—a city, the canvass of whose vessels whitened every sea, and which exchanged the productions of its own ingenuity for the perfumes, the purple, the scarlet, the fine linen, the pearl, and the precious stones of the east, and the iron, tin, lead, copper, gold, and silver of the north and west ;—a city, in short, so extensive, that a conflagration of seventeen days, constantly raging, and fed by thousands who were eager to see its termination, was scarcely sufficient to consume it. It was the first time I ever stood upon the grave of a mighty empire, and it has left an impression on my mind which nothing can ever obliterate."

From Tangier the squadron returned once more to Mahon by the way of Gibraltar. Thence, after taking in provisions and water, they proceeded to the island of Majorca, where they did not land, but ran in far enough to obtain a tolerably good view of the city, hoisted their colours, and hove to.

The author's next visit is to Barcelona, the people of which, he says, "like those of other parts of Spain, are excessively fond of bull-fights, balls, processions, masquerades, theatrical representations, and public spectacles of all kinds."

"Madrid for bull-fights, and Barcelona for masquerades, leave all the other cities of Spain far behind them. 'Bread, amusements, and executions,' was a motto of one of the kings of Naples, and it is the true policy of every despot in existence. To enable the people to procure the bare necessities of life, to furnish them with amusements to drown their cares and make them forget their oppressions, and to multiply executions to let them know that the sword of power is suspended over their heads by a hair,—all this is the very quintessence of despotism."

Under all the disadvantages of such a government as theirs, the Spaniards still preserve many of the features of a great and noble nation. Mr. Wines does justice to their liberal hospitality.

"I had letters of introduction to a number of gentlemen in Barcelona, by all of whom I was received and treated with the greatest politeness. They offered me the hospitalities of their houses, and made proffers of personal service with as much apparent warmth and sincerity, as if I had been an old friend. Nor were their services confined to mere professions. Whenever they accompanied me in any of my excursions, they *insisted* upon paying the bills, declaring that they might, at some future day, meet me in my own country, and that then we would make an adjustment of our accounts. Whatever may be the political degradation of the Spaniards, they are distinguished by a generous hospitality and a fascinating warmth of manners, which cannot fail to gratify and attach strangers who travel among them."

Leaving Barcelona, the author visits Marseilles, where the squadron arrived on the 20th of June. "Marseilles," he observes, "is the principal commercial port of the south of France. It is the residence of the Navy Agent of the United States for the Mediterranean." Mr. Wines speaks thus of the society of this ancient and famous city :—

"The society of Marseilles is extensive and very accessible. I had no letters of introduction, and yet I made the acquaintance of a number of French gentlemen, by whom I was treated with the greatest politeness. All over the south of Europe, strangers find a much readier access to polite society than in the north of Europe or the United States. Accident frequently introduces you to gentlemen of the highest respectability. Such an acquaintance as this I had the good for-

time to make at a bookstore, in the Abbé de Ricasoni. The purest chance introduced me to him, but I afterwards passed many a pleasant hour in his company. I found him a most estimable, learned and worthy man, and a mutual attachment was formed, which will ever be among the most pleasant recollections of my 'wanderings through many lands.' He was a native of Florence, but had long resided in France, and he spoke not only Italian and French, but also German, Spanish, and a little English. He said that, although he was always anxious to practise speaking our language, whenever opportunities occurred, yet it was more important for me to have practice in Italian than for him to have it in English, and he would therefore never allow me to converse with him in any but the Italian language. When I took leave of him, he threw his arms around my neck and said, *Il piacere d'un bacio*,* kissing me at the same time on each of my cheeks. This was the first time I was ever kissed by a man, but I afterwards became quite accustomed to it in Italy. Even a bookseller in Florence, after I had purchased some three or four dollars' worth of books of him, honoured me with two as violent smacks as any reasonable man could desire."

The squadron next visits Italy, the first view of which calls up recollections and feelings which are expressed by Mr. Wines with an enthusiasm approaching to hyperbole.

His first landing in Italy is at Genoa, the city of palaces, churches, beggars, and nobility. Descriptions are given of some of these splendid erections of spiritual and temporal pride; but we shall pass them by, as objects calculated to blind the traveller to the true state of the country, and hide with their pomp and glare, the abject poverty and clamorous beggary which every where follow in the train of usurped rank and privilege. It would not be amiss for the traveller to recollect that for one splendid palace, one master-piece of art, there are a thousand hovels, tenanted by ten thousand human beings pinched by poverty and crouching in dependence, or that the great masters of Italian music produced those airs which delight the world, amid the curses and groans of an oppressed people. We earnestly wish our American tourists would pay less attention to the past, and more to the present state of the people; that they would cast aside the delusions thrown over their minds by a view of these gorgeous abuses, these splendid mischiefs, and enter into the hearts, the enjoyments, the wrongs and the sufferings of the great majority, instead of paying homage to the proud usurpers of the poor man's pittance, the idle monopolizers of the fruits of his labours and the products of the fields. Such inquiries are in our humble opinion much more worthy of a free citizen of a free state, than laboured descriptions of palaces, churches, and ruins. But we shall say more on this subject after we have completed our notice of the varied peregrinations of our author, whose zeal and industry are worthy of all praise. The following is an apt and melancholy commentary on the splendours of Genoa, as sketched by Mr. Wines:—

"But Genoa could not resist the operation of the causes which have sapped the foundation of all the Italian republics; and she whose navies once rode in

* "The pleasure of a kiss."

triumph on every sea, and whose power was felt and feared by the most distant nations, is now a petty portion of the dominions of the king of Sardinia, her commerce swept from the ocean, the enterprise of her citizens paralyzed, her wealth swallowed up in the vortex of dissipation, and the spirit of liberty crushed beneath an iron despotism."

Mr. Wines pays "a running visit" to Pisa, Florence and Leghorn, at each of which places he sojourns long enough to notice and describe the principal objects which attract the attention of ordinary travellers. There is, however, little of novelty to be found, where the harvest has been so often gleaned. We shall therefore pass over what he says of these places, as well as Naples, without dwelling on the particulars, or indulging in extracts. In the descriptive way there is nothing new to be said of Italy; but the philosopher, the moralist, the philanthropist, and the lover of rational liberty, might here, if they chose, find ample food for reflection, regret and indignation. They would behold a country capable of producing in the greatest plenty all the requisites for supplying the wants of its people; a country blessed with the richest soil, the most delicious climate; favoured by the gentlest airs, and warmed by the most genial suns: a country once the mistress of the world, and still the mistress of the arts; renowned in ancient times as the subjugator of nations, and in modern as the restorer of learning—they would behold this once, aye twice, thrice, glorious land, degraded into a province of the Barbarians she formerly subdued; a nation without a soul; a people without spirit to free themselves, much less to conquer others. They would ask what brought them from the heights to the depths, and the answer would be, the loss of liberty, and the spirit necessary to acquire it again.

The author next pays a visit to the celebrated island of Malta, of which he gives a passing sketch. Here he meets with the Rev. Messrs. Temple and Goodel, members of the mission established at this island, "chiefly," he says, "to print Bibles, tracts, and other books for the use of the missions in the east, but more especially those of Greece and Asia Minor. In this respect it has undoubtedly been very useful, and its friends have no reason to complain; but I question whether it is as useful in Malta, as it would be in some other places." On this passage we will merely observe, that we are inclined to doubt its usefulness altogether, having been assured by a gentleman who passed some time in Smyrna, a few years ago, that he could have purchased hundreds of Greek testaments at the stalls in that city, which cost about six shillings sterling to the Missionary Society, at a piaster each, which is somewhere about eighteen or twenty cents we believe. A vast portion of the Greek population of Asia Minor and the Archipelago cannot read, and the whole is divided into Greek and Latin catholics, the discipline of whose churches forbids their reading the scriptures. It is, therefore, little to be

wondered at, that those who cannot read, and are forbidden to read if they could, should be willing to sell for a piaster a book which cost six times the sum. But we do wonder that well meaning people give their money for such a purpose, when there are objects of quite equal importance to the welfare of our own country, to which it might be applied with *certain* benefit. It is a curious fact, as stated by Mr. Wines, that there was but one Knight of Malta resident on the island, at the time he was there. This once renowned order of church militant Christians, the bulwark of Christendom, the defender and the disgrace of religion, will in a little while, in all probability, have no representatives upon the face of the earth. From Malta the squadron proceeded to the enchanted land of Greece, along the coast of which they sailed, until they came to the narrow passage between the main land and the island of Cerigo, the ancient Cythera, sacred to the Goddess of Love and Beauty. It was evening, and the author describes it thus glowingly :—

“The approach of evening was indescribably beautiful. The glowing splendours of day seemed to melt imperceptibly into the milder radiance of night, and when the last traces of twilight had disappeared from the west, the sky, unobscured by the lightest cloud, was so pure that the very stars appeared to be parts of the same shining vault, differing from the rest only in their superior brilliancy. About ten o'clock, the full moon shot up from behind the rugged cliffs of Cerigo, so soft, so tranquil, so lovely, and so pure, that a lively imagination might have fancied it beheld the Goddess of Beauty rising from the ocean-foam, and advancing to take possession of the island, destined to be for ever associated with her name.”

His classical enthusiasm now transports him to the highest pages in the history of the brightest race that ever adorned the world, and he forgets for a moment the darkness and degradation which present too woful a contrast to their past glories.

“We filled away again between nine and ten o'clock, with a fresh breeze dead aft, and before sunset the last of the Cyclades was astern of us, while far ahead could be seen, dimly breaking through the distance, the outlines of ‘Scio’s rocky Isle.’ All the islands composing the group of the Cyclades, are rugged and rocky in the extreme ; but the sight of them awakened a thousand beautiful recollections. Not to enumerate other islands less distinguished, Naxos and Delos are names which fill the mind of the scholar, even in the retirement of his own closet, with enthusiasm. How then must the imagination kindle and blaze, and the soul be touched and warmed, as the strained eye catches the first glimpse of these classic isles,—the birth-places and the abodes of the Gods of Pleasure and of Poetry ! What images of gladness, gaiety, and beauty crowd upon the mind ! You almost fancy that you see the gay procession of people, assembled from all parts of Greece, to celebrate the birth of Apollo and Diana, and listen to the songs and shouts with which they make the air reverberate. But a nearer approach dissolves the illusion. The temple of the Poet-God, which once reared its proud columns of Parian marble on the shores of Delos, has disappeared ; the city, with its superb edifices, its elegant porticoes, and its forest of columns, has shared the same fate ; and the Daughter of Latona no longer leads the vernal dance with her wood nymphs on the Cynthian cliffs.”

They arrive at Smyrna :

“It was on Monday morning, the 2d of May, that, in company with several

other officers, I first set foot on the shores of Asia, and in a city which contended more strenuously than either of the other six for the honour of having given birth to the Father of poetry and the Prince of poets. What a crowd of beautiful and mournful reminiscences does it awaken in the mind, to land for the first time upon the coast of Asia Minor,—a coast once peopled by the haughty Trojan, the luxurious Lydian, and the ingenious, cultivated, ethereal Greek; the birth-place of many of the most exalted geniuses that have ever appeared to shine on the pathway of the vulgar herd of men; adorned with cities and monuments, at once the perfection of taste and the triumph of art; the theatre of apostolic labours and apostolic success; but now utterly changed in the elements of society, and in those physical appearances which depend upon the hand of man; presenting, instead of regions enlivened by a dense population and smiling beneath the hand of cultivation, immense tracts of territory, characterized by cheerless sterility, and as destitute of inhabitants as the site of Babylon; sprinkled, not with marble cities adorned by taste and genius, but with filthy, mud-but villages; and peopled by a race of men, possessing indeed some sterling qualities, but still ignorant, bigoted, haughty, and vindictive, and not less separated from the rest of the world in their sympathies, than by the peculiar dogmas of their religion."

In company with two others, Mr. Wines makes an excursion to the city of Sardis, in Asia Minor, in the course of which he is flea-bitten in a most exemplary manner at a Turkish Khan or Caravan-Serai, concerning which he lets out the following secret:

"The Caravan-Serai was originally a purely charitable establishment, enjoined by an express command of Mohammed, to facilitate the travels of pilgrims to and from the city of Mecca. Lodgings only were furnished, and the proprietors neither expected nor received any compensation, other than the benedictions and prayers of the devotees who honoured them with their company, the approbation of the Prophet, and the smiles of Allah. In process of time, gratuities were offered and accepted. These came at length to be a matter of course, and at present, though no demand is made, and the traveller is left to pay according to his own sense of propriety, the keeper of a Khan in Turkey expects his reward as much as an inn-keeper in Christian Europe."

Thus does time, by degrees, wrest from its original intention the bequests of benevolent persons, and poison the pure fountains of charity, all over the world!

They visit the ruins of the city of Sardis, once the splendid capital of the richest of all the monarchs of Asia Minor.

"We set off from Achmet's *caf  * about eight o'clock, and a little before ten, crossed the golden-sanded Pactolus, and found ourselves among the ruins of a city, once the glory of Asia Minor, and the seat of riches, luxury, refinement, and power—a city, whose annals, extending through a long succession of ages, from their diversity, splendour, and importance, impart to the spot on which it stood, an interest such as belongs to few others on the globe. The names of Halyattes, Croesus, Cyrus, Xerxes, Alexander, Seleucus, Antiochus, Adrian, Antonine, and numerous others, whose histories are interwoven with that of Sardis, give rise to associations, rich, various, and absorbing."

Behold the reverse of this picture; the contrast between the past and the present, between the delusions of the imagination and the rough truths of reality! Our author thus concludes his notice of Sardis:—

"Near the site of the ancient city there is a little village of wretched huts, and these, with a few Turkomans' tents pitched on the banks of the Pactolus, were

the only visible representative of the life and bustle and eager activity of the Lydian Capital and the seat of an Eastern Satrap."

Such is the character of antiquity; it exists but in the fancy, and the remembrance of the glories of Cræsus, Cyrus, Alexander, and Antiochus, is put to flight by a squadron of fleas, dividing the empire of a few wretched huts with a few barbarians.

The 25th of May the squadron left Smyrna, and on the evening of the following day entered the Doria passage between Negropont and Andros. Here the author is again carried back to the days of Grecian glory, and he gives vent to his feelings on entering the Argolic Gulf. He visits Argos, and finds, that like almost every ancient city of this part of the world, its glories consist in its fabulous history and its ruins. He thus concludes his notices of these:—

"Argos at present is a place of few attractions. Most of its houses are stone huts, and many of them without floors. They are put together with mud, and have a mean and comfortless appearance."

In the course of his voyage, Mr. Wines visits most of the celebrated scenes and cities of classic renown, not forgetting Athens, the queen of them all, of which he gives a most glowing sketch, tintured somewhat, we suspect, with the colour of his imagination. But we have not space to follow him, having already given specimens of his work, from which the reader may judge of its merits. Our remaining pages will be principally occupied in a cursory examination of the supposed defects in the organization of our navy, the remedies proposed by Mr. Wines, and a few reflections to which his work has given rise in our mind. We cannot forbear from quoting the conclusion of the book. It does honour to the patriotic, as well as humane feelings of the author.

"An absence of two years and a half, and a visit to some of the most interesting portions of the globe, have been far from weaning me from the land of my nativity. The more I have seen of foreign countries, the more I have liked my own;—its government, its laws, its institutions, and the spirit of its inhabitants. My soul has been sickened at sight of the oppression, ignorance, abjectness, and vice, which I have seen to be every where the result of arbitrary rule. I contrast with these the equal rights, the general intelligence, the independent spirit, and the comparative virtue of my countrymen, and I am proud of the name of American. But it does not become us to boast: true greatness never plays the part of the braggadocio. If the people under the despotic governments of Europe are less intelligent and happy than we, it is their misfortune—not their fault;—and they are more deserving of our pity than our scorn."

After doing ample justice to the great cleanliness, and excellent order in which our ships are kept, the indefatigable training of their crews to a practical knowledge of their duty, the strict subordination of rank, and the ready obedience paid by inferior officers to the orders of their superiors, which he acknowledges are all points of "vital importance," and in which "scarcely any thing is to be desired," Mr. Wines takes occasion to add—"The

defects of the present system are such that I cannot hesitate to give it as my present opinion—and this opinion is fortified by those of gentlemen better qualified than myself to judge in this matter—that the condition of the service *demands an entire re-organization of the navy.*” He then proceeds to point out the items of reform necessary, which are—the establishment of a grade of admirals; a naval academy; an alteration in the pay and rank of some officers; in the modes of discipline; and in the domestic economy of the ships. Mr. Wines sums up his arguments in favour of creating a grade of admirals as follows:—

“A large majority of our naval officers with whom I am acquainted, and who are certainly better qualified than any others to judge of the expediency of establishing an Admiralty, are decidedly in favour of it. It would place our navy in point of rank on an equality with the navies of foreign countries; and why should it be inferior in this respect? It might, and, in my opinion, would be expedient to establish the grades of Admiral and Rear Admiral merely for the sake of etiquette; but other and higher considerations demand it. Every body knows that military command goes entirely by rank. No officer in our navy, as it is at present organized, could ever take command of a combined fleet. In such a case, an Austrian or Dutch Admiral would take precedence of our most gallant and experienced captains.”

We do not think these arguments altogether conclusive, although we are inclined to agree with the author in the propriety of the measure he recommends. The commander of an American squadron, we presume, whatever may be his rank, will always receive the attentions and respect due to his station, and the character of the service to which he belongs; and if these are refused, a proper regard to the honour of his flag and his country, requires that he should decline all intercourse with those who withhold it. The character of the navy of the United States is in itself a sufficient guaranty, that it will not wantonly be insulted, and we believe there is no danger that this will happen any where. If, however, the presence of an admiral is necessary to ensure this courtesy on the part of others, it seems to follow as a thing of course, that all our squadrons should be commanded by one of that rank, which would either keep three or four admirals at sea all their lives, or occasion their multiplication to a great extent. With regard to the argument, that as our navy is at present constituted, no American naval officer could take the command of a combined fleet, it applies to a contingency not likely soon to happen; and the probability is that when it does, the question of command will be settled by a previous understanding of the respective governments concerned. In such cases we believe the usages of no nation entitle an officer of any particular one to take the command of a combined fleet, on the score of date of commission or superior rank. If they did, it would always be in the power of one or the other to create a rank for this express purpose.

The present king of England, when duke of Clarence and Lord High Admiral, might by this rule have claimed to take the

command of the combined fleets of all the nations of Europe among whom no such rank is established. Our government may therefore be called upon, according to the argument of Mr. Wines, to create a Lord High Admiral, in order to compete with England for the command of a combined squadron. To carry out the theory to its consequences, the system of ranks should be extended, so that we might have a certain supply of princes, dukes, lords, &c., in order that we may dispute points of precedence with propriety and dignity, in all parts of the known world.

It appears to us that the strongest grounds for the creation of admirals in our navy are, first, that it would gratify a class of men to whom the nation is deeply indebted, and who deserve that every reasonable wish should be gratified; secondly, that corresponding grades are established in the army. As at present constituted, both are nearly on a par in point of numbers, and none will presume to assert that precedence can be claimed by the army, on account of superior gallantry or superior services. Both have gathered their share of laurels, and each should be allowed to repose under their shade with like dignity. As to any additional expense, that would be so small, as to be unworthy of consideration, provided the measure be called for by reasons of justice or policy; and as to the idle clamour about aristocracy, let it be remembered that gradations of rank, and habits of inflexible command, as well as unlimited obedience, are as essential to the existence of the naval and military systems, as they are degrading and mischievous in that of civil society.

The next item of our author's system of reform, is the establishment of a naval academy, on a plan similar to that of West Point. This is a subject on which much may be said on both sides, unless we mistake in our view of the matter. If an academy is to be established to educate philosophers and scholars, we doubt its expediency; if simply to enable young gentlemen to qualify themselves for being more useful in their profession, we believe it may be called for by sufficient reasons of policy and utility. We reverence learning and all who possess it; but we do not think it so essential in professions which require habits of enterprise and the capacity to endure hardships and exposures of every kind. The retirement, abstraction, and repose, essential to the successful pursuit of learning, are, it will be perceived, incompatible with the acquirement of those habits without which no man can distinguish himself in a naval or military career. It is only persons of very extraordinary genius, that have ever been found to excel in war and literature at the same time. We recollect but one very distinguished exception in ancient history. The art and the practice of war are as dissimilar to the pursuits of literature as day and night, and the experience of ages has demonstrated that they cannot long exist together. Perpetual war

is the parent of barbarism. It interrupts the quiet pursuits of agriculture and the arts, and by its furious excitements causes mankind to become insensible to the purer and gentler delights of learning.

Mr. Wines observes, that "the difficulty of training the mind to habits of systematic thinking and philosophic reasoning on board a man of war, furnishes one of the strongest arguments that can be urged in favour of the establishment of a naval academy." He thinks our young officers should become mathematicians; that they should be well read in history and the law of nations; that they should understand and speak the modern languages, and, in short, taking all together the requisites he deems essential to the character of a sailor, it strikes us that their acquisition would take up such a length of time that there would be little left for the attainment of what after all is the most vitally important to the government which employs, and the nation which reposes on his skill and gallantry, to wit, a practical knowledge of his profession, and the habits necessary to make that knowledge efficient.

Neither the army nor the navy was instituted for the education of profound scholars, deep-thinking philosophers, many-tongued linguists, or adepts in the mysteries of national jurisprudence. We question whether Decatur, Perry, Porter, or Macdonough were good at mooted points of philosophy, calculating eclipses, or speaking unknown tongues. They, however, knew how to fight. Sir Isaac Newton was a great mathematician, Bacon a great philosopher, and we have heard there is a learned man at Bologna who can converse in thirty or perhaps it may be fifty different languages. But we doubt whether either of those could have taken an English frigate, or destroyed an English fleet. We confess, very frankly, we have a much greater admiration for the gallant seaman who knows how to gain victories, than for one who is capital at calculating an "infinite series" of defeats. We would therefore lay it down as an incontrovertible axiom, that in the education of a naval or military man, the body should never be sacrificed to the mind: the acquirement of knowledge and accomplishments, not absolutely essential to his profession, should never take precedence, or interfere with those that are. In one word, we think that early habits of hardihood, the capacity to endure fatigue, exposure, all the vicissitudes of naval and military life, and the opportunities for practical experience in his profession, are of much more consequence than the embellishments of scholarship.

Let us see how this applies to a naval academy, and the course of education recommended by Mr. Wines.

"Young midshipmen," he says, "are generally received on board our vessels of war, at an age when neither the intellectual nor moral character can possibly

have been formed, and without any examination to ascertain their capacities or acquirements. They are immediately put upon the active duties of their profession, and three of the five years that precede their examination must be spent at sea. I appeal to any one who knows what a man of war is, if the bustle, the excitement, the novelties, and the evil examples into the midst of which they are thrown, are favourable to the improvement of the mind or the heart."

Young gentlemen, we imagine, are not specially sent to sea to improve either the mind or the heart, but to acquire a practical knowledge of the duties of their profession, and the habits necessary to perform them. Philosophers are too apt to suppose that every profession in life ought to be a school of philosophy; moralists seem to think nothing should be taught in them but morality; while the intensely religious are not satisfied unless they are exclusively devoted to pious abstractions. If the first had their way, there would be nothing but philosophy in the world; if the second, nothing but morals; if the third, nothing but religion. But we must take the world as it was, is, and ever will be, we imagine. Constituted as it is, with all its vices, wants, and vanities, there must be men to fight as well as reason; there must be other things attended to than those which appertain to two or three learned professions; and the mode and the means of acquiring the knowledge and habits necessary to supplying the wants, or gratifying the vanities of mankind—acquiring experience in different avocations, vindicating national rights, and defending national honour, are and must be distinct from the pursuits of the philosopher, the moralist, or the professor of religion. The education and the habits of a sailor are necessarily and essentially different from those of a clergyman or a scholar.

If a naval academy is established, adopting a system of education for midshipmen, which precludes them from an early and thorough acquaintance with the practical duties of their profession, and generates habits of repose and contemplation, at war with the brisk vivacity and active hardihood so necessary to an officer, we have no hesitation in saying, in our opinion it will be worse than useless. The system we have seen most generally recommended, we think must and will produce this effect, because it leaves no sufficient intervals and opportunities for the acquisition of practical professional knowledge. It will be recollected that this practical knowledge can be acquired no where but at sea. A cadet at West Point is differently circumstanced. He can combine almost at the same moment, the acquisition of scientific knowledge, and military accomplishments, with the exercises of military tactics. He steps from the lecture room to the parade; practices gunnery, goes through his manual, and for some months in the year lives the life of a soldier in the "tented field."

But the naval officer *must* go to sea to master his profession.

The lecture room, or the college green, wont do. He must launch into the pathless ocean, breast the storm, hand, reef, and steer in the whirlwind, and learn to manage a ship where alone it can be learnt, on board a ship at sea. How is he to do this at the naval academy, if he is to go through a course which will occupy quite as much time as that of a regular university? Unless he enters a child, he will come out a man, and be obliged to begin his education as a sailor, where he should have finished it. Will his mathematics teach him the difference betwixt larboard and starboard? Will his morals, which by the way are not *always* improved at colleges and academies—will his morals enable him to manage his vessel in a gale, or his “habits of systematic thinking and philosophical reasoning” instruct him how to lay his ship along side an enemy, and make the foe strike his flag? Let us not be understood to say that all these, and especially mathematics, are not desirable, and some of them essential to a certain extent: all we mean to say is, that in constituting a naval academy, the opportunities of gaining an early and consummate practical experience in the duties of a seaman, should not be sacrificed to the attainment of any other object whatever. We want brave, hardy, enterprising sailors in our navy, and not literati and philosophers; nor men who pretend to literature and philosophy. These are the embellishments—the carved and gilded work of the ship’s head, not the cannon that spouts the thunder. They are the ornaments, indeed, but not the essentials of the man and the sailor. So far as they can be attained without sacrificing these essentials, we pay them our willing homage—not one jot further.

It is not, however, our design to discourage the establishment of a naval academy. Properly constituted, it *may* do much good. But after all, we doubt whether on the whole it be certain that it will. We are no warm friends to increasing the dependence of our citizens upon the government, even though it be a government of their own choice. We believe that personal independence is quite as important to the preservation of the national character, as is political independence. We have sufficient experience to know, that whatever may be the name, the form, or the nature of a government, at the moment of acquiring the right, or the power of legislating for the private pursuits of men, and the patronage of educating their children at the public expense, it becomes a latent despotism, an absolute power in disguise. Taking Mr. Wines’ own statement, it appears quite certain that if a young midshipman has been to school at all *before* he enters the navy, he has afterwards sufficient opportunities for acquiring the knowledge and accomplishments of a gentleman and an officer. We know of more than one, of many, who have done so. Mr. Wines gives them two out of the five years, necessary by

the regulations of the service to qualify themselves for examination, which they may if they please devote to completing their education. What but their own neglect can prevent their doing so? If they are thus inclined, they will make use of this period to supply any deficiencies; and if they are not, we much doubt whether there be any catholicon in a naval academy, that can convert an idle rogue into a philosopher or scholar. We may be answered, that if they do not study at the academy, they should be dismissed the service. Thus should we in all probability lose some of the very lads destined in future time to conquer gloriously or die gloriously for their country; for it cannot be denied, that many of the brightest heroes, the most illustrious warriors of ancient and modern times, made no great figure at the academy; at least history says nothing in commemoration thereof. We think on the whole, that scholarship is made rather too much of the *sine qua non* in the ordinary occupations and pursuits of life at the present day. So far from agreeing with Pope, "that a little learning is a dangerous thing," we are wonderfully tempted and incited to affirm, that a little learning is a most excellent thing, while a heavy load of it is very apt to disqualify a man for all practical usefulness. The habits necessary to the acquisition of profound learning, are in a great degree incompatible with the active pursuits of life. The closet is not the place to acquire a knowledge of men and of the world they inhabit. For these heresies we beg pardon of all those who believe the contrary.

Mr. Wines, in illustration of the necessity of a naval academy, observes:—

"I have often been mortified beyond measure by exemplifications of this deficiency. An officer meets with an intelligent foreigner, who commences by interrogating him—"Do you speak French?"—"No."—"Do you speak Italian?"—"No."—"Spanish?"—"No."—He may add perhaps one or two languages more, in relation to which he receives the same answer, and here the conversation is usually dropped. While the *Constellation* was lying at anchor off *Napoli di Romania*, I was at *Argos* in company with Dr. ———, who conversed only through an interpreter. A Greek who happened to be present, observing this, whispered in an English surgeon's ear to know if we had no schools for languages in America? On being answered in the affirmative, he rejoined, "Why, how is that? Here's a doctor, and he can't speak Italian!" This is one instance of a species of surprise that I have found more common than I could wish the occasion of it were."

Now we think this mortification entirely unnecessary. No man is considered ignorant except by the ignorant, because he cannot speak a foreign language; nor is it incumbent on a doctor that he should be master of French, Spanish, and Italian. He may employ his time to better purpose in the study of his profession; and be a skilful practitioner and ripe scholar notwithstanding "he can't speak Italian." We should certainly not think the less of a Frenchman, a Spaniard, or Italian, for not speaking English, and are of opinion that our language is quite

as much worth learning as either of the others. The acquisition of languages is an elegant but not indispensable accomplishment. If our officers feel the want of a knowledge of French, Spanish, or Italian, they have leisure and opportunities to acquire either or all of them without taxing the government for the purpose. In all probability, one half the time of our young officers is passed on shore, either on furlough, on half pay, or at stations where their duties are such as to allow them ample opportunities for supplying the defects of their education, with very little additional expense, and at no other sacrifice than of the hours devoted to pleasure, perhaps dissipation.

Our author next suggests that "some alterations are advisable in the pay and rank of some of the officers. The pay of midshipmen, for example, is in my estimation exceedingly deficient. What are twenty dollars a month to enable an officer to clothe himself as he ought, and make a decent appearance in *foreign society*?" We should say amply sufficient for a reasonable man, and too much for a boy; more than nine tenths of the respectable gentlemen of the United States require or consume in dress. Our young officers are not sent abroad to play the dandy and figure in drawing rooms, but to acquire a knowledge of their profession; not to swagger on shore, but to do their duty on board; not to vie in gorgeous finery with men of wealth, but to exhibit examples of manly simplicity, and sober self-denial. A young midshipman is far more honourably distinguished by these, than by a dandy coat or glittering epaulette, even among the ladies, who, if we do not mistake, would at any time give a preference to a gallant youth who had distinguished himself in a threadbare garment, over one who had nothing to recommend him but his dress. If his sword has done good service, it is of little consequence whether it has a gilded scabbard, and a gold lace belt, or whether the man who wears it has the glory of employing a fashionable tailor. We cannot but believe it highly injurious to the character and usefulness of the young lads of the navy, to put it into their heads that they ought, as a matter of course, to be supplied by the government with the means of extravagant and unnecessary expenditure. Notwithstanding what Mr. Wines says on this subject, we see midshipmen boarding at the most expensive houses, partaking like others of expensive amusements, and for aught we know denying themselves no youthful gratification, becoming or unbecoming in their years. This would seem to indicate that their means are not very much circumscribed. When in actual service, officers are subjected to little expense except in dress, and there occurs to us no special reason why they should not, when on shore, practice that economy which every other class of men adopt, except the thriftless prodigals, who sacrifice character, health, and happiness, to senseless vanity, or an

unbridled love of pleasure.—If instead of lounging at the doors of hotels, and wasting their time on shore, in idleness, or in pursuits worse than idleness, as too many do, our young officers were to retire into the country, or seek some quiet village, where, out of the reach of temptation, they might pursue their studies, and supply the defects of early education, they would find their pay adequate to all their purposes. In our view, the details of Mr. Wines concerning the occupations and amusements of a portion of these young gentlemen at Mahon, furnish ample reasons to withhold from them the means of more expensive gratifications. He thinks that increasing their pay would be a good mode of checking their indulgences; but we never had occasion to observe, in the course of our experience, that abstinence grew out of plenty. We would allow to every officer of every grade sufficient for his comfortable maintenance, but we would not pamper his love of pleasure or indulgence. Honour, rank, reputation, patriotism, ought to be the motives and the rewards of valour; not money. The youth who applies for a commission in the navy of the United States, as he would apply for any common office, for the sake of his mere wages, ought not to be gratified. A higher and a nobler impulse must animate him, or he will never entitle himself to the gratitude of his country and the notice of posterity.

The duties and the compensation of chaplains and schoolmasters in the navy, are next the subject of discussion and animadversion on the part of Mr. Wines. He thinks, and in our opinion justly, that the disparity in the pay of a chaplain, when stationed at a navy yard, and when on duty at sea, is an absurd and miserable expedient of economy. If there is any difference, one would think it ought to be in favour of the latter, since the duties are equal, and the sacrifices and privations of a clergyman are unquestionably greatly increased at sea. We also agree with Mr. Wines in the opinion, that if chaplains are appointed at all, they should be men worthy of their calling, and qualified to be useful in their vocation—not fanatics, or enthusiasts, or bigots, who would convert a ship of war into a conventicle; but rational, reflecting, moderate men, who would never interfere with the regulations or economy of the service, nor attempt to convert sailors into saints. There cannot be a spiritual and a temporal head on board the same ship. The union of church and state is impracticable in the navy. A chaplain should know his duties and obligations, but above all he should know his place.

Mr. Wines thinks,

“The duties of a schoolmaster ought to be specific, and the hours for school regulated upon a settled plan, which should be made common throughout all the ships in the navy. He should have at least authority enough over his pupils to control their intellectual pursuits, and should be required to make, at stated

periods, minute reports to the secretary of the navy, of the conduct, studies, progress, and application of each midshipman under him."

However desirable such an arrangement may be, it is probably impracticable. A man of war is a perfect despotism. There can be but one master on board, and that is the captain. The entire control of the intellectual pursuits of his pupils by the schoolmaster; the setting apart certain hours every day for the purpose of giving lessons; and the authority "to make reports at stated periods to the secretary of the navy, of the conduct, studies, progress, and application of each midshipman under him," constitute rather too much of an *imperium in imperio*, to be compatible with the indispensable authority of the commander. It might, and certainly would continually happen, that an officer would be called away to other duties, by the thousand accidents of a sea life, during the period set apart for attending the schoolmaster, to whom he must of course render an excuse. The master would thus be placed in a situation to decide on the propriety and necessity of his absence; in other words, of the conduct of the captain, or the officer who prevented his attendance at school, by employing him otherwise. Besides, it is to be recollected that the pupils are officers exercising command over the men of the ship, and all who know what sailors are, will readily conceive that the strict discipline and authority of a schoolmaster would inevitably lower the officers in the estimation of honest Jack, who has little reverence for law or learning.

Mr. Wines thinks that some punishment other than flogging should be devised for ordinary offences. This is a favourite doctrine of philanthropists, but we doubt whether any other could be devised so effectual and more humane. The sense of shame is not very rife in the bosom of a tar, and a lecture would, in all probability, be thrown away upon him. To stop his grog would be ten times more cruel than a flogging: to resort to imprisonment as a substitute, would deprive the ship of the services of too many of the men at all times. It is well known that the abolishing this species of corporeal punishment in our army, has had a most mischievous effect on the discipline of the service. There is a class of men in this world, whose bosoms are impenetrable, and whose backs are alone susceptible. To appeal to the sense of shame, or the sense of duty, where neither exists, is a hopeless task; crimes would for ever go unpunished were we to rely on such checks as these. The limitations proposed by Mr. Wines may be necessary, or at least salutary; but we are unalterably convinced that there is no way of preserving strict discipline among these wild varlets, except by the aid of the colt and the cat, administered with all the moderation and forbearance compatible with the attainment of the object; to wit, the punishment of an actual offence, and the pre-

vention of the like in future. He also thinks that the practice of drinking grog might be abolished among sailors, by proper exhortations to that effect. We should as soon expect them to give up chewing tobacco. The next step would be to make landsmen of them; for grog and tobacco are as much constituent parts of a sailor, as the keelson and stern post are of a ship, and neither one nor the other, in our opinion, could exist without them.

In sober truth, it seems to us that all or nearly all these plans and projects for bettering sailors, tend in a great measure to destroy their individuality of character—to make them sailors no more. You cannot prevent or control the effects of certain modes of life and certain occupations. The man-of-war's-man who has no home, and few if any domestic attachments of lasting influence, who is three-fourths, aye, nine-tenths of his time ploughing the ocean, coping with the elements, battling with the storm, whose very usefulness, value, essence, consist in that hardihood and uncalculating daring which neither estimates nor fears consequences—he cannot be expected to be prudent, sober, staid, and immaculate like your landsman, who lives only for the purpose of heaping up wealth or providing for his family. Make the sailor like him, and you will no longer have sailors. You will destroy their very essence, and convert them into the ordinary race of men who stay at home, make and save money, calculate the chances of life and death, the whys and the wherefores, marry, rear families, die of a good old age, and figure in a complimentary epitaph. These are worthy and useful people in their generation, but they are not sailors; and without sailors what would become of our commerce, or the navy by which it is protected?

Let us take the good with the bad. We cannot have all good in this world; and for our part, we cannot sometimes resist the impression that a sailor who drinks a little grog, chews a little or even a great deal of tobacco, enjoys a frolic, adores a *sprees*, meets the storm without flinching, fights without fear, dies like a hero, and shares his last shirt and his last shilling with a messmate, is, as times go, not a whit worse than a majority of his fellow creatures, take them by and large. “A sailor your honour,” to adapt to our present purpose a passage in the writings of a clergyman, “a sailor your honour may pray as sincerely as a parson, though mayhap he is not quite so well paid for it.”

On the whole, we yield every respect to the suggestions of Mr. Wines; we are sure they proceed from a most sincere and disinterested wish to serve the best interests of our gallant and immortal little navy, the pride of our country and the admiration of the world, wherever the star-splangled banner is seen waving in the breeze. He writes like a man of talents, a man of feeling, and a man of principle; and his recommendations are entitled

to due consideration. But we differ with him on many points, for reasons which we have merely touched, because our limits would not admit of an elaborate argument on the several points. Of vessels, which, like the ships of war of the United States, are visited and admired wherever they go, which are considered models for emulation and imitation; and of officers and sailors, who have filled the world with the mere beginnings of a series of exploits, the consummation of which can hardly be realized from the past—of such ships, such officers, and such men, it cannot be justly said that they stand in need of much reform. We like them hugely as they are, we wish them well wherever they go, and would say to all who wish them better, that it is much easier to mar than mend them.

We have been so copious in our extracts, that the intelligent reader is by this time able to form his own judgment of the very clever work under consideration. One of its most marked characteristics is an enthusiastic admiration of those ruined edifices of ancient glory, Italy and Greece, highly becoming in a scholar and gentleman. He riots in the recollection of their former exploits in arms, and their triumphs in literature and the arts; he identifies himself with long past ages, and forgets the present decay and downfall of these venerable structures in his contemplation of their once consummate grandeur. His first impressions of foreign countries are derived from his imagination, which carries him back to distant ages, and for a while banishes the present from his view. His experience, however, almost invariably corrects those delightful illusions, and brings him to the contemplation of things as they really are. Perhaps one of the greatest delusions we of the new world labour under, is an exaggerated estimate of the superiority of the old world, derived from this habit of estimating it by its past triumphs, rather than its present state. Renowned in history, embellished with perfect works of art, to which even ruin and decay have added dignity, and of literature to which time has given only additional lustre, we of the younger branch of the human family, view these nations through the long vista of ages and distance, not as they are, but as they once have been. We forget the pigmy race of the present, in our admiration of the giants of the past, and resign our just claim to equality at least, at the shrine of those famous exploits, those triumphs of genius, those examples of virtue and patriotism, which their descendants, and most of all the present race, have never been able to equal.

It is this historical renown which has mainly contributed to foster that degrading foible so common among our more enlightened countrymen, to wit, an inordinate and silly estimate of the old world, which generates a feeling of inferiority. This delusion grows out of the impressions of early youth, and the books

usually put into our hands, so full of swelling details, beyond doubt exaggerated by the self-love and patriotism of the chroniclers. The realities of the present time dwindle into insignificance, when contrasted with the looming magnificence of distance and obscurity. There is indeed nothing more deceptive than distance of time except it be distance of space. Both appeal to the imagination with almost equal power, and both have contributed to foster an inordinate admiration of old times and old nations.

To our minds, a sober and just estimate of the present state of those nations, would be a far more useful undertaking for American travellers, than a mere repetition of ancient chronicles. We cannot but wish they would pay more attention to things as they are, than to things which have no longer an existence; that they would, instead of perpetually referring to *chefs d'œuvre* of art a thousand times commemorated; describing churches and palaces a thousand times described; and recording triumphs in arms a thousand times recorded; telling us what we knew before, that Demosthenes thundered in Athens, and Cicero lightened at Rome; that here was born such and such a great man, and here achieved such and such a great victory—we could heartily wish, that in the room of this commonplace rehearsal, fit only for a school-boy declamation, they would give us a sober impartial picture of the severe realities of the existing state of things, and of the causes which produced this sad falling off from the glories of the past. Such a detail would read a lesson to the republicans of this wide confederation. It would teach them the value of their freedom; it would refute the stale slander that the abuses and vices of despotism are essential to the perfection of the arts, the highest triumphs of genius; and that if they really were, they bring with them a mass of evils, a weight of suffering, for which no triumphs in arts or literature can furnish an equivalent. If the truth were told us, we would learn that it was in the generous soil of freedom these noble plants first took root and flourished; in the sterile and exhausted deserts of tyranny they withered and died. In short, we would more vividly realize the memorable, the important, the eternal truth, that without virtue there can be no freedom; without freedom no general distribution of the blessings of Providence; without this distribution no national prosperity; and without this prosperity no solid foundation for national glory or national happiness.

ART. IX.—*Memoirs of General Lafayette and of the French Revolution of 1830.* By B. SARRANS, *Secretary to General Lafayette.* 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1832.

THE name of Lafayette has become so intimately connected with the history of America, as to be interesting in the highest degree to the mere collector of facts. His career has indeed been magnificent.—A citizen of the world, and recognised as such by every nation, he has proudly passed through life, with an undeviating adherence to his principle of government, “the greatest happiness of the greatest number.” The friends of liberty will hereafter use his name to designate this period in the chronology of the world. Simplicity of character and urbanity of manners are not less strongly developed in him, than unflinching integrity and love of liberty. Obstacles could not impede, nor difficulties discourage him; faithful to his motto, “*cur non*,” he has submitted to the fiery ordeal of persecution, and braved the greatest dangers to accomplish his object—the emancipation of the world. Bonaparte once said to him, “All these people (the European aristocracy) thoroughly detest me; they detest all of us; but pooh! it is nothing to the hatred they have for you; I should not have conceived that human hatred could go so far.”

M. Sarrans has been very fortunate in undertaking this work; the setting sun decks with its purple rays all the objects under its influence. His situation renders him the only person out of Lafayette’s immediate family, who could have accomplished such a biography. The secretary and aid-de-camp of the patriot, as commandant of the National Guards of France in 1830, he has had opportunities of unravelling the conduct of the politicians of France, and the diplomacy of its court, as well as of exhibiting in bolder relief the character of Lafayette. With the decision of a man of genius and the vivacity of his nation, he has produced a work likely to make a powerful impression on the world. He authenticates his narrative thus—

“I enriched myself with all the papers, the existence of which my accidental functions revealed to me. I filled my tablets and my memory with all the historical information which continual communication with the individuals then at the head of authority, placed within my reach.

“My connexions, as the reader will perceive on perusing my book, were not confined to the circle of the staff of the National Guard. Other distinguished persons also honoured me with their confidence. Thus, for example, I was indebted to a well known friend of the imperial family for the possession of Prince Joseph’s Correspondence with General Lafayette, —to chance for the three letters from the General to Louis Philippe, and to various members of the Cabinet of the 3d of November for the discovery of some private scenes of high interest.

“These, and these alone, are the sources from which I have obtained a knowledge of the political events, which I now communicate to my fellow-citizens.

Future leisure will perhaps enable me to submit to their indulgence the fruits of longer and more important investigations.

"Have I abused the confidence of M. Lafayette, or of any other person? I see no reason to fear that I have. My book reveals nothing that was *confided* to me. I tell only what I have seen, read, and heard:—neither more nor less.

"Shall I be so unfortunate as to displease the General by my frankness? Certainly not; for he, who all his life adopted the maxim of thinking aloud, and of keeping as far as regarded himself nothing secret from the public, can take umbrage only at falsehood. I tell the truth.

"If, however, contrary to my expectation, these volumes should cause the least dissatisfaction to the man whom I revere more than any other in France, I should be deeply grieved, though I should derive some consolation from the very consciousness of the sacrifice I have made to the performance of a duty: for there are duties to which every thing, even the friendship of a great man, ought to be sacrificed.

"General Lafayette and some other eminent individuals may blame my indiscretion; but their honesty is my guaranty that they will not deny a single fact which concerns them in this work."

Lafayette's reception in America was calculated to excite the apprehensions of the soi-disant "conservative party" of Europe, and especially of France. When he landed at Havre, on his return home, he was received with enthusiasm by its inhabitants: the same demonstrations of popular respect were made at Rouen, notwithstanding the efforts of the police to prevent them.

Again elected a deputy by the arrondissement of Meaux, he still exhibited the inflexible determination on his part, to advocate the cause of the people. Charles X. frequently said, "there are but two persons in the revolution, Lafayette and myself, who have remained unalterably firm in their principles." Vol. I. p. 242.

The crisis was approaching; the fearful struggle between despotism and its oppressed subjects, had already commenced. France looked with terror at the measures of government. The spirit of resistance was roused, and the people determined to meet the consequences of a revolution, the horrors of a civil war, rather than submit any longer to the power of a king imposed on them by foreign bayonets—a prince who had sacrificed to the *legitimacy* of Europe the best interests of France, and betrayed the trust he had been *suffered* to assume. The government was obliged to resort once more to the electoral colleges, and in despite of all their exertions, the chamber of 1828 was the result. The popular character of this assembly caused the immediate dismission of the Villele administration, and the Martignac ministry was formed to pacify the nation. It succeeded. But the king had not changed his principles; his measures only had been altered; he hoped by postponement to gain that which he had attempted at first to effect.

"Suspicious and dissembling, the court saw only enemies in the ministers whom the force of circumstances had imposed upon it; without the cabinet, councils were formed which paralyzed its energies, and rendered its march painful and indecisive. The session of 1829 passed away in new conflicts, indicative

of the plots which were proceeding in secret. The prorogation of the Chambers left the field open to the counter-revolution; and scarcely had the Deputies returned to their departments, than the announcement of the ministry of the 8th of August struck people with consternation."

"In this momentous crisis, however, the entire country arose, assumed an imposing attitude, and faced, with indignation and courage, the impious faction into the hands of which its destinies had just been thrown; from all sides, a cry of anathema was heard against that increasing generation of favourites, mistresses, and flatterers, which had succeeded in possessing itself of power."

"What, in fact, were these ministers? A Roman prince, bred in the maxims of ultra-despotism, and whose melancholy destiny it was, that the first and last acts of his life should be blended with political plots; the man of sanguinary ideas; the good-natured prefect, who seeing from his window the march of the guillotine through the champaign of the Rhine, remarked that the errors of governments should be buried in the entrails of the earth; the spoilt child of the congregation, whose incapacity was become proverbial; the promoter of the prevotal courts; a returned emigrant, a traitor, whose sword had cast a stigma on French glory, and lastly, a Mangin."

The cry of indignation was loud, but now was the season for action; a project of an association to resist taxation was formed, which extended with immense rapidity.

Charles X. threw off the mask and cast down the gauntlet of defiance to the nation. The Chambers were convened, and the king said in his opening speech, "if culpable manœuvres should excite against my government, obstacles opposed to my will, but which I cannot foresee, I shall find in my resolution the power to surmount them." The majority of the deputies were in favour of addressing the king on the subject of the differences between them and the ministry—but the most respectful, calm, and energetic manner availed nothing. Charles's fate was decreed. As is usual in such cases, pride, folly, and obstinacy hastened his downfall. He rejected with scorn the counsel of the representatives of his people—a people still willing to avert the calamities of war and save the effusion of blood, even at the expense of some of their dearest rights. An adjournment of the Chambers took place, which was quickly followed by a dissolution; efforts were made to corrupt the elections.

"A vast and atrocious conspiracy, spreading conflagration through our provinces; a great military enterprise, conceived and executed with the sole desire of operating a diversion in the public mind favourable to the counter-revolution; the appointment of a generalissimo, crowned with inextinguishable opprobrium; the employment of enormous sums, without the control of the Chambers; the return of M. Peyronnet to the ministry, and the nomination of Messieurs Capelle and Chanteleuze, to replace two ministers who withdrew from the projects of the counter-revolution; the royal proclamation; the adjournment of twenty electoral colleges; the news of the capture of Algiers; the ministerial songs of triumph; the almost integral re-election of the two hundred and twenty-one; the triumph of the constitutional opposition, in the immense majority of the colleges; the defeat of the ministers; the despatch of sealed letters, calling the deputies to Paris, no doubt that their persons might be more easily seizable; and lastly, the publication of a memorial, in which the emigrants solicited Charles X. to a *coup d'état*;—such were the events which preceded the ordinances of the 26th of July, ordinances in which the feelings of the 8th of August found an active expression."

The publication of these Ordinances spread consternation among the people. The journalists met, and determined that it was their duty to rush boldly to the attack, and resist the invasion of their privileges: a spirited protest was agreed upon, printed, and disseminated. The effect was electrical.

"From this moment, public opinion underwent a change: anger and indignation succeeded to surprise; the interests most immediately attacked burst into explosion; the operative printers presented themselves under arms with incredible audacity; the students of the Polytechnic school threw themselves heroically at the head of the insurgent citizens; those of the schools of law and medicine followed the example, and the capital was in revolt. All was then agitation, all rushing onwards in insurrection. A magnificent defence was arranged in a few hours; the soldiers of despotism presented themselves on the field of battle against the public liberty; the combat was commenced amidst cries of *Vive la Charte! Vive la Liberté!* blood flowed; all hope of conciliation was destroyed, and victory must decide between liberty and despotism."

Count Alexander de Laborde was the first deputy to hazard his life in this conflict; he attended the meeting of the journalists and boldly accepted the presidentship of it. He then invited the deputies present in Paris, to meet that evening (26th July) at his house. The meeting was small; several deputies however spoke in a becoming manner.—M. de Shonen observed, that self-immolation was demanded, and if requisite, "the cry to arms" must be made; when M. Périer was announced—he had heard the words *cry to arms*. "Ah, gentlemen," he exclaimed, "how much you are mistaken! what would you do? Have you reflected coolly upon these measures? you constitute yourselves a national assembly! and cry to arms." (vol. i. p. 269.) He argued for the validity of the ordinances, that supposing the right invoked by Charles the X. was questionable, which he did not admit, where, he asked, was the judge between authority and the people? (vol. i. p. 269.) A very plausible objection, which ought to lead us to appreciate the excellence of the Constitution of the United States in giving us a Supreme Court, capable of deciding nearly all the controversies which can arise between the government and the people. Noble institution—with how much ardour should we cherish and defend it!

Lafayette was absent when the ordinances were promulgated; the Moniteur reached him at La Grange on the morning of the 27th; the same evening he was in Paris. He immediately offered his services to his fellow-citizens. On the 28th, the patriots appeared to be in a discouraging situation; the meeting of deputies was that morning very small, and the number was finally reduced in the afternoon to eight; when M. Guizot moved that the proclamation voted in the morning should be signed by the names of all those deputies who were known to be friendly to the liberal side. It was agreed to, in consequence of M. Lafitte's remarks:—"Let us adopt this proposition gentlemen," said he, "should we be vanquished, they will belie us, and prove

that we were only eight ; if on the other hand we are conquerors, be satisfied the signatures will be matter of emulation." Sixty-three names out of four hundred and thirty who compose the Chamber of Deputies were accordingly affixed. The night of the 28th Lafayette devoted to the inspection of the barricades. An old man who could scarcely walk, supported by two or three persons, presented himself between one and two o'clock in the morning at one of the posts.

" 'Halt there!' cried the sentinel ; 'corporal, come and reconnoitre.'—The corporal was a mechanic. 'Come to the post you trampers, and tell us what business you have to be walking about at this hour.' The group marched to the post, and there each of the strangers was examined, and they were found to consist of a man of advanced age, and venerable figure, before whom many barricades must have already yielded ; and three other persons who appeared to be acting under his orders, as aides-de-camp : all this appeared very suspicious to the commandant, who strictly questioned the old man. The latter replied, 'Captain, you see me overwhelmed with heartfelt emotion by the spectacle you present to me ; come, and embrace me, and you will know that I am one of your old comrades.' The commandant hesitated. It is 'General Lafayette !' said some one, and all threw themselves into his arms ; but the commandant recovering his composure, exclaimed, *to arms, gentlemen !* They were instantly ranged in order of battle, and the general passed in review as he might have done by a regularly disciplined army."

M. Lafitte's conduct appears to have been irreproachable ; with all his immense property at stake, he courageously entered the lists among the first, and with systematic coolness, proposed or supported the boldest measures. To his house the patriots of the neighbouring departments hurried for directions. He briefly said to them, "promote insurrections, and if necessary come to the assistance of Paris." Some of the prisoners taken from the royal troops were even brought to his hotel, and among others, three officers of the general staff, who, grateful for M. Lafitte's hospitality, "acknowledged to their host that at the moment they fell into the hands of the Parisians, they were deliberating at the quarters of the general staff upon the measures to be taken in order to send two hundred soldiers, disguised in the dress of the people, to seize him, M. Lafitte, and conduct him to the foot of the column, where he was to be instantly shot. After being detained forty-eight hours in the apartments of the man they had condemned, these summary despatchers of justice received disguises from him, by the help of which they might quit his house, and mingle in the crowd."

At the meeting of the deputies on the 29th, it was resolved to appoint a provisional government, Lafayette having offered to take command of the popular force, but refused to name the civil commission. His progress to the Hotel de Ville to enter upon the duties of his office was triumphal ; the people appearing to emulate each other in doing honour to the veteran republican.

And now the battle was over ; the revolution was accomplish-

ed ; France was free. The only government was that at the Hotel-de-Ville ; and the friends of order, (the majority of the combatants were of this class,) sought to preserve the fruits of their victory by the establishment of a firm authority to direct the nation. Some were in favour of a republic ; some wished to make the Duke of Bordeaux king, some Napoleon II., some the Duke of Orleans. Lafayette preferred the last proposal. The horrible recollections of the old republic rendered it impossible to obtain for such a form of government the approbation of a majority of the people. He must have been a bold man, who would have supported such a measure, and incurred the danger of a revolutionary re-action : to declare the Duke of Bordeaux king, with a regency, would have been a farce, and a prelude to more coups d'état : to proclaim Napoleon II. the sovereign, would not have been agreeable to the nation ; Bonaparte's reign had been nothing else than a despotism of gilt chains ; besides, Napoleon II., by his education, had become an Austrian prince ; the care taken to effect this object is well known. From all these considerations, it appeared to Lafayette to be the best expedient to offer the throne to Louis Philippe ; it was, however, the wish of Lafayette, that a provisional government only should be established, until the primary assemblies could be convoked to express their opinions, it being an understood condition that the form of government should be monarchical. In this the deputies did not agree with him, and as it is one of his principles to obey the national representation, however imperfect, he submitted to their wishes.

But we have anticipated events. How was Louis Philippe chosen ? We answer, upon the authority of M. Sarrans, by Lafitte's influence and address. He had long been known as a partisan of this measure of preferring the younger to the elder branch of the Bourbons. The Duke of Orleans was at Neuilly at the time of the insurrection, and in total ignorance of what was passing ; the court had committed the error of not summoning him to St. Cloud. Lafitte commenced an early communication with him ; many messages had passed between them before any thing transpired in public ; the Duke wavered long, and hesitated before intimating his consent ; he certainly did not covet, or he dreaded to grasp the honours of royalty. At a meeting of deputies in the house of M. Lafitte, the matter was broached for the first time, and it excited some astonishment and contradiction ; the meeting was then adjourned, at Lafitte's suggestion, to the palace of the Bourbons, where a curious diversity of opinions appeared.

" All systems, the republican excepted, here found partisans ; by turns the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Bordeaux, the Duke of Angoulême were named, and even Charles X., who, incredible fact ! united the evident majority of voices.

It was at this decisive moment, that M. Sebastiani was heard to exclaim, on the subject of the tri-coloured flag displayed on the Hotel-de-Ville, 'The white flag is now the only national standard !'

Had M. de Mortemart arrived, to whom a safe conduct was given as an envoy of Charles X., and who was expected at this meeting, it is even probable that he might have secured a majority of deputies in favour of his master, giving rise to a measure whose result cannot be predicted.

At length, however, the Duke of Orleans was appointed *Lieutenant General of the kingdom*. A commission was directed to inform him of this choice. He was still at Neuilly. The deputation immediately wrote to him, and he hastened to Paris. Even then M. Sebastiani, as one of the commission, actually addressed him with an entreaty to decline the offer, founding his arguments on legitimacy and the precarious situation of affairs.

Undecided, and manifestly under the alternate tyranny of hope and fear (vol. i. p. 325,) the Duke of Orleans finally declared, that he could arrive at no conclusion, without consulting an individual who was then absent. That person was *Talleyrand*. His Royal Highness retired to a cabinet where M. Dupin was waiting for him; Sebastiani was speedily sent for; he proceeded with the declaration of the deputies to the house of Talleyrand and placed it in his hands. "Well, it must be accepted," was his answer. In three quarters of an hour the Duke of Orleans announced his acceptance of the *Lieutenancy General of the kingdom*.

Great dissatisfaction was exhibited at the Hotel-de-Ville, with this nomination; many wished for a republic with Lafayette as president; some even said, if it was necessary to have a king, Lafayette ought to be chosen; he gently and firmly repressed these ebullitions of feeling. He obtained for the Duke of Orleans on the occasion of his first formal visit to the Hotel-de-Ville, a more favourable reception than could have been anticipated; not however without using all the popularity he possessed, and after an express promise by him, that he would procure from the new government guaranties for their rights, or in other words, that he would secure the adoption of the principles of the sovereignty of the people, the abolition of the hereditary peerage and of qualification, the extension of the elective principle to the municipal and communal institutions, the re-establishment of the National Guards, as in 1791, and the suppression of monopolies. Lafayette went to the Palais Royal and returned with the declaration, that the sentiments of the Duke of Orleans were in accordance with the popular wishes. He had an interesting conversation with the Lieutenant General at the Palais Royal.

"'You know,' said he, to the Duke of Orleans, 'that I am a republican, and that I consider the constitution of the United States as the most perfect system that has ever existed.'

"'I think so too,' replied the Duke of Orleans; 'it is impossible to have lived

two years in America without being of that opinion; but do you think, in the situation in which France stands, and in the present state of public opinion, we can venture to adopt it here?"

"No," replied Lafayette, "what the French people want at the present juncture, is a popular throne, surrounded by republican institutions."

"That is just what I think," replied the Prince."

It is certain, that the charter adopted by the Chamber of Deputies, owing to ministerial influence, was not so favourable to liberty, as the patriots desired it should be. It was even determined at first, that the Lieutenant General should be declared king with the title of Louis Philippe V.; Lafayette's exertions on this point were successful. *The name was rejected.* The king was sworn into office, or inaugurated, as we republicans say, and great care was taken during the solemnity to exhibit the *creation* of the king by the *people*. Lafayette acceded to the wishes of the king in retaining the office of Commandant of the National Guards.

Now appeared two parties styled respectively by their opponents the war and peace parties. The one, it was said, wished for peace at any price, the other was accused of desiring war *coute qui coute*. The war party, in fact, merely supported the doctrine of non-intervention, but they demanded the enforcement of this principle, even if a resort to arms should be necessary; they said, and with great reason, that the sovereigns of Europe were only waiting for a favourable opportunity of restoring the old dynasty to France. To the war party were of course added, all the wild spirits of the nation, the ultra republicans, and those who wished for war as a means of extending and propagating the spirit of liberty. The peace party desired, if possible, to cultivate friendly relations with other governments. To this end, they would have sacrificed almost the independence of the nation, and were willing to represent, at foreign courts, the party possessed of the administration at home, instead of the nation of France. It is needless to say, that Lafayette belonged to the former of these divisions; but an interesting question presents itself, as to the opinions of Louis Philippe. M. Sarrans is doubtless unjustly severe upon the king, who, according to this writer's insinuations, is vacillating, cowardly, deceptive, and a traitor. M. Sarrans' remarks are extremely caustic and vindictive. But he makes it evident that Louis Philippe vacillated or prevaricated in his foreign policy. Again and again did government declare its determination to enforce the principle of non-intervention; it is better, said the ministers, for nations not to possess a precocious liberty; it will do them no good to have freedom forced upon them, and when they are prepared to enjoy it, they can readily obtain it, if the principle of non-intervention be only observed. And in what manner was this doctrine *enforced*? By suffering the Belgians to obtain their liberty, and at the same time at the

London conference favouring a restoration in Belgium?" by permitting Poland to fall under a despot's sway, to be crushed by the autocrat's tyranny, and afterwards looking on, while his Imperial Majesty was transporting the Polish soldiers and officers to Siberia,[†] and this, after deceiving them with promises, which prevented them from pursuing vigorous measures, which might have secured their independence? Was the government's adhesion to this principle exhibited in regard to the Italian patriots, to whom it gave pecuniary aid, and held out encouragements only to disappoint them, as the thirsty traveller in the desert is deluded with a mirage? Spain, too, affords an illustration of the same indecision and vacillation. The conduct of Ferdinand VII. was insulting in the extreme to the new government. Immediately after the revolution of July, the Spanish constitutionalists flocked to Paris; whether by invitation, or by a spontaneous movement encouraged by the facilities afforded to them by the French government, is a matter of some doubt. We are far from agreeing with M. Sarrans, that the reasons are convincing, which he assigns for the opinion, that the Spaniards were invited and enabled to come to France by Louis Philippe. When in France, however, notwithstanding the present denial of government, they had the connivance and assistance of the French ministry to enable them to organize and march in detachments to the Pyrenees. "The crown granted one hundred thousand francs, to aid the success of the Spanish constitutionalists, and this sum was converted into two letters of credit of fifty thousand francs each, one of which, drawn upon a banker at Marseilles, was given to the unfortunate Torrignos." Vol. ii. p. 43. Other sums were contributed by government to the same cause, and when in consequence of remonstrances by the court of Spain, it became necessary to seize dépôts of arms, an arrangement was made with the Spanish committee, which agreed to create false dépôts, by collecting arms unfit for use. The diplomacy of Europe defeated these measures in a few hours. We are far from blaming Louis Philippe for receding from such expedients; we think he has exposed himself to great censure by thus secretly plotting against other governments. The objects of the French court were to avenge itself on Spain, and bring the whole peninsula under the

* If Lord Grey is to be believed, who (as prime minister) asserted the fact in a speech in the House of Lords.

† A modern traveller, (Stocqueler) who passed through part of Russia during the last year, met some of these unfortunate patriots. "The manacled and bleeding Pole," said he, "escorted by his savage conquerors, might oftentimes be seen wending his weary way in the direction of Siberia's wastes; and now and then a covered britska, guarded by rude Cossacks, would mark the captivity and progress into exile of some distinguished chief. Prince, peer, and peasant, centurion and soldier, they all shared the same fate; their mode of transport furnishing the only clue to a surmise as to their rank and quality."

authority of Donna Maria, who was to marry the Duke of Nemours; the consent of the Constitutionalists to this last measure, was the only condition imposed on them.

If Louis Philippe was censurable for this conduct, he was even more indiscreet or inconsistent in permitting the interference of foreigners with other nations who were desirous of obtaining their liberty. The geographical situation of the United States is such, as to free us from all apprehension from unruly neighbours; not so with the countries of Europe. There a government which permits a disturbance of the balance of power on the continent, is guilty of self-destruction. The potentates of Europe, after the revolution of France in 1830, were preparing to invade that country: it was the interest, nay, the duty of France to surround itself with constitutional governments, if it could be done without a violation of the laws of nations, and by insisting on the principle of non-intervention, that object would have been effected. This policy was not only a duty France owed herself, but an urgent duty. It was only in consequence of the Belgic revolution, the Germanic troubles, and the Polish revolution, that France was saved from the horrors of a war on her own frontiers or within her territory. The advance guard turned round against the main body, said Lafayette, speaking of the Polish revolution, and alluding to the arrangements of the autocrat, which placed the Poles in front of the intended invasion. The Grand Duke Constantine left many of his papers behind him, which fell into the hands of the patriots; copies of certain letters in relation to the European invasion were sent by the Poles to Lafayette: he read them in the Chamber of Deputies. In a letter to Prince Lubecki, Minister of Finance, dated St. Petersburg, November 20th, 1830, Count Grabouski says, "we are now in the month of November. The distances are great. Our forces cannot be in readiness till the spring; and events succeed so rapidly, that Heaven knows what may happen before that time. No courier has hitherto equalled in rapidity the current of events. This has placed the affairs of Belgium in so fatal a situation."—"Finally, His Majesty orders me to invite you to come to St. Petersburg, as soon as the army shall be put in movement, and the *general war* shall be declared, in order to receive the commands of His Majesty in person." (Vol. ii. p. 13.)

The following conversation took place between Generals Field Marshal Diebitzsch and Binkendorf, and Colonel Wylezynski, the envoy from the Polish dictator to the emperor.

"Well, Poles! your revolution at least has not the merit of being well timed. You rose in insurrection at the moment when all the forces of the empire were marching towards your frontiers, for the purpose of bringing to reason the revolutionists of France and Belgium." On the Colonel observing that Poland conceived herself able to stem the torrent for a period long enough to rouse Europe, and prepare her for the conflict, Marshal Diebitzsch replied—"Well, and

what would be the result? We intended to make a campaign on the Rhine; we shall make it on the Elbe, or even on the Oder, after having put you down. Reflect accordingly."

The conduct of the autocrat to the new king of the French was insulting, and sufficiently evinced his intentions: his envoy, Pozzo Borgo, remained at Paris after the revolution without approaching the new court, and during this time, the orders for the Russian subjects to leave France, and for the French citizens to depart from Russia, were unrevoked; but after the troubles in Poland occurred, these orders were rescinded, and the envoy visited the court of Louis Philippe. How carefully did the emperor compose his answer to the note of the king of the French informing him of the change of dynasty in France, which Louis Philippe called a *catastrophe*. The emperor in his answer abstains from the appellation "My brother," usual on such occasions in diplomatic language.

This truckling to foreign courts did not meet the approbation of Lafayette, and, together with the domestic policy of the new king, it alarmed him.

"His complaints were frequent and severe. 'I know,' said he, one day, to Louis Philippe, 'only one man who can now bring France to a republic; and you are that man. Continue to disavow the principle of your origin, and I will answer for it that the republic, or I may perhaps say the demagogic system, can desire no better auxiliary than your Majesty.' 'Wait,' replied the king, on another occasion, 'wait till such or such a time, and you will see.' 'Wait till that time!' resumed Lafayette; 'but are you sure that you will reign till then? For my part, I doubt it.'"

An estrangement from him, on the part of the court, doubtless succeeded, which in the end produced the resignation of Lafayette as Commandant of the National Guards. The suspicions of the court were excited against him by absurd calumnies; the most invidious caricatures were placed before Louis Philippe's eyes, representing the prince with the crown in his hand, and Lafayette saying "sire, be covered." (Vol. ii. p. 117.) The majority of the Chamber of Deputies disliked the republican chief for various reasons, among the principal of which was his wish to convoke the primary assemblies after the revolution. With them we may rank, likewise, the Chamber of Peers, to whose hereditary privileges he was an avowed enemy. In this jealousy of Lafayette, the foreign diplomatic corps and a majority of the king's council participated.

After the Chamber of Deputies had passed a vote of thanks to the National Guards and its illustrious chief, the manoeuvres to remove him were commenced. Finally, on the introduction of a law in the Chamber of Deputies by the president of the council, which virtually deprived Lafayette of his command, he transmitted his resignation to the king; great regret was expressed; even attempts were made to induce him to remain in

office; these professions and this conduct could scarcely have been sincere; M. Sarrans represents them as utterly hollow and hypocritical: the resignation was accepted.

At length, Lafitte, whose diplomatic views had always differed from those of the king, discovered that Louis Philippe maintained a correspondence with foreign courts, which was concealed from his council: he immediately determined to resign, and on the 11th of March executed his intention, and his resignation was accepted by the man who a few days previously had declared "that St. James and St. Philip were united on earth as in heaven." (Vol. ii. p. 58.)

Lafayette, although now alienated from the government, was no less active than before in the defence of all of the great principles of the revolution. On all questions involving matter of importance, he entered into the discussion; the man of seventy-five years ascended the tribune and delivered long and impassioned discourses, opposing all attacks upon the privileges of the people; on all occasions declaring himself a disciple of the American school.

The cholera having appeared in Paris, most of the deputies took to flight, and left the field to the ministry, who availed themselves of the opportunity to hurry through many important laws, which would have met with a strenuous resistance by the deputies of the Opposition, had they been present at the discussion. Here too, Lafayette maintained his ground, and braved the terrors of the pestilence, in the service of his country.

Now the nation began to reflect on the conduct of the government; fear seized their hearts: they perceived that one scale was lighter than the other, and that nothing but the sword was likely to restore the equilibrium. The conservative party felt that popular favour, the only pillar supporting the throne of July, was almost removed. The ministry became an object of suspicion to the people; their views were examined, their actions scanned; hence they almost rejoiced at Casimir Périér's death; his funeral they thought would afford them an opportunity of beguiling the populace by a splendid pageant. They were deceived. Then came a mournful event to France, a calamity deeply deplored—Lamarque died. The nation resolved to testify their respect for his memory; an immense crowd accompanied the body. Unfortunately, the pupils of the Polytechnic School were ordered to remain in their hotel, evincing a distrust of the people on the part of the government, and exciting those young men by debarring them of a privilege which perhaps they would not otherwise have so highly valued. The conduct of M. de Fitzjames, who refused to uncover when standing at his window, as the funeral passed; the neglect of the formality of calling out the guard at the different posts which were encountered, especially as several regiments of

the line formed part of the procession, were highly irritating for the people. Among the flags carried on the occasion were two red banners, one without an inscription, which it is said was bought during the course of the procession; the other with the words *Liberty or Death*. After the body had arrived at the Place d'Austerlitz, the red cap, the bloody emblem of the reign of terror, was suddenly elevated on a spear; what immediately followed is uncertain; the judicial investigation will probably explain the matter; until then we would rather not receive the bold conjectures of M. Sarrans. The melancholy contest which succeeded is too well known, and we willingly pass over the carnage which ensued. The deputies of the Opposition had several meetings to concert measures to stay the hand of the destroyer; it was at last resolved to have, by a committee, a personal communication with the king, the object of which was twofold—to propose means of checking the disasters of Paris, and to prevail on the government to be merciful in its victory. MM. Lafitte, Odillon Barrot, and Arago were appointed; the interview took place.

"M. Odillon Barrot was the first to speak; and in a serious, measured, and respectful address, this honourable orator represented to the King that the Deputies of the national opposition, like all good citizens, deplored the disorders and calamities of the preceding day; that they could not express their censure and indignation at the culpable excesses of those who had set at nought the laws, and resisted the legal authority with arms in their hands; but that it was likewise their duty not to disguise from the chief of the state, that the retrograde policy of his cabinet,—the disregard of the engagements of July,—the disappointment of the expectations of the revolution,—the neglect of national honour,—and, finally, the whole of the system of the 13th of March, had exasperated and inflamed the mutual animosities amongst the citizens, which had caused blood to flow in the streets of Paris, and were a prelude to the most frightful of all calamities, a civil war. Placing thus before the King the respective wrongs of the government and its adversaries, M. Odillon Barrot concluded by conjuring his Majesty to stop the effusion of blood, which still continued to flow,—to silence the cannon, which then resounded even in the royal abode,—to be indulgent towards the vanquished,—and to prevent a renewal of these scenes, by a prompt and frank return to the principles on which his dynasty had been seated by the revolution.

"The King replied, that having been audaciously attacked by his enemies, he had a legitimate right to defend himself; that, in short, it was time to quell revolt, and he had employed cannon as *the shortest way of ending it*; that he had, nevertheless, rejected the proposal which had been made to him, of placing the city of Paris in a state of siege; that, as to the pretended engagements of the Hotel-de-Ville, and those republican institutions about which the opposition made so much noise, he could hardly comprehend what it all meant; that he had more than fulfilled the pledges he had made, and given to France as many republican institutions as he had promised, and even more; that the programme of the Hotel-de-Ville had only existed in the brain of M. de Lafayette, whose incessant appeals were evidently the result of a mistake; that, with respect to the system of the 13th of March, it was wrong to give the credit of it to M. Périer; that this system belonged to the King, and was the result of his own convictions, the fruit of his meditations, and the expressions of his reflections on politics and government; that he, Louis Philippe, had consented to *take* the crown only on the conditions indicated by the development of this system, which was most comfortable to the wishes and wants of France, and from which he would not

deviate, even should they *mince him in a mortar* (the King's literal expression): 'In short,' the King added, 'it will not do, gentlemen, to allege vague accusations; specify the charges you have to make against the Périer system, of which poor Périer is guiltless enough. What have you to say against this system? Let us hear it.'

"M. Arago replied, by a rapid and animated exposition of the divisions by which France was lacerated, and which the policy of the government cherished with an almost scrupulous solicitude; he referred to his own family, which had surrendered itself to the schism of political opinions; he instanced his brother and his nephew, who, perhaps, at the very moment he was speaking, were ranged in opposite ranks, prepared to take each other's life; and, to characterize the situation by an example, he adverted to the League, and to the d'Ailly, who, under Henry IV., slew his own son in the streets of Paris. M. Arago then spoke of the public posts given to the partisans of the fallen regime; of the scandalous indulgence which screened the machinations of the Carlists, whilst the failings of individuals and the press were prosecuted with a rigour unexampled in the judicial annals of the restoration. M. Arago mentioned, likewise, the astonishment and deep disgust which the apparent impunity the Dutchesse de Berri seemed to enjoy, excited throughout France, and the invidious interpretations to which this impunity might give rise.

"At these words Louis Philippe exclaimed, that his government had no other enemies than the Carlists and the republicans—that what had been objected to him was only the result of their manœuvres—that he had been accused of avarice (he, in whose eyes money had never possessed any value,)—that his best intentions had been perverted to such a degree, that, for a long time past, he could not read either the *Tribune* or the *National*—that his father, *who was the best citizen of France*, had been calumniated like himself, and impelled to give the revolution a *bloody pledge*, which he ought to have refused—that the exigencies of the two revolutions were equally unsustainable—that he, Louis Philippe, was not obstinate, which he had shown when, after long resistance, he had improperly given way to importunity, and effaced from the outside of his Palace, and from his armorial bearings, the *fleurs de lis*, which had been, from time immemorial, the arms of his family. With regard to the representations concerning the Dutchesse de Berri, Louis Philippe declared, that if that Princess was arrested, justice should take its course; but that, whatever happened, his reign should not witness a *bloody drama*. At this moment, the cannon of St. Merry made the glasses in the Palace shake.

"The discussion having brought M. Arago to foreign affairs, and this Deputy deploring the state of abasement and submission into which France had fallen in the eyes of Europe, the King, on the other hand, took credit to himself for his foreign policy. 'This policy,' said he, 'has prevented the Powers from doing what they were resolutely bent on doing. For more than six months I have held them in my own hands. The King of Holland is about to yield. I give France a new ally in King Leopold, whom I make my son-in-law, in spite of many causes of umbrage. In short, if it must be told, the Powers are in such a position, that my throne would be the most difficult to shake; not one of them has the stuff of a Duke of Orleans.'—'But, Sire, the affair of Ancona. What! the tri-coloured flag removed, by order of Rome, from the towers of a citadel occupied by our soldiers? What! the ambassador of the King of July at the feet of the Pope?'—'Not so loud, Sir,' said the King, quickly, 'I can hear you. True, there is, indeed, something to say respecting the affair of Ancona; but it was necessary to succeed—it was essential, and we have succeeded. And surely some condescension towards an aged and obstinate priest involves no vast consequences. Besides, whatever were the means employed by my ambassador, he has completely justified himself in his correspondence. Proceed.'

"The discussion having returned to the system of the 13th of March, the King, who affected to make a very good use of M. Périer, pretended that this system was really but the continuation of that of the 3d of November. 'I appeal,' said he, 'upon this point, to M. Lafitte: was it not that system you followed?'—The late President of the Council at first maintained a negative silence; but Louis

Philippe having subsequently again insisted upon this parity, M. Lafitte loudly protested against an assimilation, which was the more incorrect, since it was notorious that a radical difference between the King and himself, as well respecting affairs at home as the direction of our exterior policy, had occasioned his retirement from the Council.

"In conclusion, Louis Philippe observed to MM. Odillon Barrot, Lafitte, and Arago, that his duty requiring him to listen to the representatives of France, and to study the wants and wishes of the country, he should always receive them with pleasure; that whenever they made any well-grounded representations, he should pay attention to them; but that, candidly speaking, he had found nothing in their statement, and that the system pursued by his government being the result of his own conviction, he was sorry to be obliged to declare that he could make no change in it.

"On rising, M. Lafitte told the King that he should retire penetrated with the deepest sorrow: he entreated him to compare the eagerness and enthusiasm which his presence formerly excited, with the effect it now produced; that this alteration denoted a deep-seated evil, and he conjured his Majesty to ask himself, whether a King of *France*, who required 50,000 men to guard him, was really King of *France*."

Such is the melancholy state of affairs in France. To what the French will be led, we cannot predict. That nothing human is perfect, is so trite a saying as to be almost offensive: the maxim is peculiarly applicable to all governments with which we are at present acquainted, or which history discovers to our researches in past ages. Few indeed are those who apply the principle of Lafayette, that "in great personal questions it is in general safest to decide against one's own interest;" and even with such, ignorance, partial or general, obstructs their views of policy, hides from them the only true means of making a nation rich and happy. A government is an unwieldy machine. In every transaction in which its interference is not absolutely *necessary*, men will do better without it. In vain do revolutions take place, so long as the rulers remain ignorant of their duties, or the prejudices of the people prevent their governors from the exercise of the true principles of legislation. In republics, as under other forms of government, bad rulers and unenlightened statesmen are to be found; it is therefore of importance for those nations yet groaning under despotisms, to know that although liberty will do much for them, it will not effect every thing: they must become intelligent, or the best forms will be only forms; words will be used to mislead them by those interested in their deception; the shadow will cover them, but the substance will be placed out of their reach. Perhaps we have been looking at the dark side of the picture; who knows what effects will result from the accurate methods of reasoning and investigation now in use? May we not hope, that by these means, the truths of political science, which are now the property of the few, will be embraced by the mass of the people; that men will learn to love each other from the principle of self-interest; and then we shall have no working men's associations—setting society against itself, addressing the lowest prejudices of the peo-

ple, and founded upon the assumption that the rich and the poor are natural enemies. The man who would lend his influence to propagate such errors, and especially the last, ought at once to be outlawed; he has committed a *treason* against social order; he has forfeited the protection of his fellow men. Let us anticipate better things; and when truth shall have become widely disseminated, we need feel less apprehensive about forms of governments: then, under any, a nation will protect its rights.

Whatever may happen in ages to come, Lafayette's name is inscribed on tablets more durable than marble or brass—the hearts of his fellow men. The convulsions of society produce at least the good effect of throwing out in prominent situations the benefactors of mankind. Howard might indeed increase the vocabulary of the English language, by giving a name to acute sensibility in combination with active sympathy; but it remained for Washington and Lafayette to afford examples of the highest civic virtues, a stern denial of self, and a sincere dedication of all they possessed on the altar of liberty, while exposed to every temptation to lay their hands upon the glittering bauble, a crown. We do protest against any desecration of these names; they stand together upon a hallowed pedestal, beloved friends, the mutual admiration of each other, themselves the wonder of the world; never did one find his portraiture but in the other.

Lafayette rejected in 1789 the office of Commandant of the National Guards of France, because it conferred powers dangerous to the people; it would in fact have made him the *first* citizen in his country. After the revolution in 1830, he had but to nod assent, and the presidentship or throne of France, whichever he might have chosen, would have become his: the Belgian people, (See vol. ii. p. 3,) by their deputies proposed for his acceptance successively the presidentship and crown of their nation. Thus we perceive the hero of our own revolution sustaining to the very evening of his days the same high character so worthy of reverence and imitation.

In these volumes, there are some personal anecdotes of Lafayette, and particular historical details upon which we have merely touched, of which the text ought not to be withheld from our readers. We append them, therefore, to this article. They may serve as specimens of Mr. Sarrans' style of narration, though, in truth, his London translator has not done him justice. The chief faults of his work are harshness and violence of party-spirit, and the declamatory tone which prevails in almost every page. It is like an impetuous and angry harangue throughout. Its main value lies, not in the criticisms, but in the facts and opinions declared, and the various true and grand lights under which its hero is exhibited.

“It had been decided that the throne should be offered to the Duke of Or-

leans, and that the new monarch should take the name of Louis Philippe V. This was the first attempt of counter-revolution, to renew that *chain of time* which the barricades had so unceremoniously interrupted. Lafayette objected to this denomination, which he called unworthy of a republican monarchy, that ought to have nothing in common with the pretensions and tinsel show of the ancient kings of France; manliness on this occasion triumphed over *doctrinaire* courtliness, and the Duke of Orleans wrote with his own hand these English words:—'You have gained your point; it shall be as you wish it.'

"It was indeed a glorious spectacle to witness the enthronement of a King, issuing from the midst of the people, entering the sanctuary of the laws to the sound of the popular songs of 1792, blended with the patriotic inspirations of 1830, and modestly seated on a stool until the delegated of the nation should permit him to take his place on the throne. Who will ever forget it? The people were still in all the dignity of their power, and never were the relations of the creation nearer to the creator more religiously observed. Cries of *vive le Duc d'Orléans*, and not of *vive le roi*, resounded from the benches and the tribunes. The president of the chamber, M. Casimir Périer, having read the new charter to the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince having declared that he accepted it, honest Dupont de l'Eure presented it to him to sign and to swear to. A King standing addressed his seated people; and finally, when authorized he seated himself on the throne for the first time, and was saluted with the title of Monarch. Such were the last homages that were rendered to the sovereignty of the French people." (Vol. i. pp. 378, 379.)

"In the first days of August, being on duty at the head-quarters of Lafayette, I had the honour to introduce to him one of the most important personages in modern diplomacy. This was M. de Humboldt, who came to ask the general-in-chief confidentially what were his political principles, in regard to foreign powers, under the new circumstances in which France was placed. Lafayette replied, that the foreign affairs did not concern him, and that he ought to address himself to the minister at the head of that department; on which M. de Humboldt frankly acknowledged that he was directed, not only by his own government, but also by some other preponderating cabinets, to ascertain his personal intentions, and to report these to them. Having been present at this important conversation, I have it in my power to give a correct report of Lafayette's answer, the marked expressions of which I lost no time in committing to my tablets.

"'Since you wish it,' said he to M. de Humboldt, 'I will think aloud with you. We have accomplished a popular revolution; we have chosen a popular throne; we wish that it should be surrounded with republican institutions; we will not allow any person whatever to interfere in our affairs, neither will we interfere with those of our neighbours. If your people are content with their governments, so much the better for you; if discussions should arise between your people and you, it is not for us to interpose; but if other nations are determined to follow our example, we will not suffer foreign governments to send their counter-revolutionary gendarmeries against them; and we consider Poland and Russia as forming one and the same nation. You must be sensible that we cannot allow the vital principle of our existence, that of the national sovereignty, to be attacked among other nations by foreigners; that it is impossible to permit nations who may become our allies to be crushed, in case of war with arbitrary governments; that we cannot let you direct, by peace, the first phrase of a manifesto against us, and sanction pretensions which would authorize you to make an ulterior war upon us. We wish to remain at peace with all our neighbours; we have not carried into our revolution any sort of ambition, whatever claims we might have to make, whatever retaliation we might have to take. But if, in spite of our moderation, you form another coalition against us; if you repeat what you did at Pillnitz, and what has been continued, more or less, for forty-two years, it will be a proof to us that our liberty is incompatible with your arbitrary diplomacy; if you attempt to enter our country, it can only be with the intention of enslaving, perhaps of partitioning us; then it will be our duty and our right to

meet you with the arms of liberty, and to raise our population against you, as much as it is in our power to do; and if your thrones cannot be reconciled with the independence and liberty of France, it will be our interest not to lay down our arms till those thrones shall be demolished and annihilated. If, on the contrary, you leave us in quiet, if you do not attempt to stifle liberty among neighbouring nations, which would constitute a direct and flagrant hostility against our social existence, you shall have no cause to complain either of France, or of the revolution of July." (Vol. i. pp. 440—442.)

"The presence of Lafayette in the councils of the new royalty, his influence over the direction of affairs, his power at the head of the armed nation, made him a bugbear for the absolutists abroad as well as for those at home; and I hold a material proof that diplomacy made his removal the necessary condition of any ulterior transaction with the cabinet of the Palais Royal." (Vol. i. p. 454.)

"It was Lafayette's wish that Belgium should become a federal republic, so as to form a northern Switzerland, in the close alliance, and under the immediate guaranty of France. In like manner, he had ardently desired that Greece should be transformed into an eastern Helvetia, in the hope that the moral action of these two democratic constitutions, and the example of order and public prosperity presented by them, would overthrow many prejudices, and introduce many salutary modifications in the social and governmental ideas of Europe." (Vol. ii. p. 4.)

"The appointment of M. de Talleyrand as ambassador to London, is a fact so important, and one which has exercised so fatal an influence on the destiny of the revolution of 1830, that the circumstances which attended it cannot fail to interest my readers. That appointment, which was required by the king, was warmly opposed in the council by MM. Lafitte, Molé, Dupont de l'Eure, and Bignon. M. Lafitte dwelt particularly on the unpopularity of such a choice, but the intrigues of the Doctrinaires, and the obstinacy of Louis Philippe, triumphed over the opinions of the friends of the revolution. The Grand Chamberlain of Louis XVIII. was accordingly sent to London: the spirit in which he conducted matters there is well known." (Vol. ii. p. 5.)

"The Doctrinaires have made a great noise about certain letters which Lafayette is said to have written to Poland, before the revolution of the 29th November, for the purpose of exciting the people to insurrection. I can pledge myself that every word of this is completely false, and that the report has been got up with the perfidious intention of throwing upon this distinguished patriot, the responsibility of the disasters which accompanied and have followed the defeat of the Poles.

"The same may be said of the pretended secret correspondence by which he is reported to have excited the movements in Italy. This second accusation is as unfounded as the first; Lafayette was an entire stranger to the Italian insurrections up to the moment of their breaking out. He had even declined to enter into a plan of conspiracy in which the Duke of Modena was engaged, and whose object was said to be to relieve Italy from the Austrian yoke and the Papal authority. When solicited by the agents of that petty tyrant to engage in this conspiracy, and lend the influence of his name to the Italian patriots, Lafayette replied, that he distrusted the Duke of Modena too much to consent to have any communication with him, under any pretext, or for the furtherance of any purpose.

"However, when the insurrections in Modena and the Roman States began to develop themselves, Lafayette attached the highest importance to their progress, and took the liveliest interest in the success of the cause of the patriot Italians.

"His first care was to urge the expediency of immediately forming an army-

corps upon the Alps, to keep the Austrians in check, and also to protect the free progress of the popular insurrections. He required also, that the government should notify the principle of non-interference to the cabinet of Vienna, and that it should declare the formal determination to enforce its full application with regard to the affairs of Italy. In fact, notes drawn up in this spirit were addressed to the courts of Vienna, Russia, Naples, and Turin, after having been previously communicated to Lafayette. Then, also, M. Sebastiani declared officially to the Pope's Nuncio, that France would not permit the Austrian troops to aid his holiness in repressing the patriotic movements in the legations. Finally, Marshal Gerard received orders to take the command of an army-corps upon the Alps.

"On the occasion of the adoption of these different measures, the king said to Lafayette, 'How can we get to Italy without traversing the neutral states of the King of Sardinia?' The general answered, 'If that should embarrass your Majesty, I will require but twelve days to open two passages larger than your columns will require. Sire, you have only to say through what part you wish them to pass.' Indeed, nothing at that time could have been more easily obtained; not, certainly, from the King of Sardinia, but from the inhabitants of Savoy, Piedmont, and Genoa, than safe debouches for a French army marching to the succour of Italy." (Vol. ii. pp. 23—26.)

"With a generous pertinacity, Lafayette continually revived the recollection of the crimes against the Spanish Constitutionalists. 'Restore,' he used to say, 'the Spanish Constitutionalists to the situation in which they stood at the commencement of your iniquitous war, and you may then maintain your neutrality as long as you please.' These were not the only services he rendered to the patriots of the Peninsula. He maintained a correspondence with the different fractions of the national party, who, though unfortunately disunited among themselves, still reposed entire confidence in him. Lafayette even made pecuniary sacrifices, scarcely consistent with his fortune, to promote the success of their cause, and to alleviate their individual sufferings." (Vol. ii. p. 35.)

RESIGNATION OF THE LAFITTE MINISTRY.

"Austria, while she was marching her best regiments into Italy, where she expected to engage with us, was the first to open with France negotiations with the view of preventing, or at least of adjourning a conflict, the issue of which might involve the loss of her possessions in Italy. M. d'Appony then presented to the Cabinet of the Tuileries a verbal proposition, which M. Sebastiani reported to the Council, and the object of which was,

"1st. To permit Austria to occupy immediately the Dutchy of Modena, by right of the reversibility of that dutchy to the house of Hapsburgh, after the extinction of the reigning ducal family.

"2d. To concur in inducing the Holy See to grant a representative constitution to the Ecclesiastical States.

"3d. To deliberate respectively, and with common accord, on the means of effecting a general disarmament on the continent of Europe.

"This triple proposition excited warm discussions in the Council. The king, who, even before the question respecting the Dutchy of Modena was broached, had declared himself for the occupation of that state, by right of reversibility, now again urged that concession. M. Lafitte warmly opposed it. That minister represented, in support of his opinion, 1st, that the succession of the Dutchy of Modena was not open; 2d, that even if the right of reversibility claimed by Austria were actually established, the interests of France, and especially the moral interests of the revolution of July, would render it impossible that the exercise of that right could be permitted. With regard to the constitutional institutions to be obtained for Romagna, the president of the council saw the absurdity and impossibility of such a project, as long as the temporal power of the sovereign Pontiff should continue unseparated from his spiritual power. 'Only imagine,' said he, 'a chamber of peers composed of cardinals, and an elective chamber filled with curés and vicars!' As to the proposition of disarming, M. Lafitte regarded it merely as a lure or a delay, intended to plunge France into

false security, and to paralyze her activity. Finally, the president of the council, regarding the propositions of Austria altogether as an intended deception upon France, and the order of things risen from the barricades, requested that a note, having for its basis the reasons he had adduced, should be immediately forwarded to the Cabinet of Vienna, to notify the positive refusal of France to accept its propositions, and her resolution to exact, by all means in her power, the rigid observance of the principle of non-interference, proclaimed by her as the basis of her foreign policy. Such was likewise the opinion of M. Lafayette respecting the affairs of Italy, and he expressed his opinion with a degree of warmth which had the effect of overawing, at least in appearance, the weak men who had already begun to conspire for the sacrifice of the principles and the men of July.

"The other members of the cabinet, and even the king himself, seemed to yield to the opinion of MM. Lafitte and Lafayette. M. Sebastiani read to the council a note drawn up in accordance with the opinions expressed on the preceding day by the prime minister.

"Was this note transmitted to the court of Vienna? We must presume it was: but be this as it may, serious suspicions of the existence of a secret correspondence between the Palais Royal and foreign diplomatists, arose in the minds of the patriotic ministers who then formed part of Louis Philippe's cabinet. M. Lafitte, with grief suspected that despatches of primary importance, and the results of which might involve his responsibility, had been concealed from the knowledge of the council, when an accidental circumstance converted this suspicion into certainty.

"This circumstance occurred a short time after the discussion on the affairs of Italy above described, that is to say, on the 5th of March, 1831. A courier from Vienna had brought to Sebastiani a despatch from Marshal Maison. The Marshal acquainted his government that he had just learned from M. de Metternich, that the Austrian cabinet did not recognise the principle of non-interference, and that its firm determination was to interfere, by force of arms, not only in the states of Parma and Modena, but in all the Italian provinces into which insurrection might spread. 'Hitherto,' said M. Metternich, 'we have allowed France to set up the principle of non-interference, but it is time she should know that we do not recognise it as far as regards Italy. We will carry our arms wherever insurrection may extend. If this interference should bring about war—Let war come! We would rather incur every chance of it than be exposed to the risk of perishing in the midst of revolution.'

"'You know,' said Marshal Maison, in his note, 'that no one has declared more decidedly for peace than I have; but I now feel convinced, that to avert the dangers which threaten France, we must, without delay, and before the levies of Austria are organized, take the lead in preparations for war, and throw an army into Piedmont.'

"This important despatch arrived at the office of the Minister for Foreign Affairs on Saturday, the 5th of March. A copy, written by the hand of M. Sebastiani's son-in-law, was immediately transmitted to the king; and yet, on Tuesday the 8th of March, no communication on the subject had been made to the Council of Ministers. M. Lafitte himself only heard of it through a breach of confidence, made in the offices of the Hotel des Capucines; he immediately proceeded to the Palais Royal, to ask the king whether he knew any thing of a despatch from Vienna, which was said to have arrived within the last three days at the office of the Minister for Foreign Affairs? The king replied that he did, and, on the astonishment expressed by M. Lafitte, the prince explained this strange silence by observing that he sometimes found it necessary to take precautions against the indiscretions which were committed in the Council. At this moment the War Minister arrived, and M. Lafitte having put to him the same question which he had addressed to the king, Marshal Soult replied that he knew nothing of the matter, and expressed the utmost indignation against M. Sebastiani, whom he called a traitor. At length the Minister for Foreign Affairs made his appearance, and being interrogated by the President of the Council, stammered out the confession that he had indeed received a letter from Marshal Maison, but that it was of no great importance, and that he had not had time to communicate

it to his colleagues. At the desire of M. Lafitte, the Minister, who had not yet deposited the despatch in his portfolio, went to the office to procure it, and it was at length submitted to the Council. The opinion of the members who had not been informed of the arrival of this document was, that the king and M. Sebastiani intended to keep it from their knowledge.

"From that moment, though a promise was given that this sort of mystification should not be repeated, M. Lafitte determined to retire. I can affirm that the principal cause of his retirement was the opinion the king entertained respecting the foreign policy of France. The king was for maintaining peace at any price, and loudly declared that whatever might be the opinion of his Council on this subject, his was irrevocably fixed. However, Louis Philippe used, or feigned to use, every endeavour to oppose M. Lafitte's design of retiring, by which he said his friend would do him more harm than he had done him good when he helped to place the crown on his head. However, at the termination of an audience in which he again explained his system of government, a system which was diametrically opposite to that in which the king declared his intention of persisting, M. Lafitte requested his Majesty to receive his resignation, and earnestly entreated him to appoint M. Casimir Périer President of the Council. The king still hesitated to accept the resignation, and evinced the most decided dislike of the individual whom M. Lafitte had recommended as his successor. Louis Philippe said at that time, that the imperious character, the constant ill health, and even the countenance and complexion of M. Casimir Périer, were exceedingly disagreeable to him.

"This antipathy, real or pretended, to M. Casimir Périer, was not the only sacrifice which the monarchy of the barricades imposed upon itself in the choice of Ministers. It is certain that in their intimate communications the king and the Duke of Orleans professed, at that time, the most sovereign contempt for Marshal Soult, and often laughed at the clumsy endeavours of that minister to get himself chosen President of the Council.

"In spite of all this, M. Lafitte resolved, at all events, to extricate himself from the false position in which he stood, and which was so unworthy of his political good faith: he next day convoked a ministerial Council, in which, after representing the system hitherto pursued as fatal to the principles of the revolution of July, and to the interests and honour of France, he again explained his governmental opinions, and urged his colleagues to decide without delay on one of two things, the adoption of his system or his immediate retirement. His colleagues were silent; he renewed his demand still more urgently, and at length, after a pause, M. Montalivet observed that he, for his part, would more readily adopt the system of M. Périer than that of M. Lafitte. On hearing this M. Lafitte declared the Sitting ended. This was on the 11th of March. On the 12th the resignation of the President of the Council was offered for the third time, and was accepted by him who, a few days previously, had observed that 'St. James and St. Philip were united on earth as in Heaven.'" (Vol. ii. pp. 50—58.)

"I am unwilling to believe that the king's demonstrations of affection, gratitude, and repugnance, were merely feigned; yet it is a positive fact, and I leave it without commentary to the judgment of the reader, that before M. Lafitte became President of the Council, some one who was endeavouring to get M. Périer appointed to that office, received from him the following very significant reply:—'It is of no use: the moment has not yet arrived. Lafitte must have his turn first.'" (Vol. ii. p. 59.)

"The Lafitte Ministry inherited all the difficulties created by the first cabinet. They took the government under circumstances the most critical that had existed for five months; and whatever faults this ministry may have committed, it must at least be allowed the merit of having done some good. In the midst of the strongest political prejudices, they frankly laid down economical and legislative principles; they planned out a new system of indirect contributions; they discussed questions of public credit; they relieved thirty millions from the burden of indirect taxes; they desired peace, but they haughtily declared that it appertained to France to prescribe it to Europe, and, that if the honour of the nation required, it behoved her to carry on war by every means, not excepting

propagandism; they energetically protested against the London Conference constituting itself the heritor of that of Vienna; they said 'we will not suffer the principle of non-intervention to be violated,' and Austria remained upon the frontiers of Modena and Romagna. In short, the downfall of Lafitte was the signal for the invasion of the Papal states, and for a complete submission to the London protocols.

"These facts explain the reason of that honourable citizen's repulsion from the councils of Louis Philippe, and why, also, notwithstanding the errors into which his too easy character had drawn him, he retained his popularity intact, and received even marks of the public esteem and favour. And those who had most strictly criticised the acts of his administration, and of that class I am one, felt they had neither reason nor inclination to cast a shadow of doubt over the uprightness of his intentions, or the purity of his patriotism." (Vol. ii. pp. 205, 206.)

"Educated in the great school of revolutions, a witness of the vicissitudes which had accompanied the emancipation of America, and of the finest kingdom of Europe; by turns an actor and a victim in these bloody dramas, Lafayette had contracted, from the experience of half a century, the firm conviction that the best security for the liberty of one nation is the liberty of all the surrounding nations; and that a revolution, to be consolidated, especially upon a continent, by the formation of alliances with those whose interests and whose wants are the same, and who, having the same enemies to contend with, must necessarily employ the same means to oppose them. From those opinions upon the nature of government which he has held for the last fifty years, has sprung Lafayette's unquenchable attachment for every nation which has conquered, or attempted to conquer, its freedom. This is also the cause of the filial affection, the unlimited confidence, and the religious veneration, with which the veteran of the cause of nations is regarded by all the patriots of Europe and America.

"The almost universal naturalization of Lafayette is, indeed, a real phenomenon in the history of the world. It must be admitted, that the man whom all the South American States, from Chili to the Isle of Palma, have constituted the arbiter of their destinies; whom North America considers it one of her greatest glories to claim as her adopted son; and to whom the nations of Europe manifest the same sentiments of affection and respect, in proportion as they desire to be free, it must be admitted, I say, that such a man occupies a peculiar position in the political world: a position which, to use his own expression in a letter of his constituents, he is far from wishing to resign. This universal patriotism is a source of terror and affright to the aristocracy and the despotism, which bears so cruelly upon the world, but the friends of order and true liberty only perceive in it a moral power, which may be of immense utility in the emancipation of Europe, and in the introduction into public law of an influence which should work out the true principles of equality, liberty, and order, with the least possible disturbance and misery." (Vol. ii. pp. 62—64.)

"The difference in opinions and political views, which separated Lafayette from the men of the 7th of August, had gone on continually increasing, when the approaching trial of the ministers induced the Court to exhibit a more conciliatory disposition towards the Chief of the National Guards of the kingdom. The unmerited suspicion, absurd jealousy, and low sarcasm, with which the noble general had hitherto been treated, all at once gave place to marks of the most unlimited confidence and respect, and a display of almost filial affection.

"Lafayette did not attach to those attentions greater value than they deserved. He pitied the feeling which dictated them, and though he foresaw that they would soon have an end, he did not, on that account, allow himself to be moved from his resolution of performing his duty in every particular; and, if necessary, of sacrificing his popularity, to preserve the honour of the revolution of July. His attachment to this revolution approached almost to fanaticism; and the object of all his thoughts was to make it descend to posterity as the beau ideal of popular omnipotence." (Vol. ii. pp. 65, 65.)

"Nothing was more natural than that all the old cabinets should combine to

the overthrow of Lafayette, and to neutralize the decisive influence he was claimed to exercise on the new destinies of Europe. Thus diplomacy armed herself with every precedent, to prove to the satisfaction of Louis Philippe, the impossibility of any connexion between a cabinet under the control of such a man and the old governments, of which he had shown himself the irreconcilable enemy for forty-five years. His removal was represented as a concession, at the price of which the friendship of foreign cabinets might be purchased by the new dynasty, and it was signified that if that concession were refused, it would be necessary to prepare for all the consequences of the displeasure of the Holy Alliance.

"Fear produced more effect than diplomacy could have hoped for, to use the expressions of a certain ambassador. The disgrace of Lafayette was willingly conceded, without reflecting that this scandalous sacrifice would turn to the advantage of the enemies of France, without altering the real question: viz. the radical incompatibility existing between absolute governments and revolutionary monarchies." (Vol. ii. pp. 119, 120.)

"No sooner did the loquacity of the *doctrinaires* allow room for the exercise of reflection, and for the substitution of facts for words, than a speedy reaction was operated upon the public mind. The most indifferent observers perceived that the citizen monarchy now subsisted only upon the customs and usages of legitimacy; that the sole result of the revolution had been to recreate a king such as are all kings; the magistracy such as it was; a budget almost double any former budget; the assessment of taxes, the codes, the monopolies, the army, and the church, such as they were; and in short, that all that France had achieved by forty-five years revolutionary tortures, three days of gigantic conflict, and two thousand five hundred millions of contributions, paid in twenty months, reduced itself to neither more nor less than a new edition of the Capetian system, differently bound, and adorned with commotions, conspiracies, civil wars, becautombs, and prostrations at the feet of the Holy Alliance.

"A profound sentiment of regret for the past, and of anxiety for the future, then began to penetrate all hearts. The timid but loyal citizens at length discovered that sovereignty was decidedly no longer capable of being reconverted to its original purity, and that its feeble hands were powerless to restore to France her external dignity, or to compose the domestic animosities engendered by thoughts of usurpation, resistance, and civil war. Interested devotedness, affections biased by lucre, hatred masked under the pressure of hands and embraces, which the restoration had extended from the exchange to the court; cupidity, in short, began to discern that pecuniary, like all other interests, must rest on pillars capable of resistance and endurance; that the existence of the system of the 13th March was an outrage, against the consequences of which the country must sooner or later take measures of security; a position radically false, which a breath of the national will might overthrow; a deviation from common sense in which no government whatsoever could long proceed; a wrong, the redress of which could claim no gratitude from France, because when a people are to be conciliated it is in vain they await the moment of necessity. The stock-jobbing Philipists therefore began to grow rather lukewarm towards their chosen system, and to anticipate with terror the new series of events with which the blindness of the government might be preparing to swallow up their capital.

"The transactions at Grenoble; the dissolution of the National Guards in five or six departments; the armament at Marseilles; the clandestine disembarkation of the Dutchess de Berri on the shores of Provence; the culpable family delicacies which lent impunity to this enterprise; the undisputed passage of the *Régent* across our southern provinces, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic; commerce, industry, agriculture, all struggling under interminable oppression; the insurrection in la Vendée; the nearly accomplished overthrow of the Grey Ministry, and the perturbation which that event was on the eve of producing in the affairs of France; Poland buried in the silence of death, and the grass growing in the streets of Warsaw, under the hoofs of the Cossacks' horses; Russia calling her reserves and concentrating her armies on the banks of the Rhine; in

the East, Austrian battalions inundating Bavaria, and all the smaller states of the Germanic confederation in commotion and anxiety; our handful of soldiers shut up in Ancona, and our national flag piteously rolled up in its case; the armed attitude of Holland; the interminable farce of the London Conference; a conclave of Russian and German generals assembled at Berlin; in short, the complication of events that agitated Europe, lacerating in all directions our sympathies, and wounding our interests; all these things at length began to work conviction even amongst the most apathetic, that the cabinet of the Tuileries had at least lost all care for the welfare of France." (Vol. ii. pp. 379—382.)

ART. X.—*A History of the American Theatre.* By WILLIAM DUNLAP, Vice-President of the National Academy of Design; Author of the *Memoirs of G. F. Cooke*; *Biography of C. B. Brown*, &c. New-York. 1832.

THE life of a player is so strangely diversified and so full of adventure, that anecdotes of the stage always excite and generally gratify our curiosity. The recruits for the theatre are drawn from every class of society. Sometimes the apprentice feels himself inspired with heroic ambition, and, disdaining the servile labour of the shop, stalks forth a *Norval* or a *Hamlet*; he passes through a thousand mortifications and sufferings, to abject poverty, or, perhaps, to an enviable distinction. On the other hand, instances are not rare of young men of high rank, of cultivated education, and brilliant prospects, abandoning all these advantages; smitten with the dramatic mania and panting for theatrical renown. "The American Theatre" is, comparatively, so recent a creation, that its "History" would seem to be a barren and unpromising subject. But this is not the case. (The industry and talents of the author of the work before us have furnished a most amusing and interesting volume; and our personal knowledge of all his prominent "dramatis personæ" gives to his portraits the force and animation of real life. He is peculiarly happy in describing the personal appearance of those whose history he records. His judgment of their professional merits is always candid and liberal, and generally, as we think, discriminating and correct. In a few instances we do not exactly agree with him, but they are of actors who figured more on the Philadelphia than the New-York boards, and may, therefore, be less known to the author than to us. We shall be more particular on this subject in our progress through the "History.")

Our author endeavours, throughout his work, to elevate the stage and render it subservient to the great interests of society and morality, by stimulating those who write for it, as well as those who represent what is written, to a just estimate of the duties they have assumed. "Dramatic poetry," he says, "is one

of the first of the fine arts—the histrionic art is the handmaid of poetry—the rise, progress, and cultivation of the drama mark the progress of refinement and the state of manners at any given period in any country. Without the aid of the actor, there are thousands who would never have heard the name of Shakspeare; but who, by his aid, are familiar with the most sublime, moral, and beautiful sentiments that ever adorned any language.” The author “firmly believes that the theatre is in itself a powerful engine well adapted to the improvement of man, and that it only wants the directing hand of an enlightened society to make it the pure source of civilization and virtue.” In the course of the work these sentiments are frequently enforced with pertinent illustrations, and many excellent lessons are given to obtain from the drama its best and legitimate uses. He speaks with much authority and great experience on this subject, with which he has had a long and intimate acquaintance, both as a writer for the stage and the manager of a theatre. We recommend especially this part of his work to those who conduct and those who patronise our theatres, and should be glad if our limits would allow us to present his views more fully to the public.)

(We learn, and not without satisfaction, that the “American Theatre” may boast of a very honourable parentage. Garrick, being rejected by the managers of Drury Lane and Covent Garden, made the first display of his talents in the Theatre of Goodman’s Fields; which soon “became the centre of attraction, and Drury Lane and Covent Garden were deserted.” The sapient managers, of course, saw their blunder, and Garrick was withdrawn to the “scene of his future triumphs.” Mr. William Hallam succeeded Giffard in the management at Goodman’s Fields, but became bankrupt. Upon this event he planned a voyage of discovery, and sent his brother to this country. Mr. Dunlap gives a short picture of the state of the theatre at the time alluded to, and laments the degradation into which it has fallen.)

“It is well known that the state of the drama was in 1750 much more brilliant than it has been for the last half century, or is now in Great Britain. The best and greatest men in the country wrote plays and attended their performance. The pit of the theatre was the resort of wit and learning; while fashion, beauty, taste, and refinement, the proud and exclusive aristocracy of the land, took their stations in the boxes, surrounding the assemblage of poets and critics below. In the course of our history we may find the causes which have degraded the drama, while every other species of literature and art have been rising in estimation, and every science progressing to its destined perfection.”

Lewis Hallam, the brother of William, and the father of Lewis, afterwards so well known in this country, collected a company of considerable strength both in numbers and talents, and sailed for America, with a good stock of plays, farces, &c., a list of which is furnished in the work before us. This company was call-

ed "*The American Company*." They arrived at York-Town, Virginia. They went at once to Williamsburg, where they opened the first theatre in America, purchasing and preparing for the purpose, a long building in the suburbs of the town. It was situated on the spot now occupied by the house of the late Judge Tucker. No orchestra had been provided for this enterprise, but a teacher of the harpsichord was fortunately found, who "was engaged with his instrument to represent that splendid assemblage of wind and stringed instruments which we now look for in an orchestra." On the 5th of September 1752, the first play performed in America, by a regular company, was represented. It was "*The Merchant of Venice*." The cast of the characters is given; and Mr. Lewis Hallam, so well known to us, then a boy of about twelve years of age, appeared as the "servant to Portia." This account is given of his first appearance. "He had but one line to speak, apparently an easy task, but when he found himself in the presence of the audience, he was panic-struck. He stood motionless and speechless, until bursting into tears he walked off the stage making a most inglorious exit. We need not say that he was the hero and favourite in tragedy and comedy for nearly half a century.") This is nothing uncommon for heroes. Frederick the Great ran away from the first battle he fought, and Peter the *Greater* was panic-struck on the water.

[In September 1753, Hallam opened his theatre in New-York, with "*The Conscious Lovers*." On the 20th of November, a note appeared on the play-bills, which was intended to correct an abuse which in our day is intolerable. "Gentlemen and ladies are desired to come by six o'clock, we being determined to keep to our hour; as it would be a great inconvenience to them to be kept out late." There is nothing in which our theatres require a reform more than in this practice of keeping us *out late*; not indeed so much by an unseasonable hour in commencing the performance, as by crowding the evening with what they call *entertainments*; and by the unreasonable intervals between the acts of the play, and still more between the play and the after-piece. The house is seldom dismissed before eleven o'clock, and is often detained much later.

The next effort was to establish a theatre in Philadelphia, where, of course, a strenuous opposition was made to it by the Quakers, who petitioned the Governor "for the prohibition of profane stage plays." Counter-petitions, however, were presented, and Governor Hamilton gave permission to open a theatre, and cause twenty-four plays to be performed, on condition that they offered nothing indecent and immoral—performed one night for the poor of the city—and *that the manager gave security for all debts contracted, and all contracts entered into by the*

company. The exaction of the last condition would go near to shutting up our theatres at this day. The first regular company opened their theatre in the store-house of Mr. William Plumstead, on the corner of the first alley above Penn Street, and commenced in April 1754, with the "Fair Penitent."

Our author, in the course of his work, follows these humble beginnings "of temples of the Dramatic Muse" in the United States, to the present splendid establishments in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, &c.—and certainly the growth has been rapid. He has transcribed a benefit play bill, in 1762, a part of which we extract.

"For the benefit of Mrs. Douglass, the tragical history of KING RICHARD THE THIRD, containing the distress and death of King Henry the Sixth in the Tower; the usurpation of the crown by Richard; the inhuman murder of the young King Edward the Fifth, and his brother the Duke of York; the fall of the Duke of Buckingham; the landing of the Earl of Richmond (afterwards Henry the Seventh) at Milford; the battle of Bosworth Field, and death of Richard, which put an end to the contention between the houses of York and Lancaster; with many other historical passages."

We perfectly recollect the custom mentioned, and the notice inserted in the play bills, "ladies will please to send their servants to keep their places, at 4 o'clock"—and "from four to six and after, the front seats of the boxes were occupied by blacks of every age, waiting until their masters and mistresses made their appearance." We find in this volume much interesting matter respecting the habits and manners of our ancestors—the topography of our cities, and the astonishing changes in both—some very amusing anecdotes are interspersed with graver subjects, producing a variety that excites and rewards attention. When, during the revolutionary war, the British army was in possession of Boston, "the players were succeeded by the officers of his Britannic Majesty's army and navy." The "*Heiress*," written by General Burgoyne, was preceded by a farce called the "Blockade of Boston," intended to ridicule the yankees.

"It is remembered that while the officers were performing Burgoyne's farce, an alarm was given that the rebels had assaulted the lines, and when a sergeant entered and announced the fact, the audience supposing his words, 'The rebels have attacked the lines on the Neck,' belonged to the farce, applauded the very natural acting of the man, and were not disturbed until successive *encores* convinced them that it was not to the play that the words, however apropos, belonged, and that the prompter of the speaker was not behind the scenes, but behind the trenches."

Speaking of these performances by the British officers, our author gives a salutary admonition to young men who fly to the stage, "not when the idleness of a garrison might have induced more pernicious employment of leisure hours than studying and reciting the poets." He well says, that

"It is not to be compared with the folly of those young men who neglect their education, or the sober pursuits destined for them by their parents, to as-

sociate clandestinely for the purpose of acting plays, and enter into expenses which may lead to crime for their support, and in consequence of the applauses bestowed upon their performances from their ignorant auditors, are led to abandon the pursuits intended to lead them to honour, and to embrace a profession as full of hazards as of difficulty; a profession stigmatized, whether justly or not, is not now the question, as one not congenial to the habits of ordinary life."

We do not recollect to have met with the following anecdote before.

"We insert the following curious account of the first rehearsal of the tragedy of Douglas, taken from the Edinburgh Evening Post. 'It may not be generally known that the first rehearsal of this tragedy took place in the lodgings in the Canongate occupied by Mrs. Sarah Ward, one of Diggs' Company; and that it was rehearsed by, and in the presence of, the most distinguished characters Scotland could ever boast of. The following was the cast of the piece on that occasion.

Lord Randolph,	Doctor Robertson, Principal, Edinburgh.
Glenalvon,	David Hume, Historian.
Old Norval,	Doctor Carlyle, Minister of Musselburg.
Douglas,	John Home, the Author.
Lady Randolph,	Doctor Ferguson, Professor.
Anna (maid),	Doctor Blair, Minister, high church.

"The audience that day, besides Mrs. Diggs and Mrs. Sarah Ward, were the Right Honourable Lord Wilbank, Lord Milton, Lord Kaimess, Lord Monboddoo (the two last were then only lawyers), the Rev. John Steel, and William Home, ministers. The company (all but Mrs. Ward) dined afterwards at the Griakin Club, in the Abbey.'"

There have been so many discussions among dramatic critics about the character and representation of *Hamlet*, that what throws light on the subject is acceptable—our author tells us, that

"There is reason to believe that Betterton was the first true personator of Hamlet; and even Betterton, though instructed by Davenant, who had seen the original representative as taught by Shakspeare, though replete with talent and judgment, must have been in that part of the picture which depends on costume miserably deficient. We have Cibber's testimony in favour of the Hamlet of Betterton, and on such subjects the poet laureate is good authority. 'You have seen,' he says, 'a Hamlet, perhaps, who on the first appearance of his father's spirit, has thrown himself into all the straining vociferation requisite to express rage and fury, and the house has thundered with applause, though the misguided actor was all the while, as Shakspeare terms it,—'tearing a passion into rags.'—I am the more bold to offer you this particular instance, because the late Mr. Addison, while I sat by him to see the scene acted, made the same observation, asking me with some surprise if I thought Hamlet—'should be in so violent a passion with the ghost, which though it might have astonished, had not provoked him, for you may have observed that in his beautiful speech the passion never rises beyond an almost breathless astonishment, or an impatience limited by filial reverence to inquire into the suspected wrongs that may have raised him from his peaceful tomb, and a desire to know what a spirit so seemingly distressed might wish to enjoin a sorrowful son to execute towards his future quiet in the grave.'—This was the light in which Betterton threw this scene, which he opened with a pause of mute amazement; then rising slowly to a solemn trembling of the voice, he made the ghost equally terrible to the spectator as to himself.' Another author has said of this actor 'that his countenance, naturally ruddy and sanguine, in the scene of the third act where his father's ghost appears, through the violent and sudden emotion of amazement and horror, turned instantly on the sight of his father's spirit as pale as his neckcloth,

when his whole body seemed to be affected with a tremour inexpressible, so that had his father's ghost actually risen before him he could not have been seized with more real agonies ; and this was felt so strongly by the audience, that the blood seemed to shudder in their veins likewise, and they in some measure partook of the astonishment and horror with which they saw this excellent actor affected.' "

"Sheridan and O'Keefe came before the American public for the first time this theatrical season, (1786.) The School for Scandal, the Duenna, and the Poor Soldier, took their stand on the boards never to be removed. Wignell's Joseph Surface and Darby ; Henry's Sir Peter Teazle and Patrick, are still remembered with pleasure after the lapse of half a century." We would add, that they have not been surpassed, if equalled here.

Our author commences his sixth chapter with reflections on the drama, and a plan for its improvement, and that of the professors of the histrionic art. We wish that we had room for them, but we must be content to recommend them merely to the attention of those who take any interest in the subject—and who should not? He well asks, "what engine is more powerful than the theatre? No arts can be made more effectual for the promotion of good than the dramatic and histrionic. They unite music, poetry, painting, and eloquence. The engine is powerful for good or ill—it is for society to choose." He truly observes, that "if the wise and good frequent the theatre, its exhibitions must become schools of wisdom."

The following anecdote is told of *Henry*, of whom we have already spoken, and who was not only an excellent actor, but a highly bred gentleman.

"Henry was the only actor in America who kept a carriage. It was in the form of a coach, but very small, just sufficient to carry himself and wife to the theatre ; it was drawn by one horse and driven by a black boy. Aware of the jealousy towards players, and that it would be said he *kept a coach*, he had caused to be painted on the doors, in the manner of those coats of arms which the aristocracy of Europe display, *two crutches* in heraldic fashion, with the motto, '*This or these.*' "

In 1793 Mr. Wignell "landed in America a company more complete and more replete with every species of talent for the establishment of a theatre, than could have been contemplated by the most sanguine of his friends." We well remember them, without the hope of seeing such a company again. Their names are given in this history. Among them we see with a vivid remembrance of their particular excellence, Fennel, Chalmers, Moreton, Harwood, Blisset, and Mrs. Whitlock, Marshall, Oldmixon, with others of various and distinguished merit. About the same time *Henry* brought a reinforcement to the New York theatre, the chief of which was Mr. Hodgkinson. We do not rate this gentleman as highly as our author does ; but he may be right.—We always saw in him a dash of vulgarity and extravagance—a want of scholarship and refinement that was offensive.

He certainly played a great variety of parts, and some of the coarser ones, with power and effect, but on the whole he wanted study and finish. Nor did he lose himself in his character; you always saw the conceited Mr. Hodgkinson in all he did. How unlike Moreton and Harwood in this! A very amusing sketch is given of the early life of Hodgkinson, whose real name was Meadowcraft, and of his first attempts on the stage. We do not mean to say that Mr. Dunlap places Mr. H. at the head of his profession.—On the contrary, he says, “he was ready to attempt any thing, was always above mediocrity, and sometimes attained excellence, though never in the highest department of the drama.” He adds, “his ambition made him ready to swallow any thing that might keep him before an audience—like *Bottom*, he wished to play *Pyramus* and *Thisbe*, *Wall*, *Moonshine* and *Lion*.” Of Prigmore, one of Henry’s new recruits, an anecdote is told which we cannot omit to give to our merry readers.

“Bernard, who we shall have occasion to mention hereafter, gives, in his reminiscences, this anecdote and character of Prigmore. He says he was ‘a man of some vanity and little merit, whose opinion of himself was in inverse proportion to that of the public. One of the peculiarities of this person was to suppose (though he was neither handsome nor insinuating), that every woman whom he saw, through a mysterious fatality, fell in love with him. There was a very benevolent widow living in Plymouth, in respectable circumstances, who frequently came to the theatre, and was kind enough to inquire into the private situation of various members of the company. Among others she asked about Prigmore, and was told that he had but a small salary, and made a very poor appearance. Hearing this, she remembered that she had a pair of her late husband’s indispensables in the house, which she resolved to offer to him. A servant was accordingly despatched to the object of her charity, who, meeting one of the actors, and partly disclosing his business, he went in search of Prigmore, and finding him, exclaimed, ‘Prigmore, my boy, here’s your fortune made at last; here’s a rich widow has fallen in love with you, and wants to see you.’ Prigmore, not suspecting his roguery, was led to the servant in a state of bewildered rapture, and by the latter was informed that the widow would be glad to see him any morning it was convenient. He appointed the following, and went home to his lodgings to indulge in a day-dream of golden independence. His friend (theatrical friend) in the mean time whispered the truth through the green-room, where there were two or three wicked enough to join in the conspiracy by walking to Prigmore’s house to tender their congratulations: Prigmore, as may be supposed, passed a sleepless night, and spent an extra hour at his toilette next morning in adorning himself with a clean shirt and neckcloth. He then sallied forth, and on reaching the widow’s, was shown into her parlour, where, casting his eyes around on the substantial sufficiency of the furniture, he began to felicitate himself on the aspect of his future home.

“The lady at length appeared; she was upon the verge of forty, a very fashionable age at that time, which, resting upon the shoulders of a very comely-looking woman, seemed to be in character with her comfortable dwelling. Prigmore’s satisfaction and her benevolence operated equally in producing some confusion: at length a conversation commenced. She acquainted him that she had heard his situation was not as agreeable as he could wish—that his income was a confined one; she was, therefore, desirous to do him all the service that lay in her power. Prigmore, considering this as an express declaration of her affection, was about to throw himself at her feet, when she suddenly summoned her servant, and exclaimed,—‘Rachel, bring the breeches!’

“These words astounded him. The widow, on receiving the habiliments,

folded them carefully, and remarking that they were—'as good as new,'—begged his acceptance of them.

" 'And was it for this you wanted me, madam?' 'Yes, sir.' He put on his hat and walked to the door with indignation. The good woman, as much astonished as himself, followed him with 'won't you take the breeches, sir?' He replied, pausing at the door to make some bitter retort, 'wear them yourself.' "

We have another breeches story worth repeating.

"West soon involved himself in debt, and being arrested by the breeches-maker for six pair of leather breeches, sent to Mr. Gaine, who still printed the play-bills, though no longer at the Bible and Crown, but only at the Bible, to request bail, as the prisoner's name was in the bill for that night.

"The old gentleman took off his spectacles and exclaimed, 'Six pair of leather breeches! Why I never had one pair in my life! Six pair! Why how many legs has the fellow got?' "

Mrs. Melmoth first appeared on the American stage in Euphrasia. It is truly said that "her dimensions were far beyond the sphere of embonpoint: when she called upon Dionysius to 'strike here, here's blood enough,'—an involuntary laugh from the audience had nearly destroyed, not only the illusion, but the hopes of the actress."

As a proof of the manner in which the parts of a play were filled at the period we are speaking of, and before *starring* had nearly destroyed the stage, our author has furnished us with the *cast* of "Every One has his Fault," in Mr. Wignell's company. It was thus,

"Lord Norland, Mr. Whitlock (his best part); Captain Irwin, Fennel; Placid, Moreton; Sir Robert Ramble, Chalmers; Solus, Morris; Hammond, Green; Mrs. Placid, Mrs. Shaw; Miss Spinster, Mrs. Bates; Lady Elinor, Mrs. Whitlock; Miss Wooburn, Mrs. Morris; Edward (a matchless performance), Mrs. Marshall."

In these times, when it is thought enough if one or two of the principal parts are well filled, when all the rest are left to the very dregs of the stage, no idea can be formed of the effect of a play, of which every character is well and truly personated.

There is no excess of praise in our author's account of Mr. Moreton.

"The principal gentleman comedian in this splendid company, at the time under review, was Mr. Moreton. He was, as remembered by the writer, the most elegant gentleman performer that our long acquaintance with the London and American theatres has made known to us. Tall, slender, straight-limbed, and perfectly at ease, his regular features, light complexion, and blue eyes, with the perfect air and manner of a finished gentleman, united to the talent, vivacity, and mind which must combine to make a real actor, gave to the spectator a combination rarely seen on any stage."

A sketch of his life is added to this deserved eulogium. Our author next introduces Mr. Fennell to his readers. On his first appearance on the stage, he assumed the name of Cambray—and was well received in the characters of Jaffier and Othello. He has himself published his biography at large. Mr. Dunlap says:

“His appearance in the *Moors*, *Othello* and *Zanga*, was noble; his face appeared better and more expressive, and his towering figure superb. His *Glenalvon* was a fine piece of acting.” Having known Mr. Fennell long and intimately, we feel warranted in saying that our author deals unjustly by him in the insinuation conveyed by the following remarks: “his villains appeared very natural. Deceit seemed to be at home in all his words and actions.” He is afterwards more direct in his reproaches of Fennell, and thinks he disgraced an honourable profession by a career of fraud; he alludes to his schemes for making salt, in the prosecution of which he is charged with “sporting with the credulity of the inhabitants on the sea-shore, from Chesapeake Bay to Massachusetts, by pretended new modes of making salt.” In our opinion this is a hasty and unjust view of the conduct and character of Mr. Fennell; and the more surprising when we find it in a volume marked with liberality and kindness to human errors. We believe that Mr. Fennell was not a dishonest man, much less a villain, if intention to do wrong is a necessary ingredient in such a character. We admit he was extravagant and thoughtless in his style of living at one time in Philadelphia, that he contracted debts in this indulgence which he could not pay, and, it may be, gave himself too little concern about it. But if this makes a villain, how many are there in Europe and America received in good society, who ought to be set down as villains? Every year produces more or less of them. Look to your merchant, who, after a year or more of splendour, breaks for hundreds of thousands, and shows not a dollar for payment; who contracted some of his debts within four and twenty hours of his failure. Is he a villain? Mr. Dunlap must glance around upon some of his honourable neighbours before he affirms the sentence. Then we pray you to suspend it over a poor player until you are willing to let it fall on others more guilty than he. As to the salt projects, which is the other ground of this severe assault upon one who was indeed and deservedly “the idol of the literary youth of Philadelphia”—who was a man of finished education, most amiable dispositions, and gentlemanly manners,—we agree he was a reckless speculator, imagining he had made great discoveries; ever forming magnificent schemes of wealth, some of which were as wild and fantastical as the dreams of insanity. In the prosecution of these plans, he was thoughtless of consequences, and believing implicitly in their success, he obtained funds for them from every source within his reach; from the credulity, if you please, of the inhabitants on the sea-shore, who, on his representations, were willing to embark in the enterprise and to share its gains if successful. It is some evidence of his sincerity in the undertaking, that he devoted his time, his labour, his health to it; that he abandoned for it a profession in which he stood pre-

eminent, and from which he could have derived a full and honourable support; for, besides his theatrical emoluments, his readings and recitations were very lucrative. He was, by nature, an enthusiast, and could not be brought by advice or experience to doubt that he should realize all his golden visions. But is he therefore a villain—who has run “a career of fraud”? If so, we again demand that others who have taken the same career shall be brought to the same judgment. Bring to the same bar your speculators, rash and reckless as madmen in commercial adventures, depending on mere chance for riches or ruin; on stocks, depending on the news the next mail may bring; both involving their friends in their failure, drawing and extorting money from every pocket into which they can thrust a hand. In what do they differ from Mr. Fennell? Only in this, that there was more plausibility in his speculation, a better hope of success than in theirs, and he gave his labour and his all to promote it; while they threw their ticket into the wheel and waited the result, very coolly, which was to ruin themselves and the friends with whose credulity they had sported. But they have not been branded as fraudulent villains. If we turn to the land speculations of some years back, and the *men who were engaged in them*, and the ruin they spread round them, we shall be still more unwilling to affirm this harsh judgment upon unfortunate speculators. In truth, they are a race of fanatics, who can see nothing, hear nothing, understand and believe nothing, which would check them in their wild course, or cast a shade of doubt over their splendid prospects. We repeat, Fennell was a reckless speculator; and who has known a speculator that was not so?

We read with great pleasure the following tribute to a lady who was highly esteemed in this city for her private virtues as well as for her professional excellence.

“Mrs. Whitlock had been the support and ornament of the company of Whitlock and Munden, and had played at Bath and in London before the engagement which brought her to Philadelphia in 1793. She was what may truly be called a fine looking woman, with some of the Siddons and Kemble physiognomy, but fairer of complexion, and not so towering in stature. Her eye and voice were powerful, and reminded the spectator and hearer of her sister, sometimes raising expectations which were not fully realized, of seeing a second Siddons. She was of great value in her profession, and out of it an honour to her family. She still lives respected and beloved, enjoying the fruits of her exertions in that branch of the fine arts which owes so much to the family of her father.”

We will add for ourselves, that in Lady Macbeth and characters of that strong cast, Mrs. Whitlock was the most forcible and effective tragedian we have ever seen. Her dark and brilliant eye; her expressive brow; her full and deep-toned voice, whose articulation was so distinct that her whispers were heard in every part of the house, added to her true and distinctive conception of her author, gave her, in Lady Macbeth, a power over

her audience that was awful. We can never forget her interview with Macbeth after the murder of Duncan; nor her sleep-walking scene. All gazed upon her with a dread and breathless silence. No genius but that of Shakspeare could have imagined such scenes, or could have embodied such imaginings.

Who does not remember *Jefferson*, for so many years the delight of the Philadelphia Theatre? Our author pays a just tribute to our favourite, whom he truly designates "as an excellent comedian, who lived among us, admired as an actor and esteemed as a man, for six and thirty years." He died in the current year. His person is well described.

"Of a small and light figure, well formed, with a singular physiognomy, a nose perfectly Grecian, and blue eyes full of laughter, he had the faculty of exciting mirth to as great a degree by power of feature, although handsome, as any ugly featured low comedian ever seen. The Squire Richard of Mr. Jefferson made a strong impression on the writer; his Sadi, in the *Mountaineers*, a stronger; and, strange to say, his Verges, in *Much Ado about Nothing*, a yet stronger."

The father of Mr. Jefferson was "a contemporary and friend of Garrick."

Of Mrs. Marshall, our author says, she "was a pretty little woman, and a most charming actress in the *Pickles and Romps* of the drama. Her Edward, in 'Every one has his Fault,' is spoken of to this day, as perfection." We think Mr. Dunlap could not have known Mrs. Marshall in her best days, or he would not have passed over her so lightly. In the gay parts of the *Romp*, *Little Pickle*, *Moggy M'Gilpin*, &c., there has been no one in this country that approached her. But to have known her exquisite feeling, her thrilling touches of nature, her fascinating simplicity, you must have seen her in *Juliet* and *Ophelia*. We feel assured that so good a critic as Mr. Dunlap would not have said that Mrs. Merry, admirable as she was, was "the best representative of Juliet that ever was seen or heard," if he had seen Mrs. Marshall in that character. We shall be sustained, at least in Philadelphia, and by the ardent admirers of Mrs. Merry, in saying that Mrs. Marshall excelled her in representing Juliet. Her beautiful little figure, the sweet and unaffected tones of her voice, the truth and simplicity of her deportment and countenance, put the girlish Juliet, but thirteen years of age, before us with more effect than a woman of thirty, of Mrs. Merry's matronly appearance, could do. We remember Taylor's *Octavian*—we agree that it was a failure; an extravagant rant.—Moreton was the only true *Octavian* we have seen. Here is a story which proves that an alderman and an orator may be made of a very bad actor.

"About this time, John D. Miller made his first appearance on the stage as Clement in the *Deserted Daughter*. He was a good-looking young man, but desti-

tute of education or talent. He wisely retired in a few years, became rich, an alderman, and a 4th of July orator.

"These civic honours entitle Mr. Miller to more space on our pages than any distinction he gained as a player. He was a native of New-York, and the son of Mr. Philip Miller, a German baker. John D. was born in 1771, and preferring the ever-changing temperature of the stage to the eternal heat of the oven, he determined to be a hero. After fighting against nature for a few years, he wisely became a partner with his brother, a grocer, and being a *tall man*, soon became an orator among the sachs of Tammany Hall, a common-council-man, and alderman.

"Miller's debut is fresh in our recollection as connected with the admirable acting of Jefferson in the character of Item, the attorney, whose clerk Miller represented. Worked up to a phrensy of feigned passion, Jefferson, a small sized man, seized Miller by the breast, and while uttering the language of rage, shook him violently. Miller, not aware that he was to be treated so roughly, was at first astonished; but as Jefferson continued shaking and the audience laughing, the young baker's blood boiled, and calling on his physical energies, he seized the comedian with an Herculean grasp, and threw him off violently."

It is but a few weeks since Mr. Warren paid the great debt of nature, and left the stage of life. He is identified with some of our most agreeable recollections of the stage. Has his Peter Teazle been surpassed on our boards? Has his Falstaff been equalled? So of his Baron Duberly? In short, have we ever seen so *sure* an actor? He did not attempt the loftier walks of the drama, but he never failed in what he did attempt—he was truth itself, he never stepped a line out of nature. We hope it will not be unwelcome to our readers if we extract from Mr. Dunlap's work the notice taken of this gentleman.

"Of Mr. William Warren we have ample materials for such brief notice as our limits will allow. He was born in the year 1767, in the city of Bath. His father, a respectable mechanic, gave him an education intended to fit him for following in his steps; but the boy, like many others we have noticed, preferred idleness and pleasure to application and labour, and having been applauded for boyish attempts at acting, was unfit for the occupation of a cabinet-maker, which was that of his father, and was intended for him.

"At the age of seventeen, Warren made his appearance as a player in the character of Young Norval, with a company who were making tragedy comical, and lowering comedy to farce, in a village near Bath, called Chippenham. His reception encouraged him to proceed in the career he had chosen. In this strolling company, under the management of one Biggs, he played all the first parts in tragedy and comedy, and of course gained some professional knowledge though the school was bad. For this first line of playing the young hero received less than four shillings per week.

"Leaving Manager Biggs, he joined the forces of another stroller called 'Tag Davis,' who had a company of a higher order; among them was Riley, known as the author of an amusing book called the Itinerant, and Bignel, afterwards in America, but only known to the south. At the end of the season, Warren, too poor to pay for a place in the stage, walked home to the house of his indulgent parents.

"There appears to be no cure for the disease of strolling, or as De Foe has it in his Robinson Crusoe, 'What is bred in the bone will never be out of the flesh.' Warren had become attached to Davis, as well as to a rambling life, and again joined him. Poverty was as much attached to that company now as before, and Riley records their situation at Lyme, utterly penniless, and without food, which could only be procured by stratagem. On this occasion he mentions Warren as exclaiming in mock heroics, 'Was it for this I left my father's shop,'

and then adding from Dogberry, 'would he were here to write me down an ass!'

"Biggs, his first manager, having a company in the neighbourhood of Davis's barn, Warren now did double duty, *starring* it in both companies, walking from Lyme to Bedminster, and back again, to serve his two masters, not having profit enough from his 'double toil and trouble' to pay for any other 'leathern convenience' than his shoes.

"Warren's next engagement was with Manager Jefferson, the father of the excellent comedian we have mentioned as joining the old American Company at Boston, and coming with them to New-York in 1796. From Jefferson's company he was induced to return to his friend Biggs by the tempting offer of ten shillings per week, a little more than two dollars. This enabled the rising young hero to ride, on the top of the stage, to the place of destination. In Warren's rambles, he met two performers, afterwards well known in New-York and Boston, Mrs. Hogg and Mr. Baker.

"After several changes of place and manager, Biggs, having been deserted by most of his company, followed Warren and another stroller of the name of Woolley, and being unable to persuade them to return, arrested them both; and carrying them, guarded by a constable, before a magistrate, swore they were journeymen tailors who had deserted from him, and left clothes unfinished which they had engaged to complete. The magistrate discharged the young men, advising them to return to their homes and parents. This advice was not followed, and Tag Davis having a *new opposition* house built for him in Exeter, by a man who was rich enough to indulge his desire to overthrow the established dynasty, Tag invited Warren to join his company, which he accordingly accepted.

"To give the American reader an idea of the contempt shown in England by people of every condition towards the members of strolling companies, we will relate two anecdotes of Warren. Biggs, who seems to have considered Warren essential to his well-being, again followed him, and endeavoured to prevail on him to rejoin his company; but not succeeding, changed his persuasive tone to abuse, which he carried so far as to provoke Warren to break his pipe over the manager's head. For this assault on majesty, Biggs again took him, with the aid of a constable, on charge of assault and battery, and the justice hearing the accuser state that the accused was a strolling player, was about committing him to jail; but Warren retorted the title of strolling manager on Biggs, and the magistrate dismissed both with contempt and injurious epithets from his august presence.

"The second concerns the treatment of the whole of Mr. Jefferson's company. One Mr. Carey, a man of fortune, on occasion of some family festival, applied to Jefferson, and engaged his company to come to Tor Abbey, his place of residence, and perform a play. Accordingly, they all proceeded thither, not in carts or on foot, as most of them travelled usually, but attended by their very respectable manager, in coaches, post-chaises, and gigs. When they arrived at Tor Abbey, they were shown into the servants' hall, where a table and dinner was prepared for them.

"Jefferson sent a remonstrance to Carey, and the company prevailed on the manager to take a coach and turn his back on the aristocrat, while they performed a play for his emolument. They then refused food in the inhospitable mansion, and Mr. Carey finding the actors so stomachful, made his appearance and apologies, showed them into a more dignified part of his house, and prevailed on them to take food more nourishing than the air of offended pride which they had assumed and were endeavouring to digest for the occasion. They ate and drank, and played their play and farce for the amusement of the great man and his family, and returned home content.

"That most actors receive an education in the school of folly, thoughtless dissipation, or positive vice, which the degrading scenes belonging to the life of a strolling player in England invariably furnish, must be apparent to every one who reads the books which have been published on the subject. That so many come out of the furnace, if not purified, yet so far uninjured as to assume

the rank of respectable and honourable men, is truly wonderful. If we look back upon the lives of most of those performers who have come to America and have challenged admiration as actors and respect as men, we shall find that they have passed through, from early youth to manhood, a succession of scenes sufficient to destroy all sense of moral propriety. To have passed through such scenes with such debased and debasing associates, and yet stand erect in society, is proof of uncommon merit; that many sink never to rise, is plain.

"This evil does not exist in this country to any great extent, and may be prevented altogether. We see those who have submitted to the disgrace of a stroller's life in England, take a higher stand in this country, and maintain it. They feel that they are not degraded by the presence of a privileged order; and if the mere moneyed aristocrat assumes airs of superiority, they feel authorized to resist the assumption. Having thrown off the stigma which the laws of their own country had affixed to them, they feel bound to assume, with the more elevated character, a more elevated deportment and conduct.

"The frequent recurrence of poverty, insult, and disgrace, at length, as the novelty and enticements of licentious liberty began to lose their charms, brought Warren to reflect upon the folly of his conduct. 'He had experienced,' says Carpenter, 'poverty in its most intolerable shape, hunger.' He had found that innocence was not a protection to the player, if accused of a crime, for the magistrates considered him as a vagabond. 'Indeed,' he continues, 'what could he hope, seeing as he did so much penury around him, and at the same time so much ignorance and incapacity in many of his associates.' While thus ruminating on his sad condition, he received a letter from his father inviting him home. And hoping to qualify himself for, and obtain a higher post in the profession he had chosen, he returned to the paternal roof.

"After a few weeks at home, through the influence of Ingleton, Blanchard, and other London actors with whom he became acquainted, he got a situation in a respectable provincial theatre, and obtained the friendship of Mr. Downton. He now strove to make himself truly an artist, and by industry and good conduct acquired skill and importance in his profession.

"Warren was a member of the Salisbury theatrical corps in 1787, when a prosecution was instituted through malice against the proprietor, and he was cast on the old vagrant act. This caused the repeal of the statute, and a protecting act was passed, by which justices of peace were enjoined to license and protect any manager who chose to establish a theatre. From this time the now prudent actor increased in reputation and emoluments. In 1788 he was engaged by Tate Wilkinson, well known by all who have attended to the English theatre, and Mrs. Siddons being engaged to play at York, Mr. Warren had the advantage of playing several characters with that first of tragedians. His habits of industry and attention to the business of the scene gained him the approbation of this lady, who in her provincial tours was annoyed very generally by the absence of those virtues.

"In this situation, a favoured performer in a respectable company, directed by a man of talents, Mr. Wignell, in 1796, found the subject of this notice, and made him offers which engaged him for America. Warren was then married, and as the highest salary in the company was a guinea and a half a week, the salaries given by American managers must have appeared tempting. Mr. Warren was engaged for Philadelphia, and repairing to London, embarked at Gravesend, from whence dropping down to the Downs, the vessel took in Mr. and Mrs. Merry, and Mr. Cooper, and reached New-York in twenty-one days. Mr. Warren's first characters in Philadelphia were Friar Lawrence in *Romeo* and Juliet, and Bundle in the *Waterman*.

"Thus Mr. Warren, after passing through scenes in real life which, as we have seen, seem sufficient to destroy every good habit, if not principle in man, was landed on a shore where he was safe from such contact, for in the company of such performers as composed the company of Philadelphia for many years, the ill habits acquired in English strolling companies would be discouraged, and if possible, eradicated. In Mr. Warren's case we have reason to believe that what might have been wrong had been previously rectified, and we only re-

member him as a pleasant companion and an upright man. The characters he sustained with the highest reputation in the drama, were Falstaff, Sir Peter Teazle, Old Norval, Brabantio, Sir Anthony Absolute, and the like in tragedy and comedy."

Mr. Dunlap repeats a very interesting story of a Swiss Catholic priest, as told by himself with great effect, who long suffered in the Inquisition in Spain; of which we cannot pretend to say more. It cannot be abridged, and is too long for insertion here. A chapter on the decline of the drama, and remedies proposed, is written with good sense instructed by experience. An anecdote of Cooper, on the first performance of the tragedy of "Andre," is well told.

"Our friend Cooper was at this time rather in the habit of neglecting such parts as were not first, or exactly to his mind. Young Bland was not the hero of the piece, and very little of the author's blank verse came *un-amended* from the mouth of the tragedian. In what was intended as the most pathetic scene of the play, between Cooper and Hodgkinson, the first, as Bland, after repeating, 'Oh, Andre—oh, Andre,' as often as 'Jemmy Thomson' wrote 'Oh, Sophonisba,' approached the unfortunate Andre, who in vain waited for his cue, and falling in a burst of sorrow on his neck, cried, loud enough to be heard at the side scene, 'Oh, Andre—damn the prompter!—Oh, Andre! What's next, Hodgkinson,' and sunk in unutterable sorrow on the breast of his overwhelmed friend, upon whose more practised stage cleverness he relied for support in the trying scene—*trying* to the author, as well as actor and audience.

"The Nestor of histrionics, Colley Cibber, says, 'to show respect to an audience is worth the best actor's labour; and his business considered, he must be a very impudent one that comes before them with a conscious negligence of what he is about.'"

A short biography is given of our favourite *Wood*, concluding with a just and discriminating compliment to him.

"Mr. Wood's forte is decidedly genteel comedy, but he succeeds admirably well in tragedy too. His striking excellence is a never-failing perfect knowledge of his author, both as to sentiment and language. If we were to designate the parts in which he particularly excels, we should say that his Belcour, Reuben Glenroy, Vapid, Tangent, Sir Charles Racket, Michael Perez, Mercutio, and Benedick, in comedy; and in tragedy, his Brutus, Jaffier, Iago, Alonzo in the Revenge, Charles de Moor, and Penruddock, were all excellent performances."

The author introduces a biography of himself, with reminiscences of Europe as well as America, which will be read with interest. He gives this account of his first sight of General Washington.

"From eight years old, the name of Washington had been familiar to my ear, though surrounded by his enemies. I had seen the Howes, the Clintons, and the Carltons of the British army. And the renegades, Brooke Watson, and Benedict Arnold. My attempts at painting attracted the attention of the second named commander-in-chief of the English forces, who with other generals, and a train of aids, visited the young aspirant.

"When Washington was first heard of, his name was coupled with sarcasms or taunts, but with the occasional alleviation of 'He was with Braddock, and did good service, though a provincial,' and sometimes the acknowledgment—'He saved the remains of the army from destruction.' After the Trenton and Princeton affairs, Englishmen spoke of him with respect. His name grew with my growth—it was by-and-by in every mouth—every transaction of moment was connected with it. After the capture of Cornwallis, awe and admiration were constantly connected with the character of Washington.

"I was now to see this great man. Congress were in session at Princeton. The commander-in-chief had his head-quarters at the house of Mr. Berrien, at Rocky Hill, within two miles. In a solitary walk on the road, between Princeton and Trenton, while ascending a hill, suddenly appeared from the opposite side, a party of military horsemen. They gained the height, and their figures were relieved darkly by a light and brilliant sky. They were all dressed in the well-known old staff uniform of the United States, blue and buff, with the black and white cockade, marking the union with France, in their cocked hats, which were worn, as generally at that time in the American army, with the greatest breadth (to use a sea phrase), fore and aft, so as to screen the eyes; they were gallantly equipped and mounted; each had the glittering gold epaulet on either shoulder, and at first view all appeared equal, and all above the ordinary height. But the centre figure was tallest of the group, and I knew that I saw in him the man on whom every thought centered. The eyes of the company were turned upon me as they approached. The salutation of taking off my cocked hat was performed with a feeling which probably my face expressed. Instantly the salute was returned in the same manner by the chief, and every hat of the company was lowered with its waving plume to me. They passed, and I gazed after them. It was a precious moment. I had seen Washington."

The following caustic satire will find something to feed on in certain popular actors of the present day.

"Washington Irving wrote for the *Morning Chronicle* under the signature of Jonathan Oldstyle, and though always playful, the irritation caused was excessive. In a supposed letter from *Quox* to Jonathan, the actor's rights are thus defended, and Jonathan reprimanded for noticing certain peculiarities in a great performer's playing and dress. 'Odsbud, hath not an actor eyes, and shall he not wink?—hath not an actor teeth, and shall he not grin?—feet, and shall he not stamp?—lungs, and shall he not roar?—breast, and shall he not slap it?—hair, and shall he not *club* it?'"

Mr. Dunlap objects to the whole system of *benefit nights*. He says they "have ever been one source of mischief, one cause of degradation;" and that "while actors squabble for parts and intrigue for benefits, the theatre must be—what it now is." He would have "the actor to be liberally rewarded, according to his talents and exertion, by a fixed income." We think his reasons for this opinion are good, and nobody has a better right to teach us on this subject. We cannot omit another amusing occurrence, in which Mrs. Melmoth again had a part. A Mr. Huntington attempted *Macbeth*, and "his failure was complete;" our author proceeds.

"We have mentioned the laugh which had nearly destroyed Mrs. Melmoth. Euphrasia, when she, in 1793, cried 'strike here! here's blood enough,' and drew the attention of the audience from the author of the Grecian Daughter to the actress' over bulk—she got over the laugh—but when as *Lady Macbeth*, she said of her husband's behaviour, as represented by Huntington, 'the king grows worse and worse,' a killing shout was the response of the audience, and little more of the play was heard."

We are much inclined to agree entirely with our author in his observations upon the infant Rosciuses, that appear from time to time, and for a time, and are seldom heard of afterwards—the prodigy ceases when they cease to be children.

"A child," says Mr. Dunlap, "playing in the same scene with men and women, is in itself an absurdity, and the popularity of such exhibitions is a proof of vicious taste, or rather an absence of taste. It is the same feeling which carries

the crowd to see monsters of every description. A little boy or a little girl playing Richard, or Shylock, where the other characters are supported by men and women, is to a person of taste an object of pity, or of ridicule."

A notice is given of Mr. Twaits, with the author's usual discrimination and liberality; but he introduces a hoax practised upon him, which to our surprise, he has marked with no reprehension, more than by saying, that "no excuse can be offered for it." It went far beyond the limits of a joke; it was a wicked and inhuman practice upon the happiness of a worthy man. Our author says of it, that it "took all the comedian's sportiveness away for a time," and "tortured the young man from day to day." We will lay it before our readers.

"Shortly after Twaits's marriage, he one evening was standing in the gallery, looking at Mrs. Twaits's performance of a character in tragedy, when he heard two men near him make some vulgar remarks upon the actress. The husband felt indignant, and addressing the principal speaker, told him that the lady was his wife, and that he would chastise any scoundrel who used such language in respect to her. The fellow was a vulgar blackguard, probably drunk, and with his companion sneaked away. All this might have been very well, but during his excitement the comedian came into the green-room, and before Cooper and others related the affair with some degree of swagger. The opportunity was not to be lost for retaliation, and next day Mr. Twaits received a letter requiring apology for the harsh language made use of on the preceding evening, and notifying him that the writer would expect to see him at a certain hour at the Albany coffee-house. This was signed John Smith. As was expected by the conspirators, Twaits carried this letter to Cooper, who being *au fait* in all the punctilios of the duello, told him that he must meet Mr. Smith. 'But I will not apologize to the rascal.' 'Certainly not, he must apologize to you, or give you satisfaction.' 'Damn the fellow—I don't want to have any thing more to do with him.' 'You called him a ——.' 'I called him a scoundrel.' 'You must see him.' 'You will go with me, Tom?' 'Certainly, if you put the affair into my hands.' 'I don't want to have any thing to do with the blackguard.' 'You see by this letter that it is a gentleman, and you must go through with it.'

"To the great delight of the conspirators, the comedian was tortured until the time appointed came, and with dauntless resolution, attended by his friend, he stalked to the Albany coffee-house, and inquired for Mr. Smith. There was no Mr. Smith there. They waited a due time. No John Smith appeared, and the comedian, breathing more freely, was escorted home by the witness of his courage.

"The bar-keeper had said, in answer to queries respecting Mr. Smith, that one Captain Smith sometimes came there. This was a cue for further mischief. Poor Twaits had his dinner marred by receiving a letter with the Philadelphia post-mark, apologizing for John Smith's not meeting him at the Albany coffee-house, he being under the necessity of going to Philadelphia to prepare his ship for a voyage to Europe, but would return to New-York, and require of Mr. Twaits an ample apology. Cooper was to decide on this, and an answer of polite defiance was dictated by him and written by Twaits, and delivered to the incendiary. In due time the reply of Mr. Smith arrived from Philadelphia—he would be in New-York on such a day. Mr. Simkins, or Jenkins, his friend, would see Mr. Twaits's friend to arrange a meeting. 'Damn the fellow, I don't want to have any thing to do with him—ha, Tom?' 'You have put the affair in my hands.' 'Oh—yes—' 'Very well, I will see Mr. Jenkins.' 'Do you know him?' 'Yes—he's a gentleman—there will be no difficulty in arranging a meeting—have you pistols, Billy?' 'No—pistols—no.' 'Mine are at your service.'

"The conspirators now found a person to represent Mr. Jenkins, and Twaits was a witness to a formal and very courteous interchange of civilities between his friend Tom and the friend of the imaginary Captain Smith, in Broadway, and was told that the result was an appointment next morning at Hoboken.

"Thus was this young man tortured day after day. It was like the fable of the boys and frogs. No excuse can be offered for such a hoax—certainly the contrivers did not at first intend to inflict the misery which was the inevitable effect of their unjustifiable prosecution of their joke.

"Instead of the meeting, however, another letter came, informing the parties that Captain Smith had been obliged to sail with his ship to the Mediterranean. Captain Smith was pronounced a poltroon, and even *his friend* Mr. Jenkins gave him up.

"The conspirators had been so much amused by this plot, and the odd effects produced upon their companion, that they renewed it at a period when Captain Smith might be supposed to have returned from Europe. He was made to write from Philadelphia, lamenting his former want of punctuality, and again calling upon Twaits for the meeting. It was, however, determined that his previous conduct had put him out of the pale of honour; though neither killed nor wounded, he was '*hors de combat*,' and the meeting denied. He was now brought to New-York by the same process which had brought him into existence, and made to threaten personal chastisement. The comedian was obliged by his tormentors to buy pocket pistols, and go armed against this phantom raised to haunt him.

"It is supposed that Twaits never had this hoax explained to him. It had been carried to so great a length, that the contrivers did not dare to undeceive him. He probably had a misgiving—but inquiry was both mortifying and dangerous—and Captain Smith and his antagonist were soon, both equally creatures of mere memory."

A chapter is given to the "Present state of the English Stage," in which our author again proposes plans for a reform.

There is nothing in this sprightly volume which will be read with more merriment than the author's account of a night spent by him with "the celebrated Matthews," on board the steam boat Chancellor Livingston, on a passage from New York to Albany. Matthews gives some account of himself when he "was a raw recruit in the Thespian corps." He says he became a fellow lodger with Cooke in Dublin, and then narrates some night scenes, in which himself, Cooke, and a certain Mistress Burns, were the actors, that are strongly characteristic of the peculiarities of the great *George Frederick*, and irresistibly comic.

It may be some comfort to Thespian corps to learn how good their chance is for a long life.

"Actors, we mean good actors, and respectable men, are a long-lived race. A friend has remarked that he could recollect thirty actors, generally of high eminence, who died within the space of forty years, at or beyond the age of 70; and adds, 'it would be difficult to show as large a number out of the same proportion of merchants or traders.' Macklin died more than 100 years of age; we saw him act, with power and spirit, his Shylock, and Sir Pertinax, at the age of 94; Mrs. Bracegirdle died at 85; Mr. Yates, 97; Mr. Blisset, the elder, 84; Colley Cibber, 86, and a very long list of names might be added of those who lived beyond the 'threescore and ten' allotted to men in general who live to old age. There are now, or lately were living, in competency or affluence, many more who could be mentioned as proofs of longevity among actors. The improvidence of actors is another vulgar error. When we speak of actors, we do not mean message-carriers, or the candle-snuffers and dram-drinkers of the stage. Of the hundreds who have retired from the stage in affluence, or with competency, or now live and act with the same advantage, we will only mention the names of Quin, Yates, Garrick, Smith, Cibber, Farren, Siddons, Matthews, Darley, Jefferson, Wood, Hull, Mattocks, Melmoth, Barry, Clive, Pritchard, John-

son, O'Neil, Bartley, Pope, Quick, Dodd, Bannister—we could fill our pages with names who are honoured for their talents, and enjoy in private life the more estimable reward of esteem for their virtues. It is the lot of the stage's historian to record vice and folly, and that record is remembered longer than the page which speaks of virtue—so the pages of the historian are filled with war and crime, and the years of peace passed over. Men's good deeds are written in sand—their evil one's on brass."

In the course of this work Mr. Dunlap has given us an account of his dramatic literary progeny, which have been numerous and respectable, and enjoyed in their day an unusual share of public favour. His life has been one of untiring industry, and his abilities have been constantly exerted for the promotion of good taste, good morals, and general improvement: his engagements with the theatre were unfortunate.—He found nothing there but disappointment and losses; violated contracts and ungrateful returns. He appears to be a man of sound principles and excellent feelings. He is a veteran in service as well as in years, and we hope his book will meet with a reception to gratify his self-love, and replenish his purse. We have been able to notice but a small portion of the interesting and entertaining matter contained in this variegated volume: we shall be happy if we have given enough to excite a liberal attention to the rest.

Mr. Dunlap has traced, with great exactness, the progress of the "American Theatre," from its deserted store-houses, sail-lofts, and wooden-buildings, to the splendid edifices which now ornament our cities; and the music of the orchestra, from a single harpsichord to full and skilful bands. We will bring this part of his history a little further down, and briefly notice some other evidences of the advancement of the drama in the United States. Such have been the inducements of fame and profit held out to the professors of the histrionic art, that the most eminent of them have left the capitals of Europe, to exhibit their talents in this country; and the success of the first adventurers was such that others followed in quick succession. Some of the greatest English players, and of the most celebrated singers of Europe—Madame Féron for example—have made professional tours throughout the western and southern states. Theatres flourish at Cincinnati, Nashville, and St. Louis. The English drama is established at New-Orleans.

The advantage we derive from these distinguished visitors is obvious, and will be permanent. In all matters of taste, the judgment is better instructed by an actual acquaintance with acknowledged standards of merit, than by any imaginations we can form of them by descriptions or speculative opinions. To see, for ourselves, what can be done and has been done by masters in the art, secures us from extravagant and impossible expectations on the one hand, and from adopting too low a standard of excellence on the other. It is thus with pictures and statues. If we were to form a judgment of what is possible to be done in those arts,

from the descriptions of travellers, in which every thing is divine and overwhelming, we should believe that none but very strong nerves could sustain the sight of a painting of Raphael or a statue of Praxiteles; while one who had no idea of the power of sculpture, but from the rude attempts of inferior artists, would greatly undervalue the force and extent of that power. So it is with the drama. Men have written and talked of Siddons and Talma, of Cooke and Kean, as if they were of another race of beings than ourselves, and there was nothing human about them; no limit to their powers. In such cases, generally, the writer is more intent upon exhibiting *himself* than his *subject*; of showing how well he can write about a picture, a statue, or an actor, than of giving his reader a just and accurate idea of them. We can correct these extravagancies only by experience, by seeing for ourselves. In regard to the drama, this opportunity has been afforded by the visits to which we have alluded. We have not seen Mrs. Siddons it is true, and we may envy those who have; but we have seen her sister Mrs. Whitlock, and Mrs. Merry. We have not seen Miss O'Neal; but we have seen Mrs. Sloman, Mrs. Bartley, and other ladies of high reputation on the London stage. In Cooke, we had one who held the highest place on that stage, and we may safely take him as a standard of excellence in his line of character. Kean and Macready also came to us from a brilliant career in Great Britain. Miss Kemble and her father, the present heads of the British stage, are now on the American boards, drawing crowds of admirers night after night. We may therefore say that we have the means of making a fair and enlightened estimate of dramatic merit, male and female.

The visits of these celebrated strangers have not only afforded us the knowledge we have mentioned, but their extraordinary success is a proof that we can appreciate and reward their talents—such now is the state of dramatic taste among us, that no secondary performer can obtain an extensive or continued popularity, while such as Cooke, Macready, and a few others, never abate in their attraction. We proceed with other proofs of the progress of the drama:—a few years ago a French opera company from New Orleans, tried their fortune in Philadelphia and New York. We are not able to speak with personal knowledge of their reception in New York, but we have heard it was liberal and satisfactory; and we may presume it was so from the repetition of the visit. In Philadelphia, they were constantly attended by numerous and fashionable audiences, who seemed to enter entirely into the merits of the stage and the orchestra, and to enjoy them fully. What a step was here from Darby and the Harpsichord! We may recall our readers to the Italian opera, in which *Garcia* and his admirable daughter—the pre-eminent *Malibran*, *Angrisani*, and other members of the corps, exhibited

the combination of the powers of music and acting with such wonderful effect. Now a full and accomplished Italian company have established themselves permanently in this country; an adequate subscription to build a suitable edifice for them, was immediately filled in New York. This company have engaged a principal theatre in Philadelphia, for three months, this winter: the improvement of our professors and amateurs of music by such examples, will be a benefit that will be durable and increasing; and we shall shortly see this charming art brought to a high perfection in our principal cities.

While we have spoken with so much satisfaction of the merits of the actors who have graced our boards, there is another subject to which we cannot allude without mortification—we mean the drama itself. In this respect there is a shocking degeneracy both in England and the United States. When we look at the list of stock plays brought out by the original “American Company,” and compare it with the stuff which now crowds the play bills, we shall see a lamentable falling off in this respect. We do not mean the severity of this censure to fall upon the pieces intended for temporary trifles, but for such as aspire to high and lasting honours; such as claim to be the offspring of the tragic muse. The time has been when the name of a *tragedy* awakened the most lofty expectations of poetic excellence. The time has been, when, if the first genius and scholar of the age would produce two or three good tragedies *in his life*, it was a great achievement, and the successful author was covered with glory. All this matter is changed—and tragedies are “as plenty as blackberries.” They seem to be manufactured by some labour-saving machine. The manager of a theatre has but to advertise a reward of fifty or a hundred dollars for the *best tragedy*, and they pour in upon him faster than he can read them. Sometimes he selects the subject, and insists that it must be about *Indians*, or any thing else he may have a fancy for. At once whole tribes rush upon us—Black Feet, and Black Hawk—Metamoras—and all the rest that ever inhabited the regions of North or South America. Something like an Indian story is got up—the actor is duly painted and dressed, and then he raves and rants through his five acts, like any other hero, but no more like an Indian than a Turk. The substitution of such trash for the sublime and beautiful of real tragedy, is not only destructive of good poetic taste, but equally so of good acting. To personate such characters no study is necessary—no scholarship—no genius—no intellectual endowments.—All that is required is a memory to bear such stuff, and lungs and limbs to deliver it with suitable noise and strut; ranting, prancing, attitudes, stare, grimace, contortion—all this is fine acting in a *prize tragedy*; and because the play and the player are *American*, they are applauded to the skies—but by

whom? We would go far in our support of domestic manufactures; still, Heaven preserve us from such tragedies, and such tragedians. This vice is not peculiar to our country—it prevails as perniciously in England. Of the same class of tragedies, although somewhat better in their manipulation, are *Virginus*, *Damon and Pythias*, and others that will occur to the reader; in which we find chiefly noise and fury “signifying nothing.” If you look into them for the lofty strains of poetry that belong to the tragic muse, you look in vain. They have neither the character, the sentiment, the energy, the situations, or plots of tragedy. We find a story cut into parts to make out a dialogue, garnished with a few common incidents, and declaimed with an astounding vehemence that shakes the seats of the gallery, and wins the applause of those who sit upon them. If good plays are banished from the stage, good actors will go with them—they must live or perish together.

We will barely mention another complaint, justly made against the stage both in Europe and America. The introduction of rope dancers and jugglers, elephants and horses, to astonish the vulgar. This, however, is an old grievance, and existed even in the brightest days of Rome. It is so admirably described and ridiculed by Horace, that we shall prefer his reproaches to any thing we can say about it.

“Sæpè etiam audacem fugat hoc, terretque positam,
Quod numero plura, virtute et honore minores,
Indocti stolidique, et depugnare parati
Si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt
Aut ursum, aut pugiles: his nam plebecula gaudet.
Verùm equi quoque jam migravit ab aure voluptas
Omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana.
Quatuor aut plures aula premuntur in horas,
Dum fugiunt equitum turmæ peditumque catervæ;
Mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis;
Esseda festinant, pilenta, petorrita, naves;
Captivum portatur ebur, captiva Corinthus.
Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus, seu
Diversum confusa genus panthera camelo,
Sive elephas albus vulgi converteret ora.”

Thus translated by “*Francis*.”

“And sure the bard, though resolutely bold,
Must quit the stage, or tremble to behold
The little vulgar of the clamorous pit,
Though void of honour, virtue, sense, or wit,
When his most interesting scenes appear,
Call for a prize-fight, or a baited bear;
And should the knights forbid their dear delight,
They rise tumultuous and prepare for fight.—
But even our knights from wit and genius fly
To pageant shows, that charm the wandering eye—
Drawn are the scenes, and lo! for many an hour
Wide o’er the stage the flying squadrons pour.
Then kings in chains confess the fate of war,
And weeping queens attend the victor’s car—

Chairs, coaches, carts, in rattling rout are roll'd,
And ships of mighty bulk their sails unfold—
And last the model of some captive towns,
In ivory built, the splendid triumph crowns.—
Sure if Democritus were yet on earth,
Whether a beast of mix'd and monstrous birth
Bid them with gaping admiration gaze,
Or a white elephant their wonder raise,
The crowd would more delight the laughing sage,
Than all the farce and follies of the stage.—”

We conclude this topic with the language of our author.

“When a theatre is supported by a power, whether in a government or an association, which will not look for profit from it, but rather if any deficiency of money from the receipts occurs, is ready to make it good, as in France—when it is so cherished and supervised, and is directed by a man who has taste and knowledge, and whose faculties may be devoted to the true purposes of the institution,—then such a theatre will be truly a school of morality, of patriotism, and every virtue; the glory of the fine arts, and the delight of the wise and the good; such a theatre would be what the theatre of Weimar was when Goëthe was its manager, or that of Berlin under the direction of Iffland,—the one directed by the first poet of the age, the other by the first actor of Germany, and both supported by government.

“But while actors squabble for parts and intrigue for benefits, and managers are looking to the means of raising money, the theatre must be—what it now is.”

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